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PART IX

LIGHT ON THE GOSPEL

FROM AN ANCIENT POET

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LIGHT ON THE GOSPEL

FROM AN ANCIENT POET

BY

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*"There was seen...the Son of Truth, from the Father the Most High,
and He inherited everything soever and took possession."*

Odes of Solomon xxiii. 16—17.

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TO LOVERS OF TRUE FREEDOM
IS DEDICATED
THIS STUDY OF THE VISIONS OF A POET
WHO SAW "THE SON OF TRUTH"
AND HEARD HIM PROCLAIM
OVER THE SONS OF MAN IN SHEOL
"THEY ARE FREE MEN AND THEY ARE MINE"

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THESE preliminary observations began originally with the statements about MSS and Versions now to be found on p. xviii. Revising them finally for press, many months after they had been in type, I felt that there should have been in the first place some expression of gratitude to the "ancient poet" mentioned in the title of this volume, for opening my eyes to new and nobler views of ancient Jewish thought as a preparation for Christianity. These Odes of Solomon—better perhaps called Songs—appear to me to constitute a series of what might be entitled, like some of our Psalms in the Bible, "Songs of Degrees, or Ascents," in which the thought ascends, without any serious breaks or interpolations, from that first and imperfect son of David, who failed to deserve his prophet-given name of Jedidiah, "the beloved," to that second and perfect Son of David who was hailed from heaven as the Beloved indeed. The first Ode mentions the Crown, apparently the Bridegroom's Crown, with allusion to the espousals of the first son of David, the husband of Pharaoh's daughter. This prepares us for the wedding of the second Son of David, the one Husband of the Church. And further—in one of the paradoxes characteristic of this strange poet—we are

led on from the thought of Solomon's crown of gold to the thought of the Tree, or Cross of Christ, implying "the crown of thorns."

In the next place, I felt that, in the desire to be impersonal, I had made no adequate confession of my difficulties in attempting to interpret this "ancient poet." Some apology seemed needed for the attempt. Perhaps also, by acknowledging long labour, under great disadvantages yet resulting in some final fruit, I might encourage others (so it seemed to me) to labour with much less disadvantage and with much more fruit. What now follows is my acknowledgment.

In the autumn of 1910—when on the point of preparing for the press a work on the fourfold gospel—I took up Dr Rendel Harris' smooth and elegant English version of the Syriac hymns by the discovery of which he has made Christendom indebted to him, and which he has entitled *Odes of Solomon*. Thinking they might bear on the work on which I was engaged, I resolved to turn aside from it, for ten whole days of study to be devoted to this new poet. The ten days led me to three conclusions, 1st, that Dr Harris was probably right in assigning to the hymns (in their original language) a very early date indeed, possibly even before 100 A.D.; 2nd, that there was much, very much, well worth understanding in them; 3rd, that what I understood about them on the tenth day—in comparison with what I ought to understand—was practically nothing at all.

Beginning my task over again I took up the Syriac. And now I found that Dr Harris' translation, though

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possessing obvious attractions, was not adapted for a beginner in Syriac, like myself, who desired to follow the poet in his plays on words and repetitions of the same word, or slightly different forms of the same word—sometimes with obviously deliberate iteration. So I began to make word-for-word translations—not worthy, perhaps, to be called translations, but helpful to a beginner in search of the thoughts at the bottom of the words. Of Syriac I know nothing except through the Syriac versions of Biblical books. But this I soon found to be no fatal obstacle. For there is no extant Syriac literature of the first two centuries except some of those versions; and the Odes, so I gathered from experts, had no pretensions to the flowing and ornate style of fourth-century Syriac. By degrees, I ascertained for myself, from Payne Smith's Syriac *Thesaurus*, that practically all the words in the Odes—and perhaps one might add all the idioms—are to be found in the Syriac Bible.

The Syriac Old Testament is said by experts to have been translated not from Greek but from Hebrew¹. The similarity between the Syriac of the Old Testament and the Syriac of the Odes suggested (as also did other considerations presently to be mentioned) that the Odes, too, might have proceeded from a Hebrew original. But this suggestion (as being contrary to Dr Harris' views) I put aside for the time. The first

¹ See *Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names*, by Prof. F. C. Burkitt, p. 3, "The Canonical Books of the Old Testament were translated originally direct from the Hebrew, probably by Jews rather than Christians; but certain books, notably that of Isaiah, seem to have been revised from the Greek Bible."

object was to ascertain, not what language the poet wrote in, but what he expressed in any language, or, if the exact expression could not be ascertained, then *what he meant*—including *what he assumed without expressing, what traditions were at the bottom of his thoughts*.

In my attempts to discover this, the *Thesaurus* was of the greatest service, shewing how a Syriac word, or even a Syriac phrase, used in the Odes, was also used, not only in the Syriac Bible generally, but also sometimes in particular passages of the Old Testament to which the poet appeared to be alluding. Following up clues of this kind by referring to Jewish Haggadic traditions about those particular passages, I often discovered allusions that I had not previously suspected, which threw quite a new light on the poet's meaning. This meaning seemed so full of original thought, and so well worthy of further study, that I began to group in order his different sayings about subjects of special importance, such as faith, grace, love, joy, rest, light, and life. For this purpose an alphabetical Index of subjects was desirable, and I made some progress in constructing one.

But at this juncture Professor Harnack's indexed edition came into my hands. This, besides editorial notes and comments, contained a German translation of the text by Dr Flemming, which seemed in general more accurate than that of Dr Harris, who in a second edition (1911)—as I subsequently found—adopted many of Dr Flemming's renderings. But what I found specially useful was the Index, which, though far from

being complete, fulfilled my utmost expectations in enabling me to explain the poet by the poet himself, and to discern consistent originality in many cases where I had previously been unable to find anything but inconsistent eccentricity¹.

Professor Harnack, like Dr Harris, claimed a very early date for the body of the Odes in their original form. But he rejected many passages as being inconsistent with that early date, and as being interpolations in the interests of later-developed Christian dogma. Other critics (I found) accepting these passages as genuine, were led by their acceptance of them to deny the early date.

Balancing deference to the learned critics who maintained the former view, against deference to the equally learned critics who maintained the latter, I was led on, step by step, to the conclusion that both were wrong. A reference, for example, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, might imply (so I began to see) not interpolation or lateness of date, but a first-century Christian Jewish poet, tinged by nationality, steeped in a new religion, but still a poet for the world. This seemed the first need—to postulate a real poet—if we were to solve the problem of these poems. He seemed a poet of high order in respect of thought, but not so high in respect of style. Perhaps he might have been a recluse, naturally obscure in expression, and made specially obscure to those who came after him because

¹ My references to these two works are so numerous that, for brevity, that of Dr Rendel Harris is indicated by "R.H." and that of Professor Harnack and Dr Flemming by "H."

he, a Christian, breathed an atmosphere of mystical Jewish Christian poetry that was soon to vanish away, not understood by Gentiles, and disliked and discouraged by Jews. So, too, even the apostle of the Gentiles—no recluse but a man at home with all men throughout the Roman empire—did not escape, on one occasion, the charge from a man in high position, "Thou art mad, Paul; thy much book-learning doth turn thee to madness." And indeed, even to his friends, even to some of his Corinthian converts, Paul may well have seemed obscure when they heard, read out to them for the first time, that letter which associated, in one sentence, "Moses," and "baptism," and "the Rock" in the wilderness, and "Christ."

From neither of the Talmuds (I believe) has any authority been hitherto alleged for this poetic association of Moses with baptism at the Red Sea. But extant poetic traditions about Moses suffice to shew that Paul could not have been startling the Corinthian Church with entirely new inventions of his own. Moses, for Jewish Christian poets, could not but be a type of Christ. And our poet is no exception to this statement. For him, as for John the Divine, the Song of Moses is the prelude to the Song of the Lamb. For him, the Deliverance of Israel, under the leadership of Moses at the Red Sea, means the Deliverance of Man, the spiritual Israel, under the leadership of the Messiah, the Son of Truth, from the waters of Sheol. From the beginning to the end of the Odes there is not a single proper name, not even that of Adam or Israel. Yet the poet is continually superimposing, so

to speak, in a kind of poetic photography, person upon person, deliverer upon deliverer, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Hezekiah, in order to approximate to the fulness of the form of the greatest Deliverer of all, the Lord Messiah. Such at least is the view that I was ultimately and laboriously led to adopt.

The labour was too great to allow me to complete my task with the fulness I had desired. I had prepared notes on all the Odes and translations of more than half of them. But even now, when my proposed "ten days" have become nearly seventy times that number, I find myself only in a position to lay before the public the translations of about a dozen Odes. It has seemed better to revise with thoroughness what had been already completed, submitting to the correction of a Syriac expert a good many doubtful points, and, in particular, the continuous translations placed in Appendix III. This having been done, and many corrections having been adopted, I have felt justified in publishing the results of my labour—a translation of Syriac, and a commentary on Syriac, by one who professes to know no Syriac except that for which he can give chapter and verse or definite authority.

Most gladly would I have studied all the recent works on the Odes, amounting, small and great, to nearly eighty, as enumerated in R.H. 2nd ed. pp. ix—xii. But after reading a few of them I felt, not only that want of time made the task impossible, but also that such time as I could spare would be better spent (1) in consulting and verifying ancient authorities bearing on the Syriac text, so as to make my limited

work as accurate as possible; (2) in a closer study of the text of a few of the Odes; (3) in ascertaining and collecting what Philo said about the subjects of which the Odes directly treat, or to which they apparently allude; (4) in ascertaining and collecting what is said about those same subjects by Jewish tradition (the Targums, the Talmuds, and the Midrash, not excluding the late evidence of Rashi where it points to earlier authorities). Sometimes, though not often, Philo was found to agree with Jewish tradition, thereby proving the antiquity of the latter. Even where there was no such agreement, it often appeared—through the name of the Rabbi quoted, or through the inherent stamp of antiquity—that a Jewish tradition recorded in writing at a late date must have existed orally some centuries earlier. These labours have taken up all the time at my disposal.

The differences between the versions of R.H. 1st ed., 2nd ed., and that of H., are numerous, and in some cases, of great importance. This fact might seem to imply a condemnation of any non-experts in Syriac who attempt versions of their own. My plea must be, 1st, that, where R.H. and H. are in agreement, even a non-expert will generally be right in following them, 2nd, that, even where they disagree, Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* will generally give the word, as used in the Syriac translations of the whole of the Bible and other literature, with such fulness as to enable even a non-expert to obtain a correct view, though may be not a solution, of the linguistic difficulty in question.

My third plea is that I do not aim at translating

Syriac idiom into English idiom, as Dr Harris has doubtless done. To do that, one must have a knowledge of Syriac idiom and literature, which I do not possess. A good idiomatic translation always renders idiom for idiom, not word for word. But a translation, bad from a literary point of view, rendering word for word, may often help students (as distinct from readers for literary pleasure) to make out the thought of an obscure writer. Then, when it is made out, they may be better able to understand a good translation. I am not sure that the time has come as yet for a good translation of this profound and difficult poet¹. At all events I have deliberately preferred what may be called a bad translation, always, as far as possible, rendering word for word and rendering the various forms of one Syriac word by corresponding various forms of one English word. This Dr Flemming also has done to a very great degree (to a much greater degree than Dr Rendel Harris) but he has done it without sacrifice of style, which, in his version, is seldom or never harsh, and is generally rhythmical and attractive. Mine, I must confess, is so literal and bald that some may find it repellent.

The repulsiveness is at all events not adopted through mere eccentricity or pedantry, but through a conviction that the poet, *like the author of the Fourth Gospel*,

¹ See *The Times, Literary Supplement*, Apr. 7, 1910, which comments on "the editor's failure to print the text and the translation of the Odes as verse," and points out that "some Odes combinè stanzas of different lengths" and that "the discovery of this fact illumines many a dark passage." On this I am not competent to express an opinion. H., like R.H., prints the poems as prose.

chose his words, repeated his words, and varied different forms of the same word, in accordance with a spiritually artistic, or artistically spiritual, sense, conscious or subconscious. Throughout the Odes there appears to me something like the Johannine reiteration—very different indeed from that which occasionally occurs in the Pauline Epistles—combined with something like the Johannine variation. Whoever realises this will realise plays on the same word, allusions to a past word, preparations for the next word—all of which, or many of which, are lost in a free translation into elegant English that does not reproduce these peculiarities.

I may be wrong. Some may allege that the writer may use words at hap-hazard. Others, that he may be guided simply by his ear. Others, that the Syriac is a translation from the Greek—possibly the Greek, too, from Hebrew—and may be a loose translation. Others may quote, from the Prayer Book Version, “The *king* sent and *delivered* him, the *prince of the people* let him *go free*,” and may ask whether such “heterotautology”—to coin a word—is not “the regular thing” in Hebrew poetry.

My reply to such arguers would be “Read for yourselves and judge for yourselves. Read only half a dozen Odes closely and carefully, and then decide for yourselves whether the poems that depict such spiritual scenes in such close sequence, and compress such spiritual thoughts in such small compass, are of the same poetic substance as the sentence extracted from the above-quoted simple and historical Psalm. And similarly, to the argument that the Syriac may be a

rendering of Greek, and not a faithful one, I should make the same reply, "Read first, and then repeat the argument, if you can. Even the existence of a Greek original is doubtful. But, if there was one, read first, before you accuse the translator of varying words—where his original did not vary them—for variety's sake."

For my part, I was disposed *a priori* to argue in the way that I am now deprecating. But, having "read first," I cannot repeat that argument. The Syriac text appears to me to be consistent, as a remarkably faithful medium, in revealing an author who used his words under the influence of an artistic as well as a spiritual inspiration, and who, if our Syriac is a translation, has been translated with singular fidelity. At all events, among the many attempts that will be made to illustrate these poems, it seems that one may well be made to give the poet the chance of shewing that he may have said precisely what he meant. This I have tried to do by rendering what he said precisely as he said it. If he really wrote—or was translated—ornately and variously for the mere purpose of ornate variety, then a close and literal rendering will shew up the fault, whether of writer or of translator, and we shall be on our guard against it. But if he wrote simply and straightforwardly for the purpose of expressing just the thought, or the vision, or the allusion, that came before his mind, then on the other hand our close and literal rendering will reveal his merits, and we shall admire them and learn from them.

Doubtless, I shall be found guilty of many errors

and of still more exaggerations. But these (I confidently believe) will not prevent a small circle of readers from finding in the following pages, studying this Jewish poet through Jewish poetry, some thoughts, here and there, that will take them a long way back toward that epoch in the history of the Church when the stream of believers broadened itself out through the inclusion of the Gentiles, gaining new depth with its new breadth, and still flowing as strongly as when it first issued from its fountain-head, the Spirit of the newly risen Saviour.

The "ancient poet" mentioned in the title of this work is the unknown author of some poems extant in a Syriac MS, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Dr Rendel Harris. The age of it, he tells us, "may be between three and four hundred years." Dr Harris has printed a title as part of his Syriac text, but he himself informs us that the MS "is imperfect both at the beginning and ending," so that "we cannot tell how it was described by the person who made the copy¹."

After the last of the newly discovered poems—*i.e.* Ode xlii—comes, without any distinctive title, a collection of poems which have been known for some time as "Psalms of Solomon." These have been hitherto extant only in a Greek version, which, however, is believed by its recent editors to have been translated

¹ *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, now first published from the Syriac Version by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. &c. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1909), Introduction, pp. 2—3.

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from Hebrew. The Psalms were probably written in their original language between B.C. 70 and B.C. 40¹. But the newly discovered poems—with which alone we shall deal—are altogether different in tone and subject-matter, and, taken as a whole, are extant only in Syriac, in this recently discovered volume².

In December 1911 Professor F. C. Burkitt informed me that he had discovered a tenth-century MS in the British Museum, catalogued for forty years, though without the name of Solomon, and containing the latter and greater part of the newly discovered poems. It did not contain those which I have translated. But it had many various readings in passages bearing on them. Some of these, thanks to Professor Burkitt's kindness in sending me early information, I was enabled to utilise, while revising the body of the work. Others I have placed later on (adopting the name that the finder has given to the MS) in "Appendix IV, Readings of Codex N³."

¹ *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. Ryle and James, Cambridge, 1891, p. xlv.

² Dr Harris has printed "*Psalm* 1 (= *Psalm* 43 of MS)" after "*Ode* 42" in his Syriac text. But the photograph of Dr Harris' MS in the British Museum has (so I am informed by the Rev. G. Margoliouth) "*Psalm* 42," not "*Ode* 42." And this applies to all the preceding poems, "*Psalm* 41 &c." The Syriac for "*psalm*" corresponds to the Hebrew word generally rendered by LXX "*psalm*" but by Symmachus "*ode*." Dr Harris has printed, at the beginning of his Syriac text, a title in Syriac mentioning "*Psalms*" and "*Odes*"; but, as has been noted above, it has no existence in the extant MS, which is "imperfect both at the beginning and ending." We shall find, later on, that such a distinction, if it had existed in the MS, would have been justified by the distinctive tone of the two collections of poems. But it has no existence either in title or in numbering. See 3636.

³ Codex N (= Nitriensis) is imperfect at the beginning and end, so

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The translations, commentaries, and notes in my volume cover only a few of the Odes taken consecutively. But the notes extend beyond the passages annotated, so as to give the reader a view of what the poet says in the whole of his work about some of his most frequently mentioned subjects:—"love," "joy," "faith," "life," and "knowledge." These are familiar to us in the New Testament. Very much less familiar is "truth," and also "rest" in the sense of "peace." We shall also note "grace" (with many synonyms or homonyms) and "glorify" with the constantly recurring "song-of-glorifying." Not less noteworthy will be the emphasis laid by the poet on the spiritual necessity of "fruit," and on "the Way of the Lord," and on God's "Design" or "Thought," that is to say, His fore-ordained Plan for the Redemption of mankind.

But before taking the trouble to study pseudonymous poetry in such detail, readers may ask, as a preliminary, whether the poet is likely to repay them. And, first, "Is it certain that he is so very 'ancient'?" If so, give us the evidence of date."

A second question may rise out of the nature of the version: "The poems, 'as a whole,' are 'extant only in Syriac.' But were they written in Syriac? If they were not, and if the thoughts come to us filtered

that it does not include a title. Nor does it reveal any distinctive separation between the recently-discovered poems (called by Dr Harris "Odes") and the others (called "Psalms"). The former precede the latter in N, as in Dr Harris' MS, consecutively numbered. But the poems in N contain no separate titles such as "Psalm" or "Ode." The omission of these in N, the more ancient of the two MSS, points to their unauthoritativeness in the less ancient one.

through a translation, are we sure that we have before us the poet's thoughts and not the translator's?"

More important still is a third question: "Has this pseudonymous poet anything of his own to say? Is he really a poet, or only a quoter of poetry? Justin Martyr, for example, quotes poetry by the yard, but is no poet; Clement of Rome and Ignatius quote comparatively little, but have something of the passion of poetry; Barnabas quotes almost as abundantly as inaccurately, and has some original fancies and conceits, but no poetry. Is this poet like any of these, or altogether unlike? Even if he does not quote, he must *imply*. Few poets spin poetry entirely out of their own consciousness, without a particle of indebtedness to some predecessors. What does this poet *imply*? The Old Testament, or the New? If the Old, then what books most of all? If the New, what gospels? Or what epistles, if any? If neither Old nor New, then what writers, Greek, or Jewish, or both?"

Detailed answers to the first two of these questions may be found by recourse to the Index, under the headings "Date" and "Translation." To the third, though a little help is given under the heading "Originality of thought," the answer is not one that can be satisfactorily indexed. For it is scattered through the volume in comments on the poet's general independence of almost every literary source except Hebrew Scripture. Even when he agrees, as he often does, with Paul, or John, or Philo, he does not seem to be borrowing from any of them. But he does seem to be borrowing from Scripture, and from that

kind of Jewish poetic or legendary tradition about Scripture which is called the Haggada, and which, though for the most part not committed to writing till long after Christ's time, goes back, in some cases, to the first century of our era, or even earlier.

While however the inquirer for details must necessarily be referred elsewhere, an outline may be placed here of the answers that may be given to the three questions set forth above as to (1) date, (2) original language, (3) originality of thought.

(1) First, as to date. Some of the Odes are quoted in a Gnostic work called *Pistis Sophia*, generally believed to be not later than the third century. The *Pistis* quotes a few of the Odes at great length, and appears to repute them as on a level with the canonical gospels. It would seem, therefore, that the Odes had been current long before the writing of the *Pistis*. Else they would hardly have had time enough to acquire so great a reputation. An early date is also indicated, if the author is a Christian, by the fact that the Odes—and this is practically true about the New Testament Epistles, the Johannine Revelation, and (probably) Barnabas—never quote the Gospels. Also, from internal evidence, it is inferred, as a provisional hypothesis, in the Concluding Remarks toward the end of this volume, that one of the Odes was written about the beginning of the second century.

But the Odes, like the prophecies of Ezekiel, may have been written at different times. Even if revised at one and the same time, they may have been, for the most part, written earlier. Their thought points

to a period in the first century when Christian Jews might compose "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs"—such as the Epistle to the Ephesians mentions—without dreaming of any need of fortifying their utterances by quotations from any written or oral "gospels," and without sufficient familiarity with any such "gospels" to make it natural for them to express themselves in what we may call "gospel-language."

(2) Next, as to the original language. Dr Harris says (p. 35) "we will also enquire as to the language in which the book was originally circulated." But he passes at once to a comparison of our Odes with those quoted in the Coptic *Pistis Sophia*—which obviously may have been quoted from a version very much later than our Syriac—and that version not necessarily Greek¹. Later on (pp. 46—7) he takes up the internal evidence bearing on the original language with the marginal heading "The Syriac text of the Odes taken from the Greek." But to this difficult

¹ The Coptic *Pistis Sophia*, it is true, quotes the Odes with an intermixture of Greek words. But that proves nothing about the Odes, for the whole of the *Pistis* is written "with an intermixture of Greek words." The language is hybrid. *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* ("Pistis Sophia") even ventures to say of the whole of the *Pistis* that it "must have been originally written in Greek. The Coptic (Thebaic) text is a translation. This is proved by the numerous Greek words which it contains." Dr Harris himself says (p. 35) "A little caution is necessary, for it will be remembered that Greek words are often used in the Coptic to redeem the language from its linguistic poverty...." A glance at *Pistis* (p. 114) will shew that, for example, in the two sentences introducing Ode V, and in the single sentence following it, there are, severally, six and four Greek words, while the whole of the Ode, as quoted in *Pistis*, contains but five (Dr Harris (p. 23) has omitted one (κακῶς) by error). The Coptic writer (so far as Greek words are concerned) may have been quoting the Odes from any language whatever, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, or even Coptic.

subject only a page and a half at most is devoted, so that Professor Harnack (p. 11) remarks "Harris hat die Frage nicht erörtert (trotz der Ankündigung auf p. 35)." This comment is on Dr Harris' first edition, but it also applies to the second. The very few passages there alleged by Dr Harris in favour of a Greek original, with others not there alleged, will be found discussed in this volume. The conclusion I have arrived at—though only provisionally—is that *there is no proof that our Syriac comes to us as a translation of a Greek original*¹.

(3) As to the third point, the poet's originality, it might seem at first sight sufficient to say that he probably never quotes from any book of the New Testament, and never three or four words consecutively from any work of the Old Testament except the Song of Songs. But this would convey a wrong impression. For it would be suppressing the fact that he

¹ In the *Expositor* for Feb. 1912, p. 119, Dr Harris, while still assuming a Greek version as the original from which the Syriac is a translation, says, "For example, had Ephrem our Syriac translation, or is it possible that he may have had an earlier form antedating even the Greek: for *it is not Greek Odes that he is using?*" My own impression is that the words I have italicised point to a correct conclusion. It appears to me probable that the Odes, like the Psalms of Solomon, were originally composed in Hebrew of which there may have been versions in several languages (3819 b₆, and see Index "Translation.").

I have been recently confirmed in this view by the fact that the only marginal variation in the Odes (1) "*attacked*," (2) "*cast lots*" (Codex N "*cast lots*") may be illustrated by a precisely similar variation in renderings of the Hebrew of Job, where the Hebrew has "*cast lots*," but the Greek and the Latin have "*fell on*" or "*attacked*," and also by other explanations, afforded by the hypothesis of translation from Hebrew, bearing on passages where the Syriac style has been noted by experts as curiously rough or unusual (see Index "Translation," and 3999 (ii) 17 d—s on "The Style of the Odes").

is continually reproducing, not indeed words, but *pictures*, from the Hebrew Bible as interpreted by Jewish tradition. Somewhat similarly, Paul uses his own words when he tells the Corinthians that Israel was "baptized" in the cloud and in the sea; he does not here quote Exodus, but he assumes that his readers knew all about Exodus. The assumption may afford an interesting testimony to the fact that the Synagogue, throughout the Empire and not only in Corinth, prepared the way for the Church, and that the "opening" of the old "scriptures" accompanied the writing of the new. Paul at all events assumes that when he used those words of his own, most of his readers would see what he saw—the picture of Israel passing through the divided waters of the Red Sea, and under the protection of the divine Cloud. Again, Paul does not quote Numbers ("Spring up, O Well"), nor any later Hebrew tradition about the "Well" that went up and down with Israel in the wilderness to quench their thirst; but, when he speaks of "the spiritual rock" that "followed" Israel, he almost certainly assumed a knowledge of the legend, even though he (very probably) did not take it as literally true.

In the same way, our poet is perpetually making assumptions. He assumes, for example, in the first two extant Odes, that we can see, with him, the two pictures taken from the Song of Songs, first, of Solomon's Crown "in the day of his espousals," and then of the Bride "running" toward the "Beloved." And so it is throughout the Odes that follow. The titles given to some of them in the Table of Contents in this volume, if found

by the reader to be fairly representative of their purport, will shew him that they constitute a kind of picture-gallery, setting forth, in various aspects, the Thought of Redemption. Some of them shew a Pilgrim's Progress. The Pilgrim is Israel, or the Redeemed Soul, passing through the Sea, or across "great rivers," to "the Holy Place of God," which God Himself has prepared. Or else it is the Wanderer in the wilderness, seeking "the Way to God." Or it is the aspiring Worshipper lifting up his heart to "the Secret of the Lord." Or the Lord's Warrior is seen first gaining "the Victory of the Lord," and then "leading Captivity captive," that he may pass "through Victory to Paradise." The last Ode, not included as a whole (though largely quoted) in this volume¹, presents a climax, the figure of the Great Son of Adam, recognised at last by the captive sons of Adam in Sheol as being also Son of God, and acclaimed as their Deliverer while He triumphantly draws up His brethren from the prison-house to which Adam's sin had dragged them down.

Some, however, while admitting the poet's originality, may condemn it as occasionally passing into what they may deem bad taste and even grotesqueness. Celsus would probably have agreed with them. Celsus says that the Christian Gospel was at first a production of "drunkenness," but that, later on, the Christians "roused themselves from drunkenness, and reshaped it in threefold, fourfold, and manifold fashion²." Some of the Odes

¹ See Index p. 573 for passages quoted from Ode xlii.

² See *Enc. Bibl.* ("Gospels") p. 1766 which comments on this passage.

would certainly have been characterized by Celsus as belonging to this early period of "drunkenness," which Celsus apparently believed to have preceded the Three Gospels, and to have been only partially shaken off, "later on," in the Three, and still later, in the Fourth. Indeed the poet himself says, in the eleventh Ode, "I drank and became drunken." But he adds "with the living water that dieth not." The point for us, at this moment, is not whether Celsus would be right if he charged our poet with "drunkenness," but whether the very characteristic to which the poet himself confesses in this way does not make him all the more worth studying, as being likely to be of an Eastern originality and of an early date, before Western influences toned down the perfervid utterances of the first Christian psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.

Akin to this objection of Celsus, is another, arising out of a prejudice (to which I must myself plead guilty) against the Song of Songs. To some the poet's undoubted indebtedness to such a poem may seem fatal, if not to his originality, at all events to his power of originating anything of pure and spiritual beauty. This prejudice, natural, but modern, and misleading, will be dealt with in the first chapter of this work. Suffice it to say here that one of the greatest and most original of the early Rabbis, the martyr Akiba, declared that, whereas the other books of Scripture were "holy," Solomon's Song was "the holy of holies." It should not be needful to add that he interpreted it allegorically, of the Bridegroom of Israel. So, no doubt, did Paul, having it in view when he spoke of Christ and His

Body, the Church. So also must every pious Jew have done in the first century—not being a Sadducee. And this affirmation does not exclude our Lord Himself.

The writer of these poems is a man—if he is indeed one man, and not two, a writer and an interpolator—peculiarly difficult to label as “merely” this or that. His close resemblance to Clement of Alexandria, in passages where the latter seems to be influenced by the writings of Hermes Trismegistus, suggests that he was profoundly influenced by the recognition of what Clement calls “the youth of humanity in Christ¹,” whom our poet, like Clement, appears to regard as at one and the same time the eternal Babe looking to the “breasts” of the Father and the Eternal Man looking toward men His brethren. His language about “life” and “fruit” and “growth” and “trees,” blended with his language about the Babe or the Son, indicates that he may have been influenced by mystical thoughts of religions outside Judaism, such as Plutarch has preserved in his treatise on Isis and Osiris—names well known in the first century throughout the Roman empire. While accepting with all his heart the Christian teaching about the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, our poet may have combined it with ancient thoughts about a divine nature in the Life of the Tree, and in the self-sacrificing Seed, which descends into the regions of darkness and death in order to rise up again into light and life with an accompanying multitude.

¹ See 3817 *b*, and the passages referred to in the Index under “Trismegistus.”

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All this is very unlike what might be expected from a Jew. Yet a Jew he probably is. He is also a Christian and, as has been repeatedly said above, probably of the first century. He is a composer of songs that probably allude to baptism in its spiritual aspect. He is probably acquainted with Alexandrian allegory, and, in particular, with that of Philo. He is probably, nay, certainly, a borrower from the Song of Songs and from the thoughts and pictures of Hebrew Scripture as a whole. But he will not be found to be any one of these things—or all these things—"merely."

If we were absolutely bound to label him, we should (I think) be safest in labelling him thus: "A Jewish Christian, writing in the first century, under the influence of Palestinian poetry, Alexandrian allegory, Egyptian mysticism, and—most powerful of all—the influence of the Spirit of Love and Sonship, freshly working in the Christian Church, at a time when Jesus was passionately felt to be the Son revealing the Father through such a Love as the world had never yet known; but before the doctrine of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit had begun to be hardened by controversial iteration into a dogma accepted by the lips of almost all Christians, including many that did not feel the beauty and necessity of the doctrine in their hearts."

If this is so, we have in this poet what some would call a half-way house—not to be found anywhere else in extant literature—between Judaism and Christianity. In that case, it will be very dangerous to cut out this or that—alleging discrepancy, not of style nor of

vocabulary, but merely of doctrine—on the plea, “This must be Jewish and early; that must be Christian and late.” Paul wrote several things that sounded by no means Jewish, nay, indeed anti-Jewish. Yet (according to the Acts) he publicly declared himself “a Pharisee and the son of Pharisees,” implying that the rulers of the Jews had nothing against him except “the hope and resurrection of the dead¹.” And what could be more patriotically Jewish (according to the Acts) than his defence before Agrippa: “And now I stand here to be judged for the hope of the promise made by God unto our fathers, unto which promise our twelve tribes, earnestly worshipping night and day, hope to attain²”? Without accepting these as *verbatim* reports, we cannot safely reject them as deliberate falsifications. They at all events attest the probable existence of “a half-way house” in the minds of many Jews inclining at that time to Christianity. Paul, no doubt, was unique in the versatility with which he “became all things to all men.” But a poet, too, has a poet’s versatility and may become different things in the moments of different passions.

Take one instance of what seems—at least to the present writer—a blending of Christian and Jewish thought, in which a Biblical Hebrew phrase referring originally to the first Passover, that of Israel, appears to have been adopted in one of the Odes as referring to the second Passover, the Paschal feast of the Christians, with allusion to the admission of the

¹ Acts xxiii. 6.

² Acts xxvi. 6—7.

Gentiles to the latter. The poet, speaking apparently as the spokesman of the Church, including the Gentiles, says "The Lord granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice¹." This—presumably because it seemed to imply the fully developed doctrine of the Atonement, or because no sense (it was thought) could be attached to "God's sacrifice"—has been, by various critics, emended², or apologized for, or pronounced "wholly meaningless."

But might not a Jew say "Why 'meaningless' ? Does not God, in the Law, twice use the term '*My sacrifice*' ? What He calls thus, may not I call *His sacrifice* ?" Looking into the matter, we shall find—as will be shewn in detail and by quotation later on—that the Jew would be right, and further, that this twice-used term in the Law, "*My sacrifice*," *actually meant the Passover*. The Passover (it is true) was, in a sense, the possession of Israel. No "stranger" could partake of it until he had entered into the Covenant of Israel by circumcision. A Jew could therefore call it "*our Passover*," "*our Sacrifice*." But, having regard to the words of Jehovah Himself, he was bound to regard it as being also "His sacrifice." Is it not then possible that a Jewish Christian—exulting, as our poet constantly exults, and as Paul exulted, in the "mystery"

¹ Ode vii. 12, on which see note (3781 *d* foll.).

² The emendation would indirectly have far-reaching consequences because it would point to an original Greek word *ousia* mistaken for *thusia* "sacrifice," and that would afford a strong argument for the theory that our Syriac Odes were translated from Greek. But *ousia*, in the Bible, never means anything but "goods." In Greek philosophy, *ousia* sometimes meant "essence." But our poet does not write like a Greek philosopher.

of the admission of the Gentiles to the New Covenant and the New Passover—should give thanks to God, in the name of the redeemed Gentile Church, saying “The Lord granted me to receive from *His sacrifice*”?

This may be a wrong interpretation. But, even if it is wrong, a writer that can thus, in a brief phrase, call up for us a thought so provocative of further thought, is surely worth attempting to interpret even at the cost of very great labour. The thinker of such thoughts surely appeals to us not hastily to classify and put him on the shelf as a theological or controversial specimen, but to look at him—whether he be Jew or Christian or both—as at all events a human being and a poet; with grievous defects, possibly, but still a poet.

Milton warns us that poetry is “more simple, sensuous, and passionate” than prose. Perhaps we shall find these poems inexplicably “passionate.” That may be because we have failed to probe the depth of the first century “passion” of Christians for Christ. Perhaps also we shall find them “sensuous” to excess. In that case, we shall do well to remember that the standard of “sensuous” poetry in the East may be different from that in the West—except so far as the West has borrowed from the East. Lastly, we may fail, at the first glance, to find them “simple.” In that case, too, may not the fault still be partly ours, because we are expecting too much from a “first glance,” and are attempting to study a Jewish poet without preparing ourselves for the attempt by a study of the early Jewish poetic literature above referred to as “the Haggada”? Concerning this, we are told on good authority that

although the Rabbinical tradition in which it has been preserved reaches no further back than the last decad of the second century after Christ, yet it is "an invaluable source for the times of Christ ; for the fountain of the there fixed traditions is to be sought away back, not merely in the times of Christ, but in yet earlier periods¹." The longer footnotes in this work, many of which were composed for reference or separate study rather than for continuous reading, are largely due to the author's desire to find for himself, and to help others to find, light on the Odes of Solomon—and, as a consequence, light on the Gospel of Christ—from this "invaluable source."

¹ Schürer (Engl. Trans.) i. 1. 118.

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1. *A plea for patient study*

A FIRST reading of these strange songs—for Songs would be in some respects, as will be shewn hereafter, a better name for them than Odes—gives us a confused impression of a shifting many-coloured cloudland of Jewish optimism. The optimism is somewhat like Philo's. But it is, on the one hand, so high-strained as to seem sometimes scarcely sane, and on the other hand, penetrated, every now and then, by a flash of spiritual lightning, which makes us recognise that, after all, we are dealing with someone who is a poet, and a rare poet ; whereas Philo, deeply though we are indebted to him in other ways, is never a real poet—being, at his best, a poetic or epigrammatic rhetorician, and, at his worst, a would-be rhetorical poet dropping into the tamest of tame prose. Our bewilderment is increased by what seem at a first glance to be interpolations, but, at a second, to be the poet's genuine utterances, prepared for by some previous phrase which we passed by at first as meaning nothing in particular, but to which we find we must now turn back.

The repetition of this experience of "turning back " may induce some readers—as it induced the present

writer—to read the whole of the Odes again from the beginning with a little more faith in the poet. If they do, they will probably find in him much more than they found at first. That he has a passionate love of God they may have recognised before. But so (to a much greater extent than many suppose) had Philo, and so had many Jews like Philo, penetrated with the conception of God as the kind and good and helpful Nursing Father, and thereby imbued with a divine peace. Such a peace we discern in the face of Rembrandt's Rabbi, a peace that springs from close communion with a God whom the righteous man can, as it were, carry about with himself in all places and at all times, and whom he can worship in all the circumstances of social life, with a simple and practical worship, by being kind and good and helpful to others as the Father has been to him.

The pity of it is, that this internal motive, this beautiful love of God, is insufficient for ordinary mortals—and indeed for all but a very select few—except when a kindly environment of comfort for them in particular helps them to believe in a kindly Providence for the world at large. Horace indeed says in fine Alcaic verse that “the just and tenacious of purpose” will not tremble “though the Universe fall crashing on his head.” But Horace, writing in Epistles and Satires about the same subject, would probably have “told the truth with a laugh,” acknowledging that such “tenacity” is rare. The truth is that man cannot be thus “tenacious of purpose” beneath the crash of “the Universe” unless he feels

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that, though the Chariot of the Universe may seem to run over him, there is a Charioteer of the Universe who is on his side and who will somehow make things right in the end, or shew him that they were really right from the beginning. This is the truth that Ezekiel saw in his vision of the "four living creatures" and the "wheel within the wheel." This same truth our poet and seer—for seer he is—expresses definitely in a special Ode, containing his vision of the "Wheel." But he expresses it also indirectly in almost every one of the Odes, from first to last. Even when he is not using the actual words, he is continually revolving visions or meditations, of a "plan," "purpose," "thought," "counsel," or "way," which God decreed "from the beginning," and which is to result in the "redemption" of mankind.

Looked at in this way, the last of the Odes, which describes Christ's descent to Hades—(an Ode not translated in this volume but often referred to and quoted in extracts)—will appear to be, not a Christian addition, but a deliberately intended climax¹. "The Universe," in some sense, "fell crashing" on the Lord when "the prince of this world," according to very early Christian tradition, invaded the Lord's body and gained over Him what seemed a palpable victory by causing that body to die, and the soul to descend to Sheol so as to bring all the hopes of the spiritual Israel to an end with the failure and death of their beloved Messiah.

¹ This agrees so closely (see 3965 *b*) with the view taken in an article by the Rev. R. H. Connolly in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1912, that I think it well to say that this portion of my Preface was in type and read before the Society of Historical Theology in Oxford in Nov. 1911.

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For this, some of the earlier Odes prepare us by gradually suggesting the thought of a conflict. The middle and later Odes introduce the "Tree," which is the Cross, and the assaults of the Messiah's enemies and persecutors. The last Ode of all relates how the Messiah, apparently taken captive by Satan, descended indeed to Sheol, to the place of captivity, to the prison-house of the sons of man from Adam onwards—but descended as a captive conquering His captor, and drawing upwards after Him a long train of prisoners rescued from the bondage of sin, over whom He inscribes His name with this proclamation "They are free men and they are mine."

When the Odes are re-read in the light of the last Ode, and with a determination to make the best sense possible out of the text as it stands before attempting to amend it by conjectural cancellings or alterations, it will be found (I think) that sense, and consistent thought, will often emerge where it was not at first perceived. The thought is not in orthodox or at least not in familiarly orthodox form. But it is not Gnostic. It is poetic. It seems to recognise, as the Fourth Gospel does, a personal Logos or Word who is also incarnate Light and Life, but it recognises also—an aspect about which the Fourth Gospel is silent—one who is Babe as well as Son, a Messiah born of the Virgin Daughter of Zion to be at once the Lord of Israel and the embodiment or body of Israel. In this body, or in these "members"—to use the word employed almost at the outset of the Odes—every true Israelite finds himself to be incorporate. This doctrine—or poetic

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meditation—seems to go back to a time before orthodoxy had crystallized, when Christian thinkers and seers and poets were still in the atmosphere of that stupendous Life, which was also their life, and which they could not analyse or systematically and dogmatically define while they were still breathing it. Perhaps we may call such a faith pre-orthodox (or pro-orthodox). But we need not be nice about names, if we are assured that the thing we are trying to name is spiritually true and satisfying as well as beautiful.

It may be argued that the metaphor above mentioned, of the “body” or the “members,” is clearly borrowed from Paul. But on what grounds? Had Paul a copyright in this doctrine? Are we to confess that it is so farfetched and forced that no two Christian thinkers in the first century could have independently thought of it? Doubtless, there is in these Odes much that is akin to the Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Ephesians, and some things akin to Epistles universally recognised as Pauline. But so there ought to be, if the writers in each case were Christians, and in each case thought rightly about Christ. Of borrowing, however, there is no trace. On the rare occasions when our poet seems to be handling a New Testament phrase he handles it in a way of his own, with manifest originality, and often in such a way as to shew that it is not a New Testament phrase at all, but a Hebrew thought filtered through Jewish traditional comment.

2. *Instances of Originality*

(1) Take, for example, the short Ode¹ containing the only phrase that approaches a mention of "washing," "baptizing," or "purifying" ("wipe off the filth from your face") in the whole of the volume². It might, perhaps, be entitled "The Pure and Purifying Mirror," or "The Mirror and the Bride." It begins with the words "Behold, the Lord is our mirror. Open the eyes and see them in Him." Dr Rendel Harris has illustrated this from something that Clement of Alexandria says about not blaming a mirror for shewing us our defects. Clement, however, is quoting from Epictetus, from whom he takes not only the thought but the very words³. But indeed even the mirror of Epictetus will not help us to understand "the Lord" as "our mirror." The immediate effect of the Epictetian mirror is merely to shew us that we are foul. The immediate effect of the Lord as our mirror is to be this, that, when "we learn of what kind our countenance is," we are to "declare a song-of-

¹ Ode xiii. See the note on "The Pure and Purifying Mirror" (3884 a—z). Strictly speaking, this ought not to have been included in this volume. But I have included it, out of its order, because it bears on the thesis, maintained by some, that the Odes were written for baptismal purposes.

² H.'s Index does not give "waschen," "taufen," or "reinigen." H. has "abwischen," "*wipe off*," in his translation, but does not give the word in the Index. Contrast the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which lays great stress on "purifying" the stones that are to compose the Tower of the Church (mentioning "purify" (in various contexts) about nine times and "baptize" once).

³ Dr Harris quotes "Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 9, p. 172" (where 172 is an error for 150). Clement is quoting Epictet. ii. 14. 21.

glorifying to His Spirit" and to "love His holiness and clothe ourselves therewith" and to "be without spot before Him." How can we utter this "song of glorifying" if we "learn" from the Mirror nothing but our own deformed and despicable selves?

We must go back to something (I believe) very much earlier than Epictetus, if we wish to understand the latent connection in the poet's mind between the Lord as our mirror and the beauty of purity. Philo, we shall find, connects them, though weakly and confusedly. The priests in the Tabernacle (he says) when washing their hands and feet, are to make mental "mirrors" for themselves so as to discern and cleanse away unclean disfigurements. Whence does he extract this apparently far-fetched notion? It is from a statement in Exodus that the "laver" for the purification of the priests in the Tabernacle was "made with the *mirrors of the serving women*." It will be shewn that these words caused early difficulty and variation in interpreting. But, from a Jewish point of view, they lent themselves readily to the poetic conception, that, in return for these "mirrors" of the women of Israel, God, who gives like for like, Himself gave a Mirror to Israel, His Bride.

Incidentally, but not controversially, the poet differs from Philo, who represents Moses as saying to God, (3884) "May I see thy form in *no other mirror* than in thyself, the [absolute] God." Incidentally, too, he differs from Philo's precept to the priests bidding them "make mental mirrors." It is "the Lord," according to our poet, that is to be "our mirror." Incidentally,

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too, the Ode perhaps illustrates Christ's metaphorical use of the "*eye*" as the source and fountain in each man of his spiritual life, when it says, in effect, "Open your *eyes*, that is to say the eyes of your souls, and see *them*—i.e. *your inmost motives and natures, as they really and truly are*—reflected in Him who is the Mirror that speaks the truth."

But there is something more than incidental in the Ode's apparent reference to the mystical doctrine of the Bridegroom and the Bride. And this, as we shall be helped later on by Origen to see, brings the Mirror in the Ode into juxtaposition with the Pauline "*mirror*" in which, by beholding the glory of Christ, the redeemed soul is "transformed from glory to glory, as from the Lord the Spirit." It will be shewn that, as Paul, in his mention of "beholding in a *mirror*¹," says "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is *liberty*," so James, in another apparently different mention of "seeing in a *mirror*," says that we are to look into "the perfect law of *liberty*." The connection, in James especially, is very obscure. But the conclusion will be deduced that *our poet comes between these two, not as a later writer imitating either or attempting to harmonize both, but independently supplying the missing link of Jewish thought which enables us to understand that the two apostles were describing the same thing in different aspects*, when one spoke of "the Spirit of the Lord" and "liberty," and the other spoke of "the perfect

¹ For the proof that Origen and Chrysostom interpreted 2 Cor. iii. 18 thus (as R.V. marg. "beholding" and not as R.V. txt "reflecting") see 3884 r foll.

Law of liberty"—and both in connection with a "mirror."

The missing link is the thought of the Bride, "adorned" (or "adorning herself") at her mirror, representing the Redeemed Soul, or the New Jerusalem, seen (as in Revelation) "as a bride adorned for her husband¹." And the phrase that supplies the link is, in the Ode, "*without spot*"—literally, "*no spot*"—and in Solomon's Song of Songs, "Thou art fair, my love, there is *no spot* in thee." It will be shewn that "*no spot*," in such a context, occurs nowhere in the Bible except in the Song, and it is incredible that our poet (who confessedly adopts phrases from the Song) should use this particular phrase here by a mere coincidence. Admitting this, we shall be invited by Origen to go a stage further. For Origen, first commenting on the Bride that has "*no spot*" in the Song of Songs, and then quoting Paul as saying "But we all, *with unveiled face, behold as in a mirror the glory of God*," adds, "*The Bride of Christ says it*." If Origen is right, our Ode would seem to connect the imagery of the Bride in the Pauline Epistles, as well as in Revelation, with the imagery of the Bride in the Song of

¹ It should have been added in 3884 that the Bride is regarded as being wedded to the Bridegroom at Mount Sinai, where the Bridegroom, in the giving of the Law, was seen by the Bride (Numb. xiv. 14) "*eye in eye*" (R.V. "face to face"). The phrase recurs, in this sense (Gesen. 745 *a*), only in Is. lii. 8 "They shall see, *eye in eye* (R.V. *eye to eye*) when the Lord returneth to Zion," which (*Tehill.* i. 112) Jews referred to the life after the Resurrection, and on which Jerome quotes Paul's words about *seeing* "*face to face*" (as distinct from *seeing* "*in a mirror*"). This helps us to see the connection (not clear in James) between the "perfect law" and the "mirror," and to perceive a further connection with poetic metaphor about the "eye" and "the Bride."

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Songs. It also shews us how intermediate Christian imagery about the Mirror, and about the Bridegroom and the Bride, in the Gospels as well as in the Epistles, may be traceable to sources derived from early Hebrew poetry interpreted by Jewish poetic tradition¹.

¹ The astonishing brevity of the Ode makes it impossible to work out in detail, with any confidence, a contrast between the poet's Bride at her Mirror, and Plato's Prisoners in the Cave. But it suggests itself. The prisoners see shadows cast by a fire behind them, from objects behind them, on the back of the cave before them. The Bride sees, from the Light behind her (whose splendour would be too dazzling for her to behold face to face) a reflection in the Mirror before her. And this Mirror, besides being a glorious light to her eyes, throws back a light of lesser glory on her face. The prisoners see everything fitfully and falsely. The Bride sees everything steadily and truly—her own head, as it truly is, in the imperfect and impure present, but, at the same time, above it, her true and future Head, her eternal Lord.

Some have maintained that there is an allusion to a person, on the point of being baptized, seeing his unregenerate self for the last time, mirrored in the water. This is attractive from a modern point of view and perhaps from the point of view of a minor Greek poet. But I have not been able to find any support for it in Hebrew or Jewish literature.

Since the above paragraph was in type Prof. Wensinck (*Expos.* Feb. 1912, p. 111) has quoted from Ephrem's Hymns a saying that Ezekiel, looking into "the brook" that flowed from the Temple, saw *the "beauty" of the Church "instead of himself."* See 3884₂₁ foll., where it is shewn that, even in that Hymn—a much later and much more elaborate composition than our Ode—there appears to be no justification for what may be called "the last-look theory."

In the *Athenaeum* of 6 July, 1912, p. 9, the reviewer of *Tripoli the Mysterious* by Mabel Loomis Todd, says that he does not remember to have met before with the curious ritual of the basket of henna leaves and the mirror:—"The bride...walked impressively to the middle of the courtyard, where the mirror was held close to the cushion and its basket. Stepping between, she seated herself in the basket facing the mirror, her attendants adjusting the barracan for her greater comfort, and, once seated, jumping her gently up and down on the yielding leaves. The henna was picked up in handfuls by her friends, passed over her, given into her hands under her draperies, and put entirely over and about her.

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In the Ode thus explained, or explained in any reasonable way, is there anything that can be described as "borrowed" from what Paul, or James, or Philo, has written about "mirrors"? And does it seem as if the man that wrote thus would be likely to borrow, or likely to have so little of his own to say that he would feel the need of borrowing—except so far as all great poets borrow from antecedent national literature but never without adding something of their own?

(2) "Antecedent literature" will also explain another passage that has caused great difficulty to some critics. It is in the Ode that begins "I went up into the Light of Truth as if into *the Chariot*, and the Truth...caused me to pass over pits...and it became to me *for a garment* of Salvation...¹." Here, instead of

Pressing her face close to the mirror, she opened the barracan to gaze at herself, while her friends spread their own draperies out as a shield, that by no chance could a glimpse of her face be caught from any angle. This part of the ceremony savoured greatly of mystery, and was evidently symbolic. No Mohammedan woman with whom I talked, no matter how friendly or how long the acquaintance, was ever willing to explain this performance. All seemed to regard it as too sacred for discussion, and always changed the subject if I broached it."

"Pressing her face close to the mirror," a bride would be likely to see little more of herself than the eyes; and the action recalls what Socrates says to Alcibiades (Plato 132—3) "To him that looks into *the eye* [of another], there appears his own countenance in the face of the person fronting him—as in a mirror [the mirror] that we call '*the pupil*'—a kind of image of the looker"; whence he infers that, as man's "eye," if it is to see itself, must "look into an *eye*," and into the very source of vision, so it must be with man's soul. The thought of seeing oneself, in miniature, in the eyes of a friend or lover, is common in the English seventeenth-century poets, and is perhaps traceable to much earlier literature, and common, independently, to more literatures than one.

¹ Ode xxxviii. This Ode is not one of those translated in this volume, but the passage above mentioned is fully discussed in Appendix II (3983 (i)—99).

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“garment,” Dr Harris has, in his first edition, “*instrument*,” but in his second edition, “*haven*.” But the Syriac may mean “garment” or “apparel,” as in Zechariah, where Joshua the High Priest has “filthy *garments*” taken from him, and “fair *apparel*” substituted.

As regards “chariot,” it has been retained by Dr Harris in both editions. And “chariot” is the regular rendering of the Syriac word. Mostly, of course, it means “chariot” in the ordinary sense. But very often it is used in Syriac in a special sense, extremely frequent in post-biblical Hebrew, to mean the vision seen by Ezekiel of the “four living creatures” and the “wheels,” which were regarded as constituting the CHARIOT of the invisible Universe. The word, therefore, should not be lightly altered. But Dr Harris, in the *Expositor*, has recently (1911) suggested an alteration of the opening words of the Ode into “‘I went on board the Light of Truth, like a ship,’ or a little more freely, ‘I went on board the ship Light of Truth.’” I shall endeavour to shew how inappropriate such a metaphor would have been for a Jewish poet carrying on the traditions of Israel, whose coast had no “harbour” worthy of the name, and whose Hebrew literature—as will be shewn (3994), *pace* the Revised Version—makes not a single mention of the word. On the other hand, to be clothed in the Light from the CHARIOT as in a “garment of Salvation” is a truly Jewish thought. It will also be found, I think, that the “Chariot,” at the outset of this Ode, strikes a note that harmonizes with the thoughts of many other Odes, and with the tone of all of them.

(3) One instance more will suffice to shew that our writer is imbued with Jewish tradition to such an extent as to make it unusually dangerous to indulge in emendation of his text. It is from an Ode describing certainly the persecution, and probably the crucifixion, of the Messiah. Dr Harris printed the passage in his first edition thus: "And immortal life *will come forth and give me to drink*¹." Professor Harnack's edition points out that the Syriac does not justify the rendering, which I have italicised above, "*will... give me to drink*," and says that the words mean "*has come forth and kissed me*," but gives no illustration of "kiss" in such a context². In his second edition, Dr Harris, while retaining the Syriac text unchanged, has added to his English text a note indicating that he prefers an emendation—but merely one of tense—which he inserts in his note, so as to give the

¹ The reference is to Ode xxviii. 7, an Ode not translated in this volume. The references bearing on it in the following paragraphs are to Deut. xxxiv. 5 (Targ. Jer. I), *Moed K.* 28 a, *Baba Bathra* 17 a, *Berach.* 8 a, and Origen *Hom. Cant.* i. 2 (Lomm. xiv. 240). See also the note in 3642 a for details.

² Since the above was written, I have been informed, through the kindness of Prof. Burkitt, that Codex N reads "*has embraced [me]*," instead of "will come forth." This greatly increases the probability that the context has "*and kissed me*." *Thes.* 2948 shews that the word "*embrace*" is followed by "*kiss*" in Gen. xxix. 13 and xxxiii. 4; and "*embraced and kissed me*" is a far more consistent expression (besides being more beautiful) than "*came forth and gave me to drink*."

No doubt, the emendation, "hath given me to drink," makes obvious sense—as an antithesis to the "giving vinegar to drink" mentioned in the Psalms and in the Gospels. And the metaphor of "giving to drink" is frequent in the Odes. But in the passage under consideration, where a climax seems required, both the obviousness and the frequency are rather against the emendation, in the work of a poet seldom commonplace and often startling in his originality.

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rendering "And immortal life *has come forth and given me to drink.*"

Against the text, as it stands, may be alleged the incongruity of "kissing" in a context that apparently describes a very painful death, and the improbability that "Life" should be thus personified as "kissing." But may not the poet deliberately introduce "Immortal Life," instead of "the Angel of Death" that comes to release the ordinary human soul? Is it not a beautiful thought that Life, not Death, came down to Jesus on the Cross, at the moment when He was to breathe His last, and conveyed to the Son the "kiss" of the Father? If this seems too strained, and too florid, even for a Jewish poet, let us call to mind that, according to the Jerusalem Targum, Moses was "*gathered*" to death "*by the kiss of the Word of the Lord.*" So, too, were Miriam and Aaron. "*Death by the kiss*" passed into a Jewish proverb. Such a death, says the Talmud, "is the easiest of all." No doubt, the Talmudic usage cannot prove use in the first century, but a proverb, being the condensed result of long-repeated previous thought, always proves the much greater antiquity of the thought itself in its fuller form.

Another argument in favour of the text derives weight from the fact that the Song of Songs is almost the only book of Scripture from which our poet borrows, to any appreciable extent, not only thoughts, but also expressions, and that the Song opens with the words, "Let him *kiss me with the kisses of his mouth.*" These words are explained by a great number of Jewish

traditions (collected in the Midrash on the passage) as referring to the union of Jehovah with His Bride, Israel, when the Covenant was made between them.

Now, if we remove the single instance of the word "kiss" in these Syriac Odes (or, Songs) of Solomon, then the symbol placed in the fore-front of the Hebrew Song is altogether wanting in our professed Syriac sequel. If also the Odes are to be regarded as not only Jewish but early Christian, then we must add that an early Christian symbol is wanting. For that the "kiss" was an early symbol of Christian brotherhood both Paul and Peter attest. "The kiss," or "the holy kiss," in their Epistles, is tacitly assumed to be a symbol—the spiritual "kiss," which Philo defines as being "that by which all things, numerous though they are, become one community."

As a climax, then, at a particular stage of the Odes, when speaking of the close of the Messianic course on earth, and "openly setting forth (or, picturing) Christ crucified before the eyes" of his readers—as Paul says he did "before the eyes" of the Galatians—this metaphor, so painfully florid to some of us, might seem neither repulsive nor florid to a Jewish Christian mystic familiar with the "kiss" in Solomon's Song and perhaps also with the thought of Moses the Servant of the Lord dying "by the kiss" of the Lord. "The Bridegroom," he might say, "kissed the Bride for the first time at the Covenant of betrothal on Sinai. The Bridegroom kissed the Bride for the second time at the wedding on Golgotha." Somewhat similarly—though not with any definite reference to the Crucifixion—

Origen interprets the first words of Solomon's Song, as meaning that the Church beseeches the Father of the Bridegroom, who has hitherto "kissed" her through Angels and Prophets, that He would now send the Bridegroom Himself, that the Bridegroom, and no other, might "kiss" her "with the kisses of his mouth¹."

These instances may suffice to shew that this unknown poet deserves the same close, patient, and minute study that we should give to the works of Clement of Rome, Barnabas, or Ignatius. Such a study will reveal a characteristic, which he possesses, partly in common with most Hebrew prophets and singers—almost all of whom sometimes mix metaphor with metaphor—but in part as a peculiarity of his own arising from his extraordinary picturesqueness combined with an extraordinary brevity. He hardly gives his readers time to see one picture before he removes it and presents them with another. Or he does not remove it, but places the second above the first, transparently or semi-transparently, so that we see a blending of the two, after the manner described above as "superimposition." Something of the kind is seen in Jewish tradition.

¹ In the same Ode (xxviii. 4—5, "*I was at rest...my head is with Him*") there is probably an allusion to the thought of Jesus, in His last moment on the Cross, as, not "bowing" His head, but "*resting*" His "*head*" on the bosom of the Father (which has been shewn elsewhere (*Joh. Gram.* 2644 (i)) to be Origen's view). Also in xxviii. 8 "They who saw me *wondered* at me," the Syr. verb corresponds to the Syr. noun (*Theo.* 921) in Ps. lxxi. 7 "I am as a *wonder* to many," in which the words (*ib.* 11) "God hath forsaken him" are explained by Jerome as referring to Jesus, supposed by some of the bystanders near the Cross to be "in ipsa passione quasi derelictus a Deo."

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Rabbis are represented as variously and consecutively applying one and the same text to Abraham, Moses, David or other representatives of Israel. Similarly the Epistle to the Hebrews—only there is no “text” there but merely a thought—illustrates “faith” by pictures, in quick succession, of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and others, whom it mentions by name. Our author, like the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, does this without mentioning names. For him the heroes of Israel are incarnate thoughts of God. His series of illustrations is a picture-book of the progressive phases of God’s foreordained redemptive Purpose expressed in human beings. It represents spiritual lives (which are, as Philo says, “measures of *aeon*¹”), shews us how they are linked together in a chain of development, and converts them, in effect, into letters of a spiritual alphabet, from Alpha to Omega, containing the divine NAME.

How different is this method—this concrete or personal method of using great scriptural characters to illustrate a great principle—from the method (called by whatever name) of extracting abstract dogmatic conclusions from scriptural texts! How different also from the style of what may be called ecclesiastical poets, writing with an eye to the inculcation, or recommendation, of special religious rites, ceremonies, or sacraments! Take, for example, our author’s poetic teaching about “light.” With many Jews, “light” was often synonymous with Torah, that is, the Jewish “Instruction” or “Law.”

¹ See 3781 *n* on Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, regarded by Philo as “measures of *aeon*.”

And naturally—perhaps we may also say consequently—with many Christians, “light” soon became synonymous with the Gospel, which these Christians regarded as the Christian “Law.” Hence “to be enlightened” came to mean “to receive the Law of Christ through baptism,” and hence “to be baptized.” And there are in the Odes some passages which—especially if we are obsessed by a prejudice in favour of interpreting “enlightenment” as baptism—might lend themselves to the view that our poet is thinking of baptism, not only in these passages, but also in all others where he speaks of light; and that indeed he wrote all the Odes mainly, or wholly, that they might be sung as baptismal hymns.

But it will be found (I believe) that when our author is thinking of the Light of God as coming to Man through Jesus Christ, he has in his primary view, not the thought of baptism—though that is not absent—but the thought of Light itself, the Light of the invisible God, dimly “shining in the darkness” that fell on Adam and his sons, and only just “not overcome¹,” as the Fourth Gospel says, during the spiritual night that encompassed, first Noah, and afterwards Abraham.

Abraham is the first human being to whom “the word of God” is said to have “come,” and this, too, accompanied with “vision².” According to Jewish

¹ Jn i. 5. For Adam’s terror at his first experience of night, and for his exclamation that its advent was a fulfilment of the “enmity” predicted in Gen. iii. 15, see the references given by Wünsche (p. 76) on Ps. xcii, which was supposed to have been uttered by Adam.

² Gen. xv. 1, on which see *Gen. r.*, ad loc., *Pesikt. Wü.* p. 172, &c.

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tradition this followed what may be called the first act of martyrdom, when Abraham the righteous, strong in his newly acquired belief, defied the terrors of the fiery furnace of Ur of the Chaldees, standing up as the first witness or martyr, for the One God, the One invisible Sun of Righteousness, against the oppressive polytheism of the Chaldean tyrant, who worshipped the visible lights of heaven. With Abraham began the aeon of Faith.

Then—after the aeon of Joy typified by Isaac, and the aeon of Hopeful Endurance typified by Jacob, and after the silent aeons of the Egyptian oppression during which the patriarchal seed was being prepared to grow up into the tree of national life—came Moses, the first man through whom the divine light came to humanity in a visible though transient form¹. Moses first ascends to the Rock. There Jehovah places him by His side. Thence, after a manifestation of the divine attributes, he descends as the Illuminated, the Mediator between God and Israel, his face shining with a glory transitory indeed, but still predictive of a higher glory that was not to pass away.

A somewhat similar reference to the illuminated countenance of Moses, and similar expressions about light (for example, “the armour of light”) are to be found in the Pauline Epistles. But our artist appears to draw not what Paul saw but what he himself saw. The whole tenor of his work indicates that he saw first principles, revealed in persons,

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 29—35, comp. 2 Cor. iii. 7—15, and see 3700, quoting Ode xxxvi. 3 “and although I was a man (*lit.* son of man), [yet] was I named the Light (*or*, the Illuminated), the Son of God.”

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beginning from the Person in whose image the first Adam was created ; developed through contraries such as war and peace, darkness and light, death and life, falsehood and truth, corruption and incorruption ; and finally perfected in the Person by whose Spirit the sons of Adam are to be transformed from glory to glory, in accordance with that divine Purpose of Redemption, which the poet is continually bringing before us as God's "Design," or "Thought."

One last word against a disparagement of our author on the ground that simplicity and straightforwardness cannot possibly exist in a Christian poet—if we assume him to be a Christian—who does not mention Jesus and who writes under the name of Solomon. In most cases, I admit, such an objection would be reasonable. Say what men may about "the anachronism of condemning pseudepigraphy," a prejudice against pseudepigraphists, ancient as well as modern, is generally justified by facts. But this case is exceptional.

The poet is a Jew writing songs. Now many of the songs in the Book of Psalms, and some of the most beautiful of them, were believed by the Jews to have been written, though of course by David, "in the name of" various characters. Solomon was, in a special sense, "the son of David," but failed to sustain the character, which Christians generally regarded as being fulfilled by Jesus, who succeeded where Solomon had failed, so that Jesus might be called the true Solomon. Solomon's Song of Songs represented, for Jews, the Wedding between the Church and the Lord ;

and Isaiah—or rather, some writers in the composite book called “Isaiah”—had predicted the enlargement of the Church to include the Gentiles.

Later traditions, however, had tended to limit the Church to Jews, and the limitation was emphasized by the pre-Christian poems called *The Psalms of Solomon*. When they mentioned the Messiah, those Psalms mentioned Him only as the Patron of their nation against all others¹.

How tempting, then, for a Christian Jew, whose heart flowed to his lips in the poetic imagery of the national literature at its best, to take up this thread of the Destiny of Redemption, broken in the Psalms of Solomon, and to shew it, in new Songs of Solomon, continuously extending along the Way of the Lord from the beginning to the end! Singing in Solomon’s name, he might well feel it to be impossible for him to mention “Jesus” by name. But he repeatedly mentions the Lord’s Christ, or Messiah, and that, not as a conqueror of Gentiles, but as the Redeemer of mankind, whom the last Ode brings before us in the act of drawing up the Church of the living from the darkness of the dead. The fifty-first Psalm of David with its passionate prayer for “a clean heart” may be pseud-epigraphic, but I do not understand how anyone can read the Psalm without feeling it to be profoundly simple and sincere. And in the same way, it seems not unreasonable to believe—as well as natural to feel—that these Odes of Solomon are sincere with a deep

¹ See 3819 *a* foll. on the “Anointed,” “Messiah,” or “Christ,” and on the use of the term in the Psalms and the Odes of Solomon severally.

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and passionate sincerity—proving that other Jewish Christians, besides Paul, might not have seen Christ in the flesh, and yet might be forced to feel what Paul felt when he wrote to the Corinthians, “The love of Christ constraineth us.”

My obligations to the English version of the Odes by Dr Rendel Harris and to the German version by Dr Johannes Flemming, edited by Professor Harnack, will be found acknowledged in almost every note on every passage where I have attempted a version of my own. For brevity, the references to these two works being very numerous, that of Dr Rendel Harris is indicated by “R.H.” and that of Professor Harnack and Dr Flemming by “H.”

I have received most valuable assistance, all through the work, from the Rev. G. Margoliouth, Senior Assistant in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS at the British Museum. And Professor Burkitt, besides giving me early notice of many of the readings in his newly discovered Codex, has kindly answered many questions of mine on special passages in the Odes.

In a different way, I am deeply indebted to my friend Mr H. Candler, formerly Mathematical Master of Uppingham School, for his revision of my proofs from the literary point of view. Even as it is, the book, I fear, will be found by many so technical as to be somewhat repellent. But it would have been much more repellent without his criticisms. And the

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“ Preliminary,” and portions of the Preface, were added at his suggestion.

Having found frequent occasion in this work to correct false references in the works of others, I should like to add that, if the references in this volume, both in the Text and in the Indices, are generally accurate, the credit will be due, not to me, but to my daughter, who corrected a multitude of such inaccuracies in my manuscript.

To the printers of the Cambridge University Press, my thanks, often due before for their skill in grappling with difficulties in arranging text and footnotes, are due more than ever on this occasion.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

*Wellside, Well Walk,
Hampstead, N.W.
9 Sept. 1912.*

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¹ This Table gives the Contents of the Text. For the Contents of the Longer Footnotes, see pp. lx—lxi.

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REFERENCES

- (i) *Black Arabic numbers* refer to paragraphs in the several volumes of Diatessarica, as to which see p. 603:—

1— 272 = *Clue*.
 273— 552 = *Corrections of Mark*.
 553—1149 = *From Letter to Spirit*.
 1150—1435 = *Paradosis*.
 1436—1885 = *Johannine Vocabulary*.

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1886—2799 = *Johannine Grammar*.

2800—2999 = *Notes on New Testament Criticism*.

3000—3635 = *The Son of Man*.

3636—3999 = *Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet*.

- (ii) The Books of Scripture are referred to by the ordinary abbreviations, except where specified below. But when it is said that Samuel, Isaiah, Matthew, or any other writer, wrote this or that, it is to be understood as meaning *the writer, whoever he may be, of the words in question*, and not as meaning that the actual writer was Samuel, Isaiah, or Matthew.
- (iii) The principal Greek MSS are denoted by **Σ**, A, B, etc. ; the Latin versions by *a, b*, etc., as usual. The Syriac version discovered by Mrs Lewis on Mount Sinai is referred to as SS, *i.e.* "Sinaitic Syrian." It is always quoted from Prof. Burkitt's translation. I regret that in the first three vols. of Diatessarica Mrs Lewis's name was omitted in connection with this version.
- (iv) The text of the Greek Old Testament adopted is that of B, edited by Prof. Swete ; of the New, that of Westcott and Hort.
- (v) Modern works are referred to by the name of the work, or author, vol., and page, *e.g.* Levy iii. 343 *a*, *i.e.* vol. iii. p. 343, col. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aq. = Aquila's version of O.T.

Brederek = Brederek's *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos*, Giessen, 1906.

Burk. = Prof. F. C. Burkitt's *Evangelion Da-mepharreshe*, Cambridge University Press, 1904.

Chr. = *Chronicles*.

Clem. Alex. 42 = Clement of Alexandria in Potter's page 42.

Dalman, *Words* = *Words of Jesus*, Eng. Transl. 1902 ; *Aram. G.* = *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, 1894.

En. = Enoch ed. Charles, Clarendon Press, 1893.

Ency. = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

Ephrem = Ephraemus Syrus, ed. Moesinger.

Etheridge = Etheridge's translations of the Targums on the Pentateuch.

Euseb. = the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.

Field = Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, Oxford, 1875, also Otium Norvicense, 1881.

Gesen. = the Oxford edition of Gesenius.

Goldschm. = *Der Babylonische Talmud*, 1897—1912, ed. Goldschmidt.

H. = Harnack's (and Flemming's) edition of the Odes of Solomon, see Preliminary, p. x, and Preface, p. lv.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Hastings=Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Hastings (5 vols.).
- Hor. Heb.=*Horae Hebraicae*, by John Lightfoot, 1658—74, ed. Gandell, Oxf. 1859.
- Iren.=the treatise of Irenaeus against Heresies.
- Jer. Targ. or Targ. Jer. (abbrev. for Jerusalem Targum), or Jon. Targ. (*i.e.* Targum of Jonathan, abbrev. for the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan)=the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, of which there are two recensions—both quoted (*Notes on N.T. Criticism*, Pref. p. viii) by ancient authorities under the name “Jerusalem Targum.” The two recensions are severally denoted by Jer. I and Jer. II. On other books, the Targum is referred to as simply “Targ.”
- Jon. Targ., see Jer. Targ.
- Justin=Justin Martyr (*Apol.*=his First Apology, *Tryph.*=the Dialogue with Trypho).
- K.=*Kings*.
- Krauss=Krauss's *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* etc., Berlin, 1899.
- Levy=Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1889; *Levy Ch.*=*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., 1881.
- L.S.=Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.
- Mechilta, see Wü(nsche).
- N=Codex Nitriensis, see Preliminary, p. xix, and Appendix IV.
- Onk.=the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch.
- Origen is referred to variously, e.g. *Hom. Exod.* ii. 25=lib. ii. ch. 25 of *Hom. Exod.*, but *Orig. on Exod.* ii. 25=the commentary *ad loc.*; Lomm. iii. 24=vol. iii. p. 24 of Lommatzsch's edition.
- Oxf. Conc.=*The Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint*.
- Pesikta, see Wü(nsche).
- Philo is referred to by Mangey's volume and page, e.g. *Philo* ii. 234, or, as to Latin treatises, by the Scripture text or Aucher's pages (P. A.).
- Pistis=*Pistis Sophia*, referred to by marginal pages, ed. Petermann.
- Ps. Sol.=*Psalms of Solomon*, ed. Ryle and James, Cambr. 1891.
- R., after Gen., Exod., Lev. etc. means *Rabboth*, and refers to Wünsche's edition of the Midrash on the Pentateuch, e.g. *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xii. 2, Wü. p. 177).
- Rashi, sometimes quoted from Breithaupt's translation, 1714.
- R.H.=*The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ed. Rendel Harris, see Preliminary, p. xviii, and Preface, p. lv.
- S.=*Samuel*; s.=“see.”
- Schöttg.=Schöttgen's *Horae Hebraicae*, 2 vols., Dresden and Leipzig, 1733 and 1742.
- Sir.=the work of Ben Sira, *i.e.* the son of Sira. It is commonly called Ecclesiasticus (see *Clue 20 a*). The original Hebrew has been edited, in part, by Cowley and Neubauer, Oxf. 1897; in part, by Schechter and

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Taylor, Cambr. 1899; in part, by G. Margoliouth, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, Oct. 1899.

SS, see (iii) above.

Steph. Thes. = Stephani *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Didot).

Sym. = Symmachus's version of O.T.

Targ. (by itself) is used where only one Targum is extant on the passage quoted.

Targ. Jer., Targ. Jon., and Targ. Onk., see Jer. Targ., Jon. Targ., and Onk., above.

Tehillim = Midrash on Psalms, ed. Wünsche (2 vols.).

Test. xii Patr. = Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, ed. Charles, 1908 (Gk., Clarendon Press, Eng., A. & C. Black).

Theod. = Theodotion's version of O.T.

Thes. = Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxf. 1901.

Tromm. = Trommius' *Concordance to the Septuagint*.

Tryph. = the Dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew.

Walton = *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 1657.

Wetst. = Wetstein's *Comm. on the New Testament*, Amsterdam, 1751.

W.H. = Westcott and Hort's New Testament.

Wü. = Wünsche's translation of *Rabboth* etc., 1880—1909 (including *Mechilta*, *Pesikta Rab Kahana*, *Tehillim* &c.).

(a) A bracketed Arabic number, following Mk, Mt., etc., indicates the number of instances in which a word occurs in Mark, Matthew, etc., e.g. ἀγάπη Mk (0), Mt. (1), Lk. (1), Jn (7).

(b) Where verses in Hebrew, Greek, and Revised Version, are numbered differently, the number of R.V. is given alone.

(c) In transliterating a Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac word, preference has often, but not invariably, been given to that form which best reveals the connection between the word in question and forms of it familiar to English readers. Where a word is not transliterated, it is often indicated (for the sake of experts) by a reference to Gesen., *Thes.*, Levy, or Levy *Ch*.

CHAPTER I

SONGS, AS DISTINCT FROM PSALMS

§ 1. "*Song*" in the titles of the Hebrew Psalms

[3636] ¹THE title of the MS. for the discovery of which the world is indebted to Dr Rendel Harris is printed by him at the beginning of the Syriac text, and in Syriac, in such a form as to suggest that the scribe knew the MS. to contain two distinct classes of poems attributed to Solomon. But that title does not exist in the MS. Each poem, whether it belong to the so-called Odes or to the Psalms that follow, has as a title or heading a form of the Hebrew and Syriac *zmr*, which the LXX habitually renders "psalm." These separate headings Dr Harris has not printed. If they were ancient, they would be important evidence that all the poems, old and new, were regarded as of one kind. But there are no such headings in the much more ancient MS. discovered by Professor Burkitt. We may therefore put aside the separate headings that do exist, along with the initial title that does not exist, in Dr Harris' MS., and turn to other evidence as to the distinctive character of the newly discovered poems.

[3637] That evidence is partly external. The Pistis Sophia, which quotes the Canonical Psalms as "*Psalms*" and as "David's," quotes the newly discovered poems as

¹ On the meaning of the paragraph numbers see References and Abbreviations on pp. lxi, lxii.

"the Odes of Solomon." Lactantius also quotes a passage from them as written by "Solomon in the nineteenth Ode¹."

¹ [3637 a] See R.H. 2nd ed. pp. 8—9, quoting Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 12 "Salomon in ode undevicesima," and adding that "Lactantius is working from a book of Odes arranged in the same order as ours: if he had both Psalms and Odes in his collection, then the Odes preceded the Psalms. And further, since Lactantius quotes in Latin, the book was extant in a Latin translation in his time; for when Lactantius quotes Greek books, as in the case of the Sibylline verses, he quotes in Greek and does not offer a translation." If it were true that Lactantius *never translates when he "quotes Greek books,"* the fact would be important as shewing that, in his time, there existed no Greek translation so well known and so authoritative as to induce him to quote from it. But see 3781 f.

[3637 b] There appears to be some uncertainty about the text of Lactantius, as may be gathered from R.H. 1st ed. and 2nd ed. in which I have underlined the most important expressions:—

R.H. 1st ed. "In the *Divine Institutes* (Bk iv. c. 12) we have the following passage:

'Salomon ita dicit: Infirmatus est uterus Virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo.'

"And in the *Epitome* of the *Divine Institutes* the passage is introduced by the words Apud Salomonem (sic) ita scriptum est; to this quotation there was (sic) added in the MSS. of Lactantius"—presumably meaning the *Institutes*, not the *Epitome*—"the words in Ode undevigesimo (sic) or in Psalmo undevigesimo or in Psalmo vigesimo. These references to a 19th Psalm or Ode or to a 20th Psalm betray a knowledge...."

R.H. 2nd ed. "In the *Divine Institutes* (Bk iv. c. 12) we have the following passage:

'Salomon in ode undevicesima ita dicit: Infirmatus est uterus Virginis [as above]...mater virgo.'

"And in the *Epitome* of the *Divine Institutes* the passage is introduced by the words Apud Salomonem ita scriptum est. These references to a 19th Ode betray a knowledge...."

A footnote in the first edition attached to "Ode undevigesimo," says "So in the Cambridge MS. Gg. 4. 24; but in the MS. Kk. 4. 17 of the same University the reference is wanting." A footnote in the 2nd ed., attached to "ode undevicesima," repeats this and adds that the reference is found "in all MSS. in the apparatus of Brandt's edition."

A comparison of these varied statements raises a doubt as to the meaning of "these references to a nineteenth Ode." Apparently there is only one reference at most. For there is none at all in the *Epitome*,

though R.H. 1st ed. might give the reader the impression that there was one. And, as to the *Institutes*, the variations "Ode *undevigesimo*," "ode *undevicesima*," "*Psalmus undevigesimo*," and "*Psalmus vigesimo*," together with the absence of any reference at all in the MS. Kk. 4. 17, make it doubtful whether the reference (whatever it may be) proceeded from the pen of Lactantius.

The quotation from the *Institutes*, as given in T. and T. Clark's translation (Intro. xii) "from Migne's edition," has "Thus Solomon speaks: 'The womb of a virgin was *strengthened* and conceived...'" obviously reading "firmatus" instead of "infirmatus."

[3637 c] The passage referred to by Lactantius (Ode xix. 6, an Ode not translated in this volume) deserves comment both because of its intrinsic importance and because it bears on the hypothesis of translation from the Greek.

R.H. suggests concerning "infirmatus est uterus" that it is (p. 9) "a mistake for 'insinuatus,'" and (p. 116) "the original Greek was perhaps ἐνεκολπίσθη (=Aram ܝܢܥܠܡܝܬ). Flemming: er unarmte(?)." In his own text, retained in 2nd ed., R.H. has "[The Spirit] *opened* the womb of the Virgin." But (1) "insinuatus est uterus" would make no sense. The text would require further alteration—"in uterum," or "utero" (as is proved by Latin usage, and by Lactantius himself, quoted by R.H. p. 9 "cujus utero se insinuaret"). (2) The aorist passive ἐνεκολπίσθη is not recognised by Steph. *Thes.* as a form in use, and the forms ἐγκολπίζομαι, ἐγκεκόλπισμαι &c. (none of which occur in LXX or N.T.) mean (*ib.*) "enfold," "include," "embrace," as God "embraces" or "includes" all things in Himself, or as a fisherman "includes" miscellaneous fish in a net; so that no form of the word would seem in place here. (3) *Thes.* 763—6 gives no instance in which the Syriac means "opened."

[3637 d] These facts do not point to translation from the Greek. They point rather to some Hebrew or Aramaic word implying the "entering-in," or "overshadowing," of the Holy Spirit. The Syriac *Thes.* 763—6 does not give an instance of this meaning. But in Aramaic Levy *Ch.* i. 151 gives the word as derived from (*ib.*) "wing," and as meaning "embrace." This is in favour of the rendering of H. ("unarmen")—but on the understanding that the word is Aramaic rather than Syriac and that it combines the thought of "embracing" with the thought of "overshadowing." As to R.H. "opened," Origen says expressly that the Spirit did *not* open the womb in the generation of the Lord (*Hom. Luc.* xiv, Lomm. v. 137).

With the above-mentioned reading of Lactantius "uterus *firmatus est*," "the womb was *strengthened*," we might compare Heb. xi. 11 "Sarah... received *strength* to conceive." And an explanation might perhaps be found in the Hebrew idiom (Gesen. 528 a) "the Spirit of Jehovah *clothed itself with*," meaning "entered into." This, in Judg. vi. 34, 1 Chr. xii. 18

But there are other reasons, and far more weighty, for thinking that the author of these poems would have called them "songs," that is, poems of joy and praise, rather than "psalms"—a title that by no means connoted "joy" and a title already appropriated by the pre-existing Psalms of Solomon, many of which are of a gloomy tendency.

Every one of these poems—with the exception of one that is incomplete—ends with "Hallelujah" (3691 *p*). This fact alone would suffice to indicate that the poet is singing songs of joy and praise, and not psalms of penitence or sorrowful entreaty. The subject-matter of the poems confirms this view. So, too, does the word that he habitually uses for "sing" and "song," which is a form of *shâbach*, "praise" or "glorify," the regular Aramaic and Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew *shîr*, "song" (the word used for the Song of Moses and for Solomon's Song of Songs). In the first century we find Paul and Philo and Josephus in various characteristic ways distinguishing "psalms" and "hymns" and "songs"; and it would be natural for our poet to indicate, by the

is corrupted by some MSS. into "strengthened." In Judg. vi. 34 the Targum has "the spirit of *strength* (*fortitudinis*)...clothed Gideon." An original Hebrew phrase like "the Spirit *clothed itself with*, that is, *entered*, the womb" might naturally give rise to various interpretations, in which "put round" might be interchanged with "embrace," and "clothe" with "strengthen." And considerations of seemliness as well as doctrine might affect the text.

[3637 *e*] But Jerome, commenting on Is. lxvi. 7—8—about the "birth without travail," which is also the subject of Ode xix. 6—speaks of the holy Mother, the Church, as (Ps. cxviii. 3) "a *Vine*." And the Syriac (*ib.*) for "*vine*" is the same (except for final *aleph*) as the Syriac word now under discussion (see *Thes.* 765). Such a rendering as "[*As*] the *Vine* [*was*] the womb of the Virgin" might be illustrated by the utterance of Wisdom in Sir. xxiv. 17—18 (Vulg.) "*As the vine brought I forth...I am the Mother of fair love....*" Codex N, however, has *gphth* without *aleph*. And the metaphor of the Vine does not occur elsewhere in the Odes. The conclusion is uncertain. For a recent explanation of "infirmatus" see 3645 *d* and 3710 *a* foll.

word that he most frequently uses, the special nature of his utterances. Moreover, that he does not use the word "song" or "glorifying" indiscriminately to include "psalms," and "hymns," and sacred poetry of any kind, is indicated by the fact that he does occasionally use the word "psalm," or "make-psalms," but in special contexts. Such discrimination is also found in the Pauline Epistles, which twice mention "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs¹." These and other facts, which will be given later on, indicate that our poet confined his utterances almost entirely to such subjects as called for joy, exultation, and passionate gratitude or love.

[3638] Such also were the associations of the Hebrew "song" as compared with the Hebrew "psalm." In the titles of the Biblical psalms, the Hebrew "psalm" occurs about sixty times, and many of the poems thus entitled are of a very sorrowful nature. "Song" occurs in about thirty titles, and these, with one exception, introduce utterances of thankfulness and joy. The exception is the eighty-eighth psalm, one of the saddest in the Bible. This is called "A Song, a Psalm." Rashi says that the title means "sick with love" and "afflicted." "Sick with love" he takes as a quotation from the Song of Songs where the Bride says "Comfort me with apples for I am sick with love." "Afflicted" means, he says, that Israel is "afflicted with the chastisements of exile." By this he means exile from the temple, banishment from the place-of-meeting where the Bride met her Beloved—as is shewn by his comment on the Song of Songs, where he interprets the words of the Bride as meaning "Him do I thirst for in my exile²." Even if there should be found a few more exceptions to the rule that the Hebrew "song" is of a joyful character, it would be worth noting that the title of this one at least is explained by Rashi as though

¹ Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16, see 3645 *a* foll.

² Rashi on Cant. ii. 5.

it were the song of a Bride—a Bride seemingly forsaken, distressed, almost in despair, but still a Bride.

[3639] The apocryphal Psalms of Solomon have been for a long time known to us in Greek. In the titles of only two of these does “song”¹ occur. Both of these titles have “Psalm with Song,” and both are prefixed to songs of thanksgiving². In the rest, where, for the most part, “psalm” without “song” is used, thanksgiving is either absent or subordinate. Having such a collection of “psalms of Solomon” before him—some of them poems of stress and national conflict, historical rather than spiritual—our poet might be all the more tempted to set forth as “songs” the more joyful aspect of national history, the union of Israel with Jehovah, developed in unexpected directions into a Wedding between the Human and the Divine, after the manner of the Wedding between the Bride and the Beloved described in “the Song of Songs which is Solomon’s.”

We shall find that the Odes, or Songs, of Solomon begin with the subject of his “crown,” and imply the subject of what Scripture calls his “espousals.” This will explain why they were placed before the Psalms. The Psalms were written perhaps more than a hundred and fifty years before the Odes. But whoever wrote the Odes, and whoever arranged them with the Psalms, would think of both, not as pseudonymous compositions written at different dates, but as spiritual poems, in which the Odes should take the first place because the Odes treated of the glorious dawn and promise of Solomon’s career, while the Psalms breathed sad suggestions of promise unfulfilled or reserved for future fulfilment.

[3640] Commenting on “the words of this song” in the title of one of David’s psalms, the Midrash remarks that a

¹ “Song,” *i.e.* Gk. ᾠδή.

² [3639a] *Psalms of Solomon* (ed. Ryle and James) xv. tit. and xvii. tit. Note the context of “song” in xv. 5 “psalm and *praise with song in gladness of heart*.” Psalms x. and xiv. tit. have ὕμνος.

"song" of this kind does not come from the mere desire to sing. But when, says the writer, one has experienced a "wonder" and sings in consequence, then a man knows that his sins are forgiven and that he is, as it were, a new creature; and so it was with Israel at the Red Sea¹. Elsewhere the Midrash says that the Holy Spirit does not "rest" upon man where there are disturbing or sorrowful emotions "but only where joy predominates²." This joyous association is etymologically natural in the Syriac word for "song," since, as has been said above, it is simply a noun formed from the verb "glorify," "praise," "honour³." Other noun-forms from this verb mean "glory," "renown," "praise" &c.; but this one, besides meaning "glory," means also, in certain contexts, "a poem of glorifying." This we may, for convenience, call "ode" hereafter when we refer to this or that particular poem, but when it occurs in the *text* of the poems we shall mostly render it "glorifying," or "song of glorifying." In many passages this author employs the verb "glorify," and the

¹ [3640 *a*] On Ps. xviii. tit. (Wü. i. 145). It really implies, though it does not assert, that Israel was baptized (1 Cor. x. 2) and became a nation, or a new nation, in the Red Sea.

² [3640 *b*] Midr. on Ps. xxiv. 1 (Wü. i. 217, "nur da wo Freude herrscht"). The context makes minute distinctions, some of which are extremely fanciful, between details in the titles of the Psalms. But the necessity of "joy" is supported by (2 K. iii. 15) Elisha's need of "a minstrel," and by the need (Gen. xlv. 27—xlvi. 2) that Jacob's spirit should "revive" before God "spoke to him in a vision." "These words," says the Midrash, "the Targumist rendered by 'The Holy Spirit rested on him'."

³ [3640 *c*] *Thes.* 4027—8. It may seem surprising at first sight that *Thes.* gives so few instances of the Syr. "glorifying" corresponding to the Heb. "song" (Gesen. 1010) in the titles of the Psalms. The reason is, at all events in the early Psalms, that the Syr. often *puts aside the Heb. titles and substitutes others of a Christian tendency*. Thus Ps. xviii. tit. (Syr.) mentions "De Ascensione Christi," xlv. tit. (Syr.) mentions "Apparitio Christi," xlvi. tit. (Syr.) mentions "Praedicatio Apostolorum." But in the texts of Ps. xxviii. 7, xxxiii. 3, xlii. 8, Heb. "song" is represented by Syr. "glorifying," as it is generally throughout the Bible.

noun "glory," along with this noun, which means both "glorifying" and "song." By retaining some form of "glory," we shall keep before our minds two facts important for the guidance of our study of the Odes as a whole: 1st, they are songs, songs of joy and thankfulness, 2nd, they claim, by their title, a likeness of some kind to Solomon's Song of Songs¹.

¹ [3640 d] We must not, however, suppose that our author does not occasionally use the word "Psalm." It does not indeed occur as a separate heading in H.'s Index, which represents various Syriac words under "Lobgesänge, lobsinggen, preisen, Preis, Ruhm." But among the very numerous references thus collected (where R.H. sometimes has "psalm") are the following passages where the Syr. has some form of *zmr* meaning "psalm," "psalmody" &c. :—

(1) vii. 19—20, 25, 26 And the Most High shall be known...to them that have [in their hearts] *psalms* (R.H. *songs*) that [tell] of the Coming of the Lord, that they may go-forth to meet Him, and may *sing-psalms* (or, *make-psalms*) to Him with joy and with a HARP of many voices.... Those shall *make-psalms* who *make-psalms-about* the grace of the Lord Most High, and they shall bring-as-an-offering their *psalmody* (R.H. *songs*)....

(2) xiv. 7—8 Teach me the *psalms* (so R.H.) of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee; and open to me the HARP of thy Holy Spirit that with all sounds-of-melody (3741 d) (*Thes.* 3603) I may glorify thee, O Lord.

(3) xvi. 1—2 As the work of the husbandman is the [work of the] plough...so also [is] my work the *psalm* (so R.H., but H. *Lied*, not in Index) of the Lord. In His songs-of-glorifying [consists] my craft, and in His songs-of-glorifying my occupation consists.

(4) xxvi. 1—3, 8 I poured out a song-of-glorifying to the Lord, for I am His, and I will utter the holy *psalm* (R.H. *song*) that is His...for His HARP is in my hands and the *psalms* (R.H. *Odes*) of His rest shall not be silent....Who [is there] that can write the *psalms* (so R.H.) of the Lord, or who [is there] that can read them?

(5) xxxvi. 2 And it (*i.e.* the Spirit) established me on my feet in the high [place] of the Lord, before His perfection and glorifying while I was glorifying [Him] by the harmonizing (*or*, composing) of His *psalms* (R.H. *songs*) (3792 s).

(6) xl. 5 So my heart gushes forth [with] the song-of-glorifying of the Lord, and my lips bring forth to Him the song-of-glorifying, and my tongue His *psalms* (so R.H.).

[3640 e] The reader will notice in some of these passages a mention of "harp" (3640 f) at no great interval from "psalm." This harp is "a harp of many voices," or the harp of God's "Holy Spirit," or "His harp." This last expression reminds us of an expression unique in the Bible,

§ 2. *The Song of Songs*

[3641] To this second statement some critics may be unwilling to assent. The new poems, they may think, are too beautiful to owe much, if anything, to a source where they, the critics, find no spiritual inspiration. But the question is,

Rev. xv. 2—3 “And I saw as it were a glassy sea mingled with fire; and them that come victorious from the beast,...standing by [the brink of] the glassy sea, having *harps of God*. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God and the song of the Lamb.” This passage suggests the question, “Where did the Seer find any mention of ‘harps’ in connection with the Song of Moses, since Exodus mentions no instruments except (xv. 20) ‘timbrels’ of the women?” The answer is in a Psalm that describes the procession of triumph after the passage of the Red Sea, Ps. lxxviii. 25 “The singers went before, *the minstrels* (lit. *players-on-stringed-instruments*) followed after.” The “minstrels,” said R. Jochanan (*Exod. r.* on Exod. xv. 1, Wü. pp. 178—9) were “*the angels*.” After the passage of the Red Sea they wished to sing a psalm at once, but God gave the Israelites precedence over them (so, too, Rashi on Ps. lxxviii. 25). It will be found that Ode vii. 19—26 is alluding to the Passage of the Red Sea, and is also alluding to that Psalm. But our poet, like the author of Revelation, regards the Song of Moses as merely a preparation for the Song of the Lamb. See 3781 *v* foll.

[3640*f*] The last of the six passages above quoted is the least easy to explain as giving a distinctive meaning to “psalm”; but even in that there appears a gradation rising from the unpremeditated “song-of-glorifying” that is in the heart, to the “psalm” that is articulated by the “tongue.” In the other passages, there is either a mention of “harp” in the context, or there is something indicating more than the mere spontaneous outflow of a single voice of praise. The Ode (xxxvi. 2) that speaks of this “harmonizing” as being “in the high [place] of the Lord” suggests that the writer may have in mind those celestial harmonies which Revelation connects with “harps” and “harpers.” Only there is this difference. Revelation never mentions *one* harp. Our author does, thereby suggesting that all the melodies and harmonies of single Saints and united congregations are parts of one divine Concord.

It should also be noted that “psalm” is hardly ever mentioned without something in the context to indicate that the subject is of a joyful and not a penitential character; so that the poem is—as some of the Hebrew titles of the Psalms say—“a psalm, *a song*.” This, in Syriac, would naturally be expressed by “a psalm, *a song-of-glorifying*.”

not what we in the West find now, but what Jews found eighteen or nineteen centuries ago; and for that, we must go back to one of the noblest and bravest and most venerated among them, Rabbi Akiba. This is what Akiba, who is quoted approvingly by Rashi, said of the Song of Songs:—"There was no day in all the world so glorious as that on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel. For all the sacred scriptures are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies¹." To the same effect, and almost in the same words, writes Origen:—"Whereas we have learned, through Moses, that some things are not only holy but holy of holies, and others not only sabbaths but also sabbaths of sabbaths, so now we are taught, by the writing of Solomon, that some things are not only songs but also songs of songs²."

[3642] No evidence exists that either among Jews or among Christians there was any dissent in the first century from this high estimate of Solomon's Song. On the contrary, the early Christian doctrine about the Church as being the Bride of Christ, or else as being His body, favours the view that both Paul and the author of Revelation accepted the Song as conveying profound spiritual teaching to which they themselves were indebted. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise. For, being Jews, they could not have rejected the Song as non-scriptural; and, believing it to be scriptural, they could not have accepted it as a mere literalistic love-song³.

¹ See Rashi on Cant. i. 1, quoting *Jadaim*, 75 b.

² Origen *Hom. Cant.* i. 1 (Lomm. xiv. 237).

³ [3642 a] See Pref. p. xlvii foll. on Cant. i. 2 "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"—taken by Origen (*ad loc.* Lomm. xiv. 240) as meaning that the Bride beseeches the Father of the Bridegroom that the Bridegroom may kiss her not through the lips of Messengers such as Angels or Prophets, but with His own lips (comp. Heb. i. 1). The "kiss," then, is, in effect, the direct revelation of the Word of God, and so Jewish tradition understands it, though not, of course, in the Christian sense. Philo (*Quaest. Gen.* on Gen. ii. 16—17) says, about "grex," "chorus," "gens" &c., "haec enim omnia per multa (? permulta, *i.e.* though very many) sunt una

[3643] Our conclusion is, that these Odes of Solomon, though they may have various subjects of joy and thanksgiving, are likely to be found to possess a mystical character. They will probably all presuppose, even where they do not mention, that divine redemption of Israel by Jehovah which was to be effected by His taking up His abode with His people, God dwelling-together with Man. This "dwelling-together" was expressed for Israel at first by the Tent, or Tabernacle, of Meeting, and afterwards by Solomon's Temple, both of which were regarded as the home of the Shechinah, the meeting-place of God the Bridegroom and Israel the Bride.

[3644] It would be as the Builder of this Temple, this Place of Meeting for Lord and Bride—that Solomon would be present to the mind of the writer of such Songs as these. Whether he were Jewish or Christian in faith, whether he wrote before or after the destruction of the Temple by Titus, the poet would recognise that Solomon's Temple in its mystical sense, the ideal Sanctuary of the Lord, remained to be built. Herodians and vulgarians might point with pride to the vast stones and the lavish gold of Ezra's Temple repaired and redecored by the Herods. But he could not,

communitas dilectione, *velut osculo*, connexa." Comp. Rom. xvi. 16 "with a holy *kiss*," and see 1 Pet. v. 14 &c.

A different thought is found in Origen's comment on Cant. viii. 1 "I will kiss thee, finding (ἐμποῦσα) thee outside." He says "That is to say, outside Jerusalem, where He was crucified." This appears explicable from the statement that the women near Christ's tomb (Mt. xxviii. 9) "took hold of his feet and worshipped (προσεκύνησαν) him." Προσκυνέω may mean "*kiss*," and is used to express Heb. "*kiss*" by Symmachus in Ps. ii. 12, and by LXX in 1 K. xix. 18. If this is the correct explanation, Origen regarded the "women" mentioned in Mt. xxviii. 9 as representing the Church or Bride.

In *Test. Abr.* § 20 (A), the soul of Abraham is drawn forth by the Angel of Death with a "*kiss*," Abraham being persuaded to "*kiss*" the Angel's hand. It looks like a Greek adaptation of the Jewish tradition about "death by the kiss" (see Pref. p. xlvii foll.).

He would reply, in the spirit of the Bride, "But where is the Beloved?" The Ark had been destroyed. The Shechinah was not there. A Personal Presence constituted the reality of the old Temple, and nothing but a Personal Presence could conform the new Temple to the old one, or rather to that eternal and invisible Temple which, as early Jewish tradition taught, existed before the Creation of the world.

[3645] Unless we keep in mind this distinctive meaning of the Hebrew word "song," rendered by the Syriac "glorifying," we shall be in danger of unfairly imputing to the poet a narrowness that in fact belongs rather to his subject. He does not by any means absolutely ignore the darker side of things. But that is not his subject. There are places and times for psalms of penitence and lamentation and entreaty¹.

"PSALMS"

¹ [3645_a] The Book of Psalms, being the longest of the Biblical books, would naturally be quoted more frequently than any of them. And the early Christian use of it as a Hymnal would stimulate quotation. The following facts indicate that the Psalter played a part disproportionate even to its size as compared with other Biblical books in shaping Christian worship, doctrine, and literature, and that the characteristics and titles of the Psalms became subjects of early discussion.

Acts (i. 20 foll.) records the first utterance of Peter, "in the midst of the brethren," as applying passages from two Psalms to the betrayal of Jesus. His second utterance (*ib.* ii. 17—39) gives a Christian application to passages from three other Psalms (while also quoting Joel and Isaiah). Soon afterwards comes the first Christian Hymn (*ib.* iv. 24) "O Lord-and-Master (Δέσποτα), thou that didst make the heaven and the earth..." This passes at once to a quotation from the Psalms about "the kings of the earth" and the "gathering together" of "the rulers." The Hymn interprets the Psalm thus: "For of a truth in this city Herod and Pontius Pilate...were gathered together." Similar "interpretations" of Psalms may be found in the *Dialogue* of Justin Martyr and the *Pistis Sophia*. But in the latter the "interpretation," if it may be so called, often comes before the Psalm. Jesus (R.H. *Introd.* p. 18) repeats, as an utterance of Sophia, some Gnosticized version of a Psalm of David, or of an Ode of Solomon, and then says to the disciples "What did Sophia mean?" Then Peter, or Mary Magdalene, or some other disciple, sometimes in a rivalry resembling that which is deprecated by Paul to the

Corinthians, leaps forward and replies that Sophia meant, in effect, this or that Psalm of David, or Ode of Solomon. It is worth noting that Paul's deprecation of such rivalry mentions "psalm" and "interpretation," together with "teaching," thus: (1 Cor. xiv. 26) "What then is [the fact], brethren? [The fact is that] whenever ye come-together [for worship], each one of you has (ἐχει) a psalm [of his own], has (ἐχει) a teaching [of his own], has (ἐχει) a revelation [of his own], has (ἐχει) an [unknown] language [of his own], has (ἐχει) an interpretation [of his own]." This ironical repetition of "having [of one's own]," or "having [ready]," and the prominence given to "psalm," suggest that the "leaping forward" described in the *Pistis Sophia* had its counterpart at a very early date in the services of Jewish-Christian churches, and that it was often connected with "revelations" and "interpretations" and "unknown languages" largely based on the Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic versions of the Psalms. A glance at Justin Martyr's *Apology* and *Dialogue* will shew the extraordinary extent to which Justin found in the Greek version of the Psalms predictions of the Messiah, and utterances of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, not recognised by his Jewish opponents.

Before passing from the subject of "interpreting" the Psalms, Rashi's explanation of one of their titles, *Maschil*, is worth noting. It is prefixed to thirteen Psalms, and Rashi says (on Ps. lxxxviii. tit.) "wherever [we find] *Maschil*, i.e. *understanding*, that Psalm was uttered by an *interpreter*. For the prophet placed an *interpreter* before himself, and when the prophetic Spirit came upon him, he uttered the prophecy to the *interpreter*, who afterwards gave it out [to the people]." On Ps. xxxii. tit. Rashi condenses this, and Breithaupt says that Kimchi agreed with it. It is based on *Pesachim* 117 a.

[3645 b] As regards early distinction between the characteristics and classifications of the Psalms see Eph. v. 19 λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς κ. ὕμνοις κ. ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, Col. iii. 16 ...ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι, ᾄδοντες..., which suggest that the epithet "spiritual"—not needed for "psalm" or "hymn"—was habitually applied to "song" in order to denote its non-secular nature. "Song (*or*, Ode)" is not found elsewhere in N.T. except in Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3, xv. 3 about the "new song" and "the song of Moses...and the song of the Lamb." Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16. 4) says that the Song of Moses was composed in "hexametrical tone (ἑξαμέτρον τόνον)"—whatever that may mean—and elsewhere (*ib.* iv. 8. 44 ποίησιν ἑξάμετρον) says the same thing about the Blessing of Moses. Philo (i. 85) after commenting on the allegorical meaning of (Gen. xlix. 17) "the horse," is led perhaps by the thought of "the horse" to (Exod. xv. 1, 21) the refrain about "the horse and his rider." At all events he passes abruptly to the Song of the Exodus which he calls "*the Song*," thus, "On this account also Moses hymns God in *the Song* (ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι ὑμνεῖ τὸν θεόν)" (comp. i. 694). An examination of all Philo's Psalm-quotations

(for the details of which there is no space here) shews that, in quoting the earlier Psalms, Philo refers to David as a "prophet," a "companion of Moses" &c. In quoting Ps. xciv. 9 (one of the Psalms of Moses) he alludes to Moses as (i. 334) ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀνὴρ. In quoting the later Psalms, or the earlier and the later together, he often uses the phrase ἐν ὕμνοις. He very seldom quotes sorrowful or imprecatory passages. Almost the only instance is Ps. xxxi. 18 "Let the lying lips be dumb," and this he introduces thus (i. 410) "As also one of the pupils (γυνωρίμων) of Moses in [the] hymns said in-a-prayer (ἐν ὕμνοις εὐχόμενος εἶπεν)"—the only use that I have found of εὐχόμενος in a Psalm-quotation. Ps. xlii. 3 "my tears have been my meat" he interprets (i. 460) as tears of divinely given joy, by which the divine Love converts "the dirge of the created (? see context) into a song (ᾠσμα) [addressed] to the Uncreated, a hymn." In his treatise on the Contemplative Life, Philo (ii. 476) mentions ᾠσματα and ὕμνους as in frequent use among certain Jewish communities, and he describes his countrymen (on their deliverance from a special peril) as (ii. 534-5) spending the night in "paeans (παῖανας)," "hymns," and "songs (ᾠδαῖς)" after which they burst out into a song by the sea-shore (as at the Exodus) (Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 16. 4 ἐν ὕμνοις ᾗσαν κ. παιδιαῖς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν...συντίθουσιν, and ? correct ΠΑΙΔΙΑΙC into ΠΑΙΑCΙ, which form, however, does not occur in Steph. *Thes.*). The general impression left by Philo's remarks is, that Moses was the Chief in Song as well as in Law, and that the highest kind of song is that in which Man bursts out into gratitude for deliverance that has come down to him from God. And this seems also the view of the author of the Odes.

[3645 c] Jewish tradition about "song" (as generally denoting gratitude and joy) hardly agrees with the statement (Lightfoot on Col. iii. 16) that it was either "of praise or on any other subject"—if at least the term corresponds to the Heb. *shîr*, used as a title in *Shîr-ha-Shîrîm*, the Song of Songs. But the variations in the titles of the Psalms, as rendered by LXX and the second-century translators, indicate that there must have been early discussions and differences about them. Origen, for example, says (referring probably to these differences, and to Aquila's use of μελωδήμα), on Ps. iv. 1 (Lomm. xi. 425) οὐ πάντῃ δὲ ζητήσεως ἔχεται ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν λέξεων ᾠδῆς καὶ μελωδήματος. Clem. Alex. (193-5) puts aside all the materialistic distinctions of David's instruments of music by insisting that our body is an "organ," our nerves are "strings," our mouth is "the lyre," which is "struck by the Spirit, as by a plectrum." He deprecates alike "plaintive (γοερῶν) numbers" and warlike tones, and describes the Spirit as crying to Humanity (Ps. cl. 6) "Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord." Overriding the Jewish and the Pauline distinction of terms, he goes so far as to say, when quoting Paul (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16) (194) "the psalm is a blessing expressed in melody," and "the Apostle

But he is for the most part engaged in writing "songs of praise" or "glorifyings," putting aside other matters in accordance with the words of the Psalmist "In his Temple everything saith, Glory."

has called the psalm a spiritual song (ὁδὴν)." But still Clement, like Philo, and like the author of the Odes, assumes that the business of an Ode, or Song, is to "praise" (or "glorify") the Lord.

ADDENDUM.

[3645 *d*] Bearing on (3637 *b* foll.) the quotation by Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 12 "*infirmatus est* uterus Virginis") Dom Connolly (*Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, Jan. 1912, p. 308) renders Ode xix. 6 "The womb of the Virgin caught (it)"—where "it" refers to "the milk of the two breasts of the Father"—"and received conception and brought forth," supporting "*caught*" (Syr. *gphth*) by reference to Syr. *gph*, which (*Thes.* 687 and comp. 763) means "*catch in a net*" (and which, with a fem. subj., would become *gphth*). This, he suggests, may have been a translation of ἐκράτησεν, which, being corrupted into ἡκράτησεν, may have given rise to "*infirmatus est*" in Lactantius.

But would not this be a reversal of the rule that the uncommon is corrupted into the common? Κρατέω is so common that it occurs 15 times in Mark alone, ἀκρατέω so uncommon that Steph. *Thes.* does not quote it outside the physician Hippocrates and the grammarian Pollux. If ἐκράτησεν had been the original here, somewhat like ἐκράτησα in Cant. iii. 4 "I *grasped* him," of the Bride "*grasping*" the Beloved, would it not have been rendered, as in Cant., by the regular Syr. equiv. of the Heb. *achaz* ("grasp")? Would a mere translator have dared, in so sacred a subject, to introduce the notion of "*catching in a net*"?

It is more probable that ἡκράτησεν occurred in some Greek version of the Odes. If so, it occurred, almost certainly, not as the Odist's expression—for it falls quite below his level of thought—but as a translation or paraphrase of some misunderstood word in connection with the travail of the Mother of the Messiah. See Steph. *Thes.*, which quotes Hippocrates as using it to denote that "*loss of self-control*" which constrains women to "*cry out* (κράζειν)" in "*travail*." So Rev. xii. 1—2 says that the "*woman arrayed with the sun*" (whether the Church or the Virgin Mary) "*crieth out* (κράζει) *travailing in birth, and in pain to be delivered.*" As to the original "misunderstood word," a conjecture was offered in 3637 *b* foll., and evidence for it is alleged in 3710 *a—d*.

CHAPTER II

THE CROWN OF THE LIVING TRUTH*

§ I. "*The Crown*": its meaning for Jews, and its meaning for Gentiles

[3646] The first Ode opens with the mention of a "crown" (repeated in several later Odes). Beginning with a simile, "the Lord is on my head *like a crown*," it passes into a metaphor, and a bold one, "*Thou livest* upon my head, and *thou hast blossomed* upon my head." The abrupt transition from "the Lord," in the third person, to "Thou livest," in the second, might easily be paralleled from the Psalms of David. But here there is an intervening sentence which it would not be so easy to parallel, "THEY (?) wove¹ for me the crown of Truth and it caused *thy* branches to bud in me." The poet seems as it were to turn away from himself to the divine personality of the crown that is his, yet not his, as if saying "it caused branches—[which are] *thine*, [O Lord, not *mine*]—to bud in me."

[3647] This seems to pre-suppose thoughts, not perceptible on the surface, about the crown as a religious symbol. And this impression is confirmed by the rest of the Ode,

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ [3646 *a*] H. renders this by the passive, "Geflochten ist mir," R.H. by "they." Such an idiom with "they" may simply be a way of expressing the passive. But perhaps THEY (*Son* 3041 *a* &c.) is preferable here, so as to suggest divine agency.

which, being very short, may be conveniently placed here before further discussion:—

1. The Lord is on my head like a crown, nor shall I be apart from Him.

2. THEY (*or*, they) wove for me the crown of Truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me (3668 *a*).

3. For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not, but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head.

4. Thy fruits are full and perfect, full of thy salvation...¹.

[3648] What precisely is meant by “the crown of Truth”? Why does the writer insist so strongly, not only on its not withering but also on its bearing fruit? What relation has this “crown” to the one with which we are familiar in classical literature, and to some extent in the Pauline and Petrine Epistles, where it is regarded as the prize of a contest? In Revelation, a distinction is made between the golden “crowns” of the elders in heaven² and the “diadems” worn by the Powers of evil³; but, later on, the Word of God Himself is seen “and upon his head many diadems⁴,” apparently indicating that the conquering Word will subject to Himself all

¹ [3647 *a*] “Hallelujah,” which terminates all the other Odes, is omitted here. Also Ode ii. is missing, and so is the beginning of Ode iii. This indicates that there may be a lacuna from i. 4 to iii. 1. I have therefore followed H. who prints Ode i. as incomplete.

² Rev. iv. 4, 10. Comp. *ib.* ii. 10, iii. 11.

³ [3648 *a*] In Rev. xii. 3, xiii. 1, “diadems” are assigned to the Dragon and the Beast. Plutarch *Vit. Cæs.* 61 describes Antony as offering Caesar “a *diadem* folded round with a *crown* of laurel.” The people quite understood the meaning of the diadem, though disguised by the crown, and applauded Caesar for rejecting the former. The crown meant nothing more than a successful general of the republic. The diadem meant a king.

⁴ [3648 *b*] Rev. xix. 12. The meaning of “crown” seems to vary in Revelation. In Rev. ix. 7 “And upon their heads (*i.e.* of the locusts) *as it were crowns like gold*,” the phrase “like gold” is perhaps intended to suggest the unreality and falsity of the power indicated by these crowns. Rev. vi. 2 “and a *crown* was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and that he might conquer” is quoted by Irenaeus (iv. 21. 3) as

the kingdoms of the earth, besides reigning over the Kingdom of heaven. Are we to suppose here that the "crown" implies (1) a garland or (2) a diadem? Or does it imply both¹?

§ 2. *Solomon's Crown*

[3649] In attempting to explain the meaning of a poet who professes to write Songs of Solomon, and who places

referring to the Lord, *i.e.* Christ. It may mean the Lord (as revealed in the prophets) working through such powers as those typified by Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus, used by God as His agents. Rev. xii. 1 "and on her head *a crown of twelve stars*" denotes the Jewish Church, regarded as the Mother of the Messiah, where the thought seems to be that "children" are the "crown" of parents (comp. Prov. xvii. 6). This seems different from the "crown" in Rev. ii. 10 "I will give thee *the crown of life*," iii. 11 "hold fast that which thou hast, that no one take *thy crown*." But this again seems different from the meaning in Rev. xiv. 14 "one sitting like unto a son of man, having on his head *a golden crown*." Apparently there is a distinction between "the crown" and "the golden crown." "The crown," or "the crown of life," has to be retained by effort, or is regarded as a future prize. But "crowns of gold" are worn (Rev. iv. 4) by the "four and twenty elders" who have passed through the conflict and are beyond the reach of loss; and the "golden crown" is the sign of Him who is to "sit" on the "white cloud" to judge the earth.

¹ [3648 c] In Revelation, the Syr. uses a separate word (*Thes.* 4386) to represent the Gk *diadem* from that which it employs (*Thes.* 1730 foll.) to represent the Gk *crown*. The latter is the word used all through the Odes. We must not, however, infer that in the Odes the word never means royal crown but always crown in the sense of garland or chaplet. For the Syr. of Wisdom (v. 16, xviii. 24) renders the Gk *diadem* just as the Syr. of Revelation renders the Gk *crown*. It is true that *Thes.* 1732, mentioning the two Syr. words, quotes a writer who distinguishes between "*circulus simplex aureus*," and "*diadema, quod nemini nisi regibus superioribus gerere licebat*." But this is of little use for us. For, apart from Esther, the Gk *diadem* is not used in the historical books of the canonical O.T., and is used only once in the Prophets. The Syr. word used in the Odes may therefore mean a "crown" in any sense—"diadem," "garland," "chaplet" &c.—in which it could be possibly employed in poems such as we are considering. H.'s Index gives the word as "Kranz, Krone." In the following pages it will be convenient always to translate it "crown," leaving the context to define for us the nature of the "crown."

"the crown" at the beginning of his poems in a symbolical sense, we naturally turn to a Biblical passage where not only "crown" but "Solomon's crown" is mentioned, and manifestly in a mystical sense:—"Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon, *with the crown wherewith his mother hath crowned him in the day of his espousals*, and in the day of the gladness of his heart¹." The Mishna, referring to this passage, says that "the day of his espousals" refers to the Giving of the Law at Sinai².

[3650] From what has been said above, we can understand that the meeting and union between Jehovah and His people at Sinai might be called "espousals"; but where is the "crowning"? It consisted in the solemn recognition of Jehovah by His people as their King when they definitely accepted His Will as their Law. In a poet's eyes a crown went up to God from Israel when the nation said to Moses as God's viceroy³ "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do." At that moment, we may say, in the words of the Jewish Liturgy for the Feast of Tabernacles, that an Angel gathered in his hands the vows of Israel, and, forming a crown of them, bade them ascend to the head of the King of Kings⁴. Thus,

¹ Cant. iii. 11.

² *Taanith* iv. 7 (8). "The day of the gladness of his heart" is referred to the building of the Temple.

³ Exod. xix. 8.

⁴ [3650 *a*] See *Chag.* 13 *b* (on Ezek. i. 15 "Now, as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth beside the living creatures") (transl. Streane) "R. El'azar said, It means a certain angel, who stands upon the earth and his head reaches to the level of the living creatures. In a Kabbalistic Mishna we are taught that his name is Sandalphon, who is higher than his fellows by the space of a journey of five hundred years, and he stands behind the chariot and binds crowns for his Maker.....Strictly speaking, His place it is impossible to know, but he utters the Name over the wreath and thereupon it goes and rests by His head." Mr Streane also quotes Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany* p. 250 "In the Liturgy for the Feast of Tabernacles it is said that Sandalphon gathers in his hands the prayers of Israel, and, forming a wreath of them,

the acceptance of the Law by Israel was both a wedding and a coronation. It was not the coronation of a Despot. It was the crowning of one who was Bridegroom as well as King and in whom the Bridegroom predominated over the King.

[3651] Also, in this wedding, the Bride was crowned as well as the Bridegroom. Every Israelite, being a member of the Church (or, in later metaphor, of the Bride) received a crown—so say the Jewish traditions—in that “day of espousals.” Afterwards, when they made their golden calf, and fell away from the Bridegroom, “breaking loose” or “becoming naked,” the Targumist tells us that “Moses saw the people that they were uncovered; for they had been *stripped of the golden crown that was upon their head, whereon the NAME had been engraven and set forth, at Mount Horeb*¹.”

[3652] The prominence given by our poet to the Crown, and the mention of “Kabbalistic Mishna²” above, make it worth while to place here (in spite of the very late origin of extant Kabbalistic works) Schöttgen’s description of the Tree of Life, or Kabbalistic Tree, which has the Crown at the top.

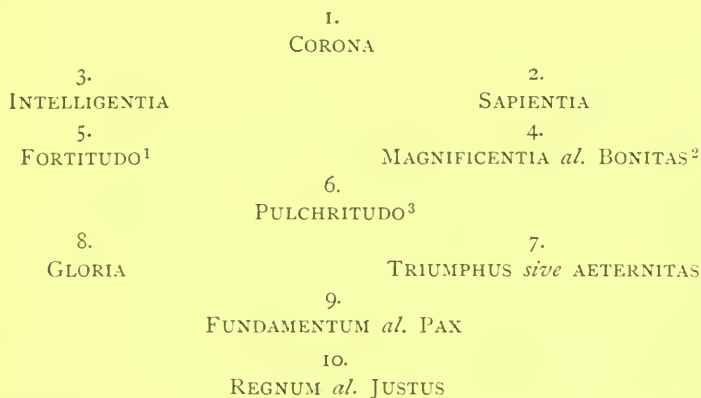
he adjures it to ascend as an orb for the head of the supreme King of kings.”

Rev. iv. 10 “and cast their crowns before the throne” may be both contrasted, and compared, with the Talmudic metaphor. The two express the same thing—a human glorifying of God—but in very different ways.

¹ [3651 *a*] Exod. xxxii. 25, Targ. Jer. II. Jer. I. is somewhat different. Taylor’s *Aboth* (on iv. 19) quotes from Pirke Eliezer traditions that, at the giving of the Law, six hundred thousand angels descended to crown the six hundred thousand Israelites with the Crown of the NAME. Also the Holy One Himself is described as sitting in heaven with the Crown of the NAME upon His head.

² [3652 *a*] “Kabbalistic Mishna.” See 3650 *a*. The Heb. for this phrase is (Levy iii. 300 *a*) literally “second teaching,” or oral tradition, as distinct from Scripture. But this particular form “Mishna” (not “our Mishna”) denoted inferior authority. In Aramaic, this was called “Baraytha,” *extranea*, and so Goldschmidt calls it in his rendering of *Chag.* 13 *b*.

We are endeavouring, at the outset of our study of these poems, to understand in a general way what the poet is thinking about. For example, we shall find that—besides mentioning “majesty,” “greatness,” and “glory”—he more than once speaks of the “*beauty*” of God, as also do the Psalms. It may be of use, then—in attempting to open our minds to the possible shapes assumed by Jewish mysticism in the first or the second century—to recognise that this Kabbalistic Tree places Beauty in a central position among the divine attributes :—



¹ [3652 *b*] “Fortitudo.” It means “mightiness” in a good sense. *Gabri*—in “*Gabri-el*,” “*the-mighty-man* of God”—is connected with the word.

² [3652 *c*] Schöttgen ii. 50 gives *chesed* “loving-kindness,” as an alternative to *Magnificentia*, but does not translate *chesed*. I have rendered it *Bonitas*, as the Hebrew implies goodness (and indeed is rendered by a form of “*good*” both in Aramaic and in Syriac).

³ [3652 *d*] See 3792 *p* foll., on the poet’s conception of the “beauty” of God, and on the Syr. way of representing the Heb. word used here (*Tiphkereth*). Schöttgen says (*ib.*) that the ten Attributes are “often appropriated to ten divine Names,” e.g. *Corona* to I AM, and *Pulchritudo* to JEHOVAH, but with “various transpositions.” Comp. *Joma* 69 *b* which says that “the men of the Great Synagogue *restored the Crown to its old place*,” meaning that they restored the epithets “*powerful*” and “*fearful*,” given to God by Moses (Deut. x. 17) but dropped by Jeremiah and Daniel.

[3653] These Kabbalistic details cannot be proved to be ancient. But the antiquity of the tradition of the supremacy of the Crown is attested by a saying in the *Aboth*, that there are three crowns, the crown of the Law, the crown of Priesthood and the crown of Royalty, corresponding to the crowns on the Ark, the Altar, and the Table, but the crown of *good name* is high up above them all¹. "Good name" meant something more than a "name" among men—well or ill deserved—for goodness. It meant a good "character," in the original sense of the word, *i.e.* the *stamp* of God's seal. Hence it implied subordination to God's Will, the sense of having received a crown not from oneself but from Him. In this aspect, a man would most manifestly wear God as crown when he was most manifestly acting as God's subject.

§ 3. *The Crown of the Bridegroom*

[3654] It will be perceived from the foregoing facts that, among Jews, the Crown was likely to be much more closely associated with the thought of "espousals" than with us. If we could believe a Mishna that records what happened in the days of Vespasian and Trajan, wedding crowns were deemed important enough to be made a subject of legislation:—"In the war with Vespasian they decreed against the crowns of bridegrooms.... In the war with Quietus² they decreed against the crowns of brides³." The Gemara goes on to say that the two kinds of crowns were quite distinct. Those of the bridegrooms were composed of leaves of some sort. But the crown of the bride was "a city of gold⁴." This strange

¹ [3653 a] *Aboth* iv. 19 referring to the "crowns" in Exod. xxv. 10—11, xxx. 1—3, xxv. 23—4 and to Eccles. vii. 1. Comp. Deut. xxxiv. 4 (Jer. Targ.) "Moses, ennobled with *four goodly crowns...the crown of good name* he possesseth by good works and by his humility." See Wagenseil (*Sota* p. 967).

² [3654 a] "Quietus." See Schürer i. 2, 285—6. He was governor of Judæa under Trajan. Many versions have, by error, "Titus."

³ *Sota* ix. 14, 49 a.

⁴ *Sota* 49 b.

statement is confirmed by the Mishna of another treatise, which says that a woman must not go out "with a city of gold," and which afterwards explains the phrase on the authority of R. Jochanan as meaning "a golden Jerusalem such as R. Akiba made for his wife¹."

[3655] R. Akiba was an insurrectionist and died—under torture, so says Jewish tradition—at the hands of the Romans. It would therefore be natural to attribute to him the device of such a patriotic crown for women. But according to the Mishna of *Sota* it had been in existence before, and was not prohibited till the time of the war with Quietus. If this adornment for brides or for married women was in vogue before the wars with the Romans—as seems probable—we can better realise the picture in Revelation, "I saw the Holy City, Jerusalem, new, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband" and then the subsequent statement that "the City was pure gold," suggesting a tower-crowned figure, whose golden coronet of towers was the symbol of "a bride adorned for her husband²." Christians, who believed with Paul in a new, spiritual, and invisible Jerusalem, might feel that, even after the wars of Vespasian and Quietus, the City might still be regarded as the Bride, wearing "the crown of the city of gold."

[3656] We must now consider a passage, unique in Scripture, which agrees with the author of the Odes in applying the metaphor of the crown to God. Isaiah, condemning Ephraim's "crown of pride," predicts a day when "the Lord of hosts shall be for a crown of glory, and for a chaplet of beauty unto the residue of his people³." Comparing this with a passage in Ezekiel where God is represented as saying to Jerusalem,

¹ *Sabb.* Mishn. vi. 1 (p. 57 *a*), pp. 59 *a*—*b*.

² *Rev.* xxi. 2, 18.

³ *Is.* xxviii. 5. R.V., for "chaplet," has "diadem." But see *Gesen.* 862 *a*. The word in *Esther* rendered by LXX (3648 *c*) "diadem," and meaning "royal crown," is different.

personified as a woman, "I put a crown of beauty upon thine head," we appear to be justified in supposing that Isaiah has in view the crown placed on the head of the Bride by Jehovah the Bridegroom¹.

[3657] To this day, in the Jewish synagogues, at the completion of the yearly Cycle of Pentateuch lessons, on

¹ [3656 *a*] Comp. Ezek. xvi. 12 foll. "And I put...a *crown of beauty* upon thy head...and thou didst prosper unto royal-estate. And thy renown went forth among the nations because of thy comeliness, for it was perfect by my glorious-ornament that I had placed on thee." On this, *Pesikt.* (Wü. pp. 42—3) says, in the name of R. Samuel, that when the Israelites accepted God's Law (Exod. xxiv. 7) "God gave them *of the brightness of the Shechinah* ; accordingly it is said (Ezek. xvi. 14) 'thy renown...because of thy comeliness.'" This connects Ezekiel's words with the thought of the Bridegroom of the Law, and indicates that "the crown of beauty," though there is subsequently a mention of "royal estate," does not refer primarily to the thought of Zion as a queen. The primary thought is of the Bride, who is also Queen indeed, but only because she is united in wedlock to the King of kings. Rashi, commenting on the Heb. "perfect," gives three explanations, the third being that it is identical in meaning (as it is in letters) with the Chaldaic "crown."

[3656 *b*] Wisdom v. 16 (17) says that the righteous "shall receive the *royal [crown]* (comp. 2 K. xi. 12, 2 Chr. xxiii. 11) *of comeliness and the diadem of beauty* from the hand of the Lord." This is from Isaiah (xxviii. 5) only softening "the Lord *is* a crown" into "the Lord *gives* a crown." But the Vulgate and the Syriac, mistaking "royal [crown]" for "royal-dominion," translate it by "kingdom." These facts are instructive. They shew how naturally the Crown of the Bridegroom or of the Bride might come to be regarded as the Crown of Sovereignty by the interpreters of Hebrew literature, unfamiliar with Hebrew thought.

[3656 *c*] There is difficulty in Is. lxii. 3 "Thou (*i.e.* Israel) shalt be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God." Ibn Ezra says "In some countries people wear crowns on their hands"! But Friedländer refers to Kimchi as taking "in the hand of the Lord" to mean "well protected and guarded by the Lord." If so, what is ultimately done with the "protected" crown? Jerome says "The diadem of sovereignty, which the martyrs adorn with their various gems, is to be in the hand of God, that He may crown His Son with [their] victories. Whence also the Apostle Paul said to the saints (Philipp. iv. 1) 'My joy and crown.'" It would be more in accordance with Ezek. xvi. 12 if Isaiah had said "There shall be [for thee] a crown," but there is no evidence that such a reading ever existed.

Simchath Torah ("Rejoicing of the Law") the last section of the Law is read, and the person who is called up for this section is styled "Bridegroom of the Law¹." On the same occasion the first chapter of Genesis is read, and the person called up for this is designated "Bridegroom of Genesis." Such a practice helps us to a better understanding of the allegorizers of the Song of Songs. And all the facts alleged above tend to shew the prominence of the Crown, in Jewish mystical thought, not as a symbol of Gentile sovereignty but as a symbol of wedded union with Jehovah the Bridegroom.

[3658] As representing the bridegroom, whether of Genesis or of the Law, Solomon, in virtue of the meaning of his name, was a particularly appropriate character. For the root of the word meant in various forms *peace*, *full-grown* or *perfect*, *fulness*, *completion*. Origen speaks of "Solomon" as being "taken to mean the *peace-making* Christ²," and Jewish tradition goes into frequent and full detail, indicating that "Solomon" in the Song of Songs means God the Creator as well as God the Redeemer of Israel³. Even in this short Ode there may

¹ *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, Oesterley and Box (Pitman, 1907), p. 353.

² [3658 a] *Hom. Cant.* ii. (on Exod. xxvi. 7—13) Lomm. xiv. 375 "Salomonis qui accipitur in pacificum Christum."

³ [3658 b] See *Son of Man* 3583 (ix) c, to which add Midr. on Cant. iii. 11 (Wü. p. 99) "*Look on Solomon the king*, i.e. the King, who has so *completely* (vollkommen) directed His created world. He has created the Sun and the Moon in their *fulness* (Fülle), the stars and the constellations in their *fulness* (Fülle)." Here note that H. renders Ode i. 4 "*voll und vollkommen* (reif)" and that "*vollkommen*" and "*Fülle*," together, occur fifteen times in H.'s Index.

[3658 c] The Midrash continues "Bar Kapra said...King Solomon, i.e. the King to whom *peace* belongs." Another explanation is "By King Solomon He is meant who has made all His works *peaceable* (i.e. harmless) to His human creatures, e.g. the fire [in Ur] for Abraham, the knife for Isaac, the angel [at Peniel] for Jacob." [*Numb. r.* (Wü. p. 287) repeats this, but has "übergeben"—which the root of "Solomon" may also mean—instead of "unschädlich gemacht."] Then other instances of God's "*peace*" (i.e. *harmony*) are given, e.g. between snow and fire. Michael and Gabriel, and so on. The Rabbis absolutely separated the

be an allusion to the name in the description of the fruits of the "crown" above, as "*full and perfect.*"

§ 4. *The Crown, the Symbol of the Fulness
of the Attributes of God*

[3659] From these considerations we infer that the poet places "the Crown" at the beginning of his Odes as the symbol of the fulness of the attributes of God. In that respect he might be said to be like the Men of the Great Synagogue, above referred to, who "restored the Crown to its old place." But they did so by restoring the attributes of "fearfulness" (better perhaps called the attribute of "awe") and "power"; our poet places neither of these attributes here, but he introduces "truth," "living," and "fruit" at once, and to note this introduction may help us to understand much that follows.

[3660] The prominence given in the Odes to "*truth*" and "*living*," in connection with the Crown, may be illustrated by a saying in the *Aboth* of R. Nathan about the "ten things" that are "called living." The first is "The Holy One, blessed

historical from the ideal Solomon. As for the former, *Sanhedr.* 20 *b* declares that he continually degenerated. He reigned (1) "on the throne of the Lord"; (2) over "all the kingdoms"; (3) over "Israel"; (4) over "Jerusalem"; (5) over "his bed"; (6) at last, over nothing but his stick, or his (?) pot (derived from Eccles. ii. 10). But the ideal Solomon they did not scruple to regard as God Himself, the Creator of the Universe.

[3658 *d*] But if that is the meaning of Solomon, who is Solomon's "mother"? The answer given by R. Eleasar bar R. Jose (to the admiration of Simeon ben Jochai) was to this effect. God, in His love for His Congregation or Church, which is His bride, using endearing names, calls her sometimes "daughter," sometimes "sister" and "friend." Scripture shews this. A slight modification of a passage in Isaiah (li. 4) would represent Him as also calling her "Mother" (Midr. on Cant. Wü. p. 100, comp. *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 5) the reading of Is. li. 4 being altered from "my people and my *nation*" to "my people and my *mother*." We are therefore to suppose that Israel, the Church, the Mother of the Saints, crowned God, that is, acknowledged Him as King, at Mount Sinai when the nation solemnly pledged itself to obey Him and to accept His Law.

be He, as it is written (Jerem. x. 10) 'But the Lord God [is] *truth*: He [is] the *living* God¹.' Again, whereas the Odes say, later on, "Put on the grace of the Lord that is without stint, and come into Paradise and make thee a crown from *His tree* (or, *its tree*) and put it on thy head, and be glad²," R. Nathan mentions the "tree" in his tradition about the second thing called "living." It is, he says, the Torah or Law, as it is written (Prov. iii. 18) "*A tree of life* is she to them that lay hold on her; and happy is everyone that retaineth her." The context in Proverbs speaks not of the Law but of Wisdom. R. Nathan assumes that Wisdom is represented by the Law, but the Pauline Epistles as well as the Gospels indicate that in the first century the Law was, to many of the Jews, not a living and growing Wisdom but a mass of dead rules—what Paul calls "the letter that killeth." Out of a fear of this dead "letter that killeth," the poet seems to utter the words above quoted, "It is not like a withered crown, which buddeth not, but thou livest upon my head."

[3661] In the Song of Songs, where the Bride says concerning the Beloved, "I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste," the Targum explains that the "shadow" is that of the Shechinah at Mount Sinai, and that the "fruit" is the words of His Law. But this writer knows that "the words of His Law," unless vivified by the Spirit of His Son, are apt to result in "a withered crown." Therefore, in his first Ode, though he

¹ *Aboth* of R. Nathan on *Aboth* v. 7.

² [3660 a] Ode xx. 7—8. R.H. "His Paradise," but H. "zum P." Ezek. xlvii. 12 recognises a "tree" whose "leaf" shall be "for healing," and Rev. xxii. 2 calls this "the tree of life"; but I know of no passage where the saints are regarded as making crowns for themselves out of those leaves. *Menachoth* 98 a, however, records a Rabbinical tradition (mentioned by Rashi on Ezek.) that the leaves healed "dumbness" and "barrenness." Possibly our poet regards the crown as causing the wearer to burst forth into a song of glad thanksgiving, bringing forth fruit to the Lord.

³ Cant. ii. 3.

begins with the Crown, he hastens to identify the Crown with a Person, the highest and most vital of all persons—the Lord. Then he further connects the Crown with “truth.” God’s truth, in Hebraic and Jewish conception, meant perfect correspondence of deed to word and of word to thought. God’s “thought” (or “purpose”), often spoken of in these poems, is assumed to be perfection, or fulness, being perfectly good, perfectly beautiful, and perfectly consistent with itself. Also the phrase “thou *livest* upon my head” connects “the crown” and “the Lord” with that epithet which the prophets used to distinguish the dead abominations and idols of the Gentiles from their own Jehovah, “the *living* God.”

[3662] A good deal of space has been given to this single word “crown,” because on the right interpretation of it depends the right interpretation of much that follows. Greek crown or Jewish crown?—that is the question. We decide for the Jewish crown, though with the proviso that the thought of the Greek crown may now and then contribute a colour to the picture. Such a contribution or compromise may be illustrated from Philo, who assigns the crown to Jacob—alone among the three Patriarchs. Assuredly this was not because Jacob, in himself, was the greatest of the three. But this imperfect patriarch, this “wrestler” against imperfection, was chosen, alone of the triad, in God’s development of the triad, to see Him face to face and to receive Him, as it were, into his being. This he did by receiving the name of *El*, or *God*, as part of his own new name *Isra-el*, so that he could say “The Lord is on my head like a crown, nor shall I be apart from Him¹.”

¹ [3662 a] Philo ii. 412 says that Abraham receives the faith in God as “*prize [of his contest] (ἀθλον)*”; to Isaac (*i.e.* Laughter) “an *award (βραβεῖον)* is made of joy”; to Jacob, “the athlete (ἀσκητής)” (perhaps with allusion to his name Wrestler, or Supplanter) “*the crown (ὁ στέφανος)* is the vision of God.” Here “the crown” may denote partly (in accordance with Greek thought) one crowned for success in wrestling, but partly one on whom God has placed His own Name as crown.

[3663] In the Odes, "the crown" is connected again with "the Lord" in the words "He is as a crown on my head, and I shall not be shaken," and with "truth" in "The crown that is for ever is verily Truth....Put on the crown in the true Covenant of the Lord¹." It is also connected again with "living," thus, "I was crowned by my God. My crown is living. And I was made-righteous in my Lord. My incorruptible salvation is He²."

[3664] In the last instance of all (Ode XX), "living" is not mentioned, but is implied by the word "tree" thus, "Come into Paradise, and make thee a crown from *His tree*, and put it on thy head, and be glad³." Instead of "*His tree*," the meaning might possibly be "its tree." But the former seems preferable as a preparation for a short Ode⁴ (XXVII) that introduces the Cross as a "tree, or beam⁵" thus:—

"(1) I spread-out my hands and ascribed-holiness (3666 *a*) unto my Lord. (2) Because the stretching-out of my hands is His sign. (3) And my spreading-out is the upright⁶ *tree* (or, *beam*). Hallelujah⁷."

¹ Odes v. 10, ix. 8—11.

² Ode xvii. 1—2.

³ Ode xx. 7—8.

⁴ Ode xxvii. There is a duplicate of this Ode in Ode xlii. which begins "I spread-out my hands and drew near unto my Lord." See 3955 foll. and 3961 foll.

⁵ [3664 *a*] "Beam." The word rendered "beam" means (*Thes.* 3606) (1) wood, (2) tree, (3) cross, (4) beam, stake &c. It would correspond to ξύλον in LXX. In N.T., Syr. uses this word "beam" to render Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14 "*tree* of life"; but in O.T., Syr. uses the regular word for "tree" (*Thes.* 154) to render Gen. ii. 9 "*tree* of life" and other passages where "tree" in the ordinary sense is meant.

In Gal. iii. 13, paraphrasing Deut. xxi. 22 foll. "hanged on a *tree*," Syr. has "tree, or beam," as also in Deut. (where Jer. Targ. also has "tree, or beam," but Onk. has "cross"). See 3955—6, 3962 &c.

⁶ [3664 *b*] "Upright." This word is always metaphorical (*Levy Ch.* ii. 563 "nur trop.") in Aram. In Syr., it is generally metaphorical. When literal, it mostly means (*Thes.* 4510) "straight," applied to roads &c., and hardly ever "upright." Here it seems to be metaphorically used with a play on the literal meaning ("upright" *i.e.* *righteous*).

⁷ [3664 *c*] R. H. omits "Hallelujah" even in the second edition.

[3665] "*His tree*" appears to be the Tree of Life. It was in Paradise from the beginning, when Adam was driven out to die; and to it the sons of Adam are brought back by the Redeemer that they may live. But to Christians the Tree of Life is the Cross, the "tree" on which the Saviour was "hanged." In Ode XXVII it is called the "upright" or "righteous" tree, because, on it, the Righteous died for the unrighteous, and made it, as it were, His own.

[3666] In Ode XX, "Make thee a crown from His tree and put it on thy head" appears to mean, in effect, "Make thyself a partner with the Lord of Suffering by suffering thyself." If that is the meaning, then the believer in the Messiah seems to be regarded as being crucified with the Messiah, aspiring to the Crown and attaining to the Cross. Then, too, in Ode XXVII, the words "I spread-out my hands and ascribed-holiness¹ unto my Lord," do not mean

Presumably the omission is an error. For it occurs in his Syr. text of both editions. H. inserts it.

¹ [3666 a] "Ascribed-holiness unto my Lord." R.H. "sanctified my Lord (1st ed. the Lord)," but H. "Ich habe meine Hände ausgestreckt und dem Herrn geheiligt," which retains the Syriac "unto" but apparently means the reader to supply "them" thus:—"stretched out my hands and consecrated them to the Lord." Gesenius 873 gives instances of "sanctify" with "the Lord" as object, but none of its absolute use with the dative. Nor does the Syr. use the dative in Numb. xx. 12, xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51 "sanctified me not." But *Theo.* 3500 indicates that in later Syriac the verb is used to mean "'Sanctus' clamare," i.e. to "repeat the *Trisagion*" or "ascribe holiness to." That the Syr. "to" is not here *signum accusativum* (3784 e) but denotes the dative, appears from the contrast in Is. xxix. 23 (Syr. lit.) "sanctificabunt (accus.) nomen meum et sanctificabunt (dat.) Sancto," Targ. (1) "sanctificabunt," (2) "dicent 'Sanctus' super." A similar dative is found in Is. viii. 12—13 "Fear not their fear...: the Lord of hosts, *him shall ye sanctify.*" Now this passage is applied in the Epistle of Peter to martyrdom for the Lord (1 Pet. iii. 14—15) "But if indeed ye should suffer [martyrdom] for righteousness' sake, blessed [are ye]: and 'Fear not their fear,...but *sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord.*'" This may be illustrated by *ib.* iv. 16 "But if [a man suffer martyrdom] as a Christian...let him *glorify God* in this name," and this again by the allusion to Peter's crucifixion in Jn xxi. 18—19

merely "I offered up prayer¹." Still less—need it be said?—do they mean merely "I made the sign of the Cross." They appear to mean what Peter meant when he said, in effect, "But if indeed ye should suffer [as martyrs] for righteousness' sake...*ascribe-holiness to Christ as Lord in your hearts.*" They mean also what Paul meant when he said "I am crucified with Christ," and when he spoke of himself as "always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus²." The expressions of the poet are bold, bolder even than those of Paul. For Paul writes of "suffering" with the passionate heat of a sufferer, while the poet sings of the "tree" with a kind of idyllic ecstasy of delight. But the meaning appears to be the same in both, and independently expressed in both.

[3667] After the introduction of "His tree" the "crown" disappears. It is nowhere mentioned in the latter half of the Odes³. Perhaps consciously, perhaps unconsciously, the poet is leading on his hearers from Jewish to Christian

"Thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee...Now this he spake signifying *by what manner of death* he should *glorify God.*" This brings us back to the Ode we are discussing (xxvii) which mentions "*ascribing holiness to the Lord*" along with "*stretching out the hands*" and "*the upright tree (or, beam).*" And thus this Syriac poem is found to resemble the Petrine Epistle in being apparently based on a precept of Isaiah applied in the first century to Christian martyrs and probably alluded to in the Fourth Gospel.

This Ode, combining "the stretching out of the hands" with "the upright tree"—that is "the cross"—in such a way as to constitute an undeniable allusion to crucifixion, adds to the evidence (derived (*Notes* 2926—34) from Epictetus, Artemidorus and others) that Jn xxi. 18—19 alludes to crucifixion and not to martyrdom in general. Westcott says "*Stretch forth thy hands, as helpless and seeking help.*" But the poet here accumulates context ("spreading out the hands," "His sign," "the upright tree") to shew that he means, not "seeking help," but glorifying the Lord by following Him in the Way of the Cross.

¹ On this and a second version in Ode xlii. "I spread out my hands and drew near unto my Lord..." see 3955 foll.

² Gal. ii. 20, 2 Cor. iv. 10 "the *dying* (νέκρωσις)."

³ H.'s Index gives "Kranz, Krone i. 1, 2, 3, v. 10, ix. 8 f., 11, xvii. 1, xx. 7," with no instance from xxi. to xlii.

symbolism. Or perhaps, in a paradox, he desires to lead us from the Crown to the Cross, implying that it is an ascent not a descent¹. Yet in the last Ode of all, if we bear in mind that "the crown" stands for the sum of the divine attributes, or "the Name" of God, we shall find a reference to it. For that Ode describes the Redeemer going down as the Bridegroom to Sheol with the "stretching out of His hands"—that is, the Cross—as His sign². We are to imagine Him (as in the apocryphal *Descensus ad Inferos*) setting the sign of the victory of His Cross in Hades³. The dead run to the Saviour, crying, "Thou art our Redeemer." Then come these words concluding both the Ode and the collection of Odes:—"But I heard their voice and marked⁴ my Name on their heads, because they are free men, and they are mine. Hallelujah."

[3668] There seems a connection between this "marking of the Name on the heads" of believers, with which the volume terminates, and the "crown on the head" of the believer, with which the volume begins⁵. And our interpretation

¹ [3667 *a*] Or it may be that from "the crown of truth," regarded as "*crown*," he desires to lead us to "the crown of truth" regarded as "*truth*." "Truth" is not mentioned again till Ode viii. 9, 13, but afterwards it recurs frequently and almost to the end.

² Ode xlii. 1—11.

³ *Evang. Nic.* ch. viii. (24).

⁴ [3667 *b*] "Marked." H. "schrieb," R.H. 1st. ed. Engl. txt. "was heard," without note (but in Syr. txt. "was heard" only in note, with "cod. ut videtur"). In 2nd ed. R.H. has in Engl. txt. "I sealed," without note, but with an amplified note to Syr. txt. explaining how the scribe may have been led to substitute "heard" for "sealed."

I have used "marked" here (but mostly "signed" elsewhere) because the Syr. occurs in Ezek. ix. 4 "*mark a mark* upon the foreheads of the men." In later Syr., the word is used for "sealing" (*Thes.* 3986) but in Rev. vii. 3, 4 &c. concerning the "sealing" of the "elect," the Syr. uses (*Thes.* 1408) a different word. See 3814 *c—d*, 3840 *c—d*.

[3667 *b**] But Codex N has "*put*" for "*marked*," s. Appendix IV.

⁵ [3668 *a*] The *Pistis Sophia* 115—16, though it quotes the Ode of Solomon in the words given above "*The Lord* is on my head like a crown," yet in the utterance which is supposed to be a fulfilment of Solomon's words, and which is a paraphrastic translation of the Ode,

of the poet's expressions in detail, as well as that of his thought as a whole, must be influenced by the conclusion, which we adopt at all events as a working hypothesis, that we have to do with an artistic mind, a seer indeed of visions, but of visions artistically conceived and connected. At the same time we have to remember that the artist is of the East not of the West. He finds connections where, at a first glance, we find none. Concerning the utterances of such a poet we must not be quick to say, "This or that is an interpolation," or "makes no sense."

represents Pistis as saying in her song, "The light is a crown for my head." The "crown of light," which is frequently repeated in the context, is regarded as a divine aid for scaring away the powers of evil. This is typical of a tendency in the writer of the *Pistis* toward magic rather than mysticism. His quotations and paraphrases of the Odes afford much less help than might have been anticipated toward their elucidation.

On the attitude of our poet toward the doctrine of Light, which he subordinates to Life, Love, and Truth, see 3699—701, comp. 3786 *a*.

R.H. 2nd ed. p. 95 quotes the Coptic Version of Ode i. 2 "A crown of truth has been woven for me: *my branches were planted in me.*" But, instead of the words I have italicised, he gives (p. 90) "*and it caused thy branches to bud in me.*" The latter agrees with the two Latin renderings given on p. 23 "et fecit tuos κλάδους germinare in me," "et ramos tuos in me germinare fecit," and is the translation adopted above (3647). The former (whatever justification it may have in the Coptic text) makes poor sense.

[3668 *b*] The crown, "not withered" but "budding," and the subsequent mention of "fruits," recall the thought of Aaron's rod that (Numb. xvii. 8) budded, blossomed, and "bare ripe almonds" in a single night. This (3922 *l*) rod, or sceptre, was generally supposed to be represented on the coinage of the Maccabean princes, who claimed to be Priests of the Most High God, one of whom is described by Josephus as combining the prerogatives of Ruler, Priest, and Prophet. Our poet, applying the old Maccabean traditions to the Messiah in the first century, might substitute the "budding crown" for the "budding rod (*or*, sceptre)" because he prefers the type of the royal Bridegroom, which is doubly associated with "crown," to the type of a constraining King (a word he never uses) which is associated with "rod."

CHAPTER III

THE BELOVED*

§ 1. *The Members of the Messiah*

[3669] The second Ode is missing. The third, beginning with a mention of the "members" of "the Beloved," passes first to "love," thence to "rest," thence to "love" as inspired by "the Son"—"Him that dieth not," or "Life"—and finally to "the Spirit of the Lord." The transitions, as in almost all the Odes, are so abrupt as to make the connection extremely obscure; but it is probably to be found in the Jewish connection between "son" and "build"—and especially the "building" of a house or home. Thus the "son" becomes the symbol of the unity and "love" that constitute a home¹. It is true that our poet never mentions the *words* "build," or "stones" (except as "a costly stone") or "house" (which would represent the Hebrew or Syriac "home"); but he always has before him the *thought* of the unity of the Lord's Household or Home. This he expresses by various metaphors, such as the boughs of a "tree," or the members of a "body." But in this Ode he adds a mention of "rest." "Rest" will be shewn to be a Jewish term for the restful atmosphere of the Home—the place where Love is². In the Home, there is

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ On the connection between "build" and "son," see *Son* (Index, "Build").

² On "Rest," see 3684.

what Paul calls "liberty" or "freedom," and what the Epistle to the Hebrews calls "freedom [of speech]" or "confidence"; and this atmosphere of freedom exists because "the son" of the wife is above the level of what the former calls "the son of the handmaid," Ishmael, and the latter calls "the servant," Moses¹. John adds that "the son" can make men "free," but "the bondservant," he implies, cannot; the reason is that "the son abideth for ever²." In other words "the son" is, as our Ode implies, the Life. From this, the final transition to "the Spirit of the Lord" is easy because "the Spirit"—both Paul and John say—"is that which giveth life³."

The extant beginning of the Ode (some opening words being missing) is as follows:—

1. ...I put on (3760 *m* foll.).
2. And His members⁴ are with Him and in them do I hang (3962 *b*) and He dearly-loves⁵ me.
3. For I should not have known how to love⁶ the Lord if He had not loved me.

¹ [3669 *a*₁] Gal. iv. 21—v. 15, Heb. iii. 1—6. The latter (quoting Numb. xii. 7 "my servant Moses...faithful in all mine house") concludes thus, "but Christ as a son, over his (*i.e.* God's) house, whose house are we, if we hold fast our *freedom [of speech]* (*παρρησιαν*)..." R.V. "boldness" A.V. "confidence") is not the exact meaning. A son is not exactly "bold," with his father, when he speaks his mind "freely" or "openly." *The*s. 583 indicates that, in Syr., "son of the house" means a houseborn slave (and see Gesen. 120 *b* on Gen. xv. 3). This opens the way to distinctions between "son of the house" and "son over the house." See 3691 *a*.

² Jn viii. 35—6 (on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2263 *e—f*).

³ Jn vi. 63, 2 Cor. iii. 6 (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45 "the last Adam became life-giving spirit").

⁴ [3669 *a*] "His members." The scribe has written "my members" but has himself corrected the error. For MS. errors, in connection with the personal suffix, see footnotes in 3999 (ii) *passim* referring to 3669 *a*.

⁵ "Dearly-loves." More lit. "fervently-loves," or "burns with love." On the conception of love implied in these and the following words see 3681 foll. and comp. 3809 *u*.

⁶ "Love...loved." Not the same word as above, but one that denotes tenderness and sometimes means compassion (3681).

4. Who is able to discern-and-interpret¹ love except the one that is loved?

5. Dearly-love I the Beloved, and [indeed] my soul² loveth Him.

[3670] First, as to the connection between the beginning of this Ode ("*put on*") and what precedes. "*Put on* the grace of the Lord" is connected by the poet elsewhere (in Ode XX quoted above) with "*make thee a crown from His tree*," that is, from the Tree of Life. Now the Tree of Life, though not actually mentioned in Ode I, is implied in its last words "*Thy fruits* are full...." The "*fruits*" are those of "the Lord." It is no great step from saying that the Tree of Life is "*His tree*," to saying that He *is* the Tree—especially in view of the fact that the Book of Proverbs says concerning the supreme Wisdom, "*She is a tree of life* to them that lay hold upon her³." In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus says, "I am the Vine, ye are the branches⁴." So here, the writer appears to have said, in effect, in Ode I—and perhaps would be found to have actually said if we had before us the completion of Ode I and the missing Ode II—"The Lord is the Tree of Life."

[3671] May we suppose that in Ode II the writer used this Johannine metaphor, but expanded it into "The Lord is the Tree of Life *and I am one of the branches?*" In such language we could find a preparation for the strange phrase

¹ [3669 *b*] "Discern-and-interpret." *Theo.* 3303 shews that the word means "divide," in the senses of "discerning" and "interpreting." Here it seems to mean "*discern*" the existence, and "*interpret*" to oneself the nature, of that which is, to the unloved, an enigma.

² [3669 *c*] "Thou (*or*, he) whom my soul loveth" occurs five times in the Song of Songs (i. 7, iii. 1—4) and nowhere else in the Bible. "Soul" emphasizes, by means of the subject, that which "dearly-love," in the parallel clause, emphasizes by means of the verb. Origen goes too far in saying (on Cant. i. 7) that it means "ex tota anima et ex totis viribus et ex toto corde" (Lomm. xiv. 393). But still, emphasis is intended.

³ Prov. iii. 18.

⁴ Jn. xv. 5.

in Ode III "*in them do I hang*," i.e. I hang among the branches of the Tree of Life, the Messiah. But against this, is the objection that "them" must refer to the preceding "members." We should therefore have to suppose a rapid shifting of metaphor:—"in the *members* [of the Messiah, that is to say in the *branches* of the Tree of Life] do I hang." This is somewhat harsh.

[3672] Turning in another direction to explain this obscure expression, we are safe in beginning with the assumptions (1) that it is metaphor, (2) that it is erotic metaphor (since almost one word in five of the context speaks of "love"). "Members," metaphorically used about the members of the Messiah with more than Pauline boldness, may be illustrated from the Acts of Thomas, at the beginning of which Jesus says to the Twelve "Come hither, *my members*, strong and holy¹." Afterwards, in another version of these Acts, Thomas, at a feast, sings (in Hebrew, not understood by the guests) a song concerning the "Daughter of Light, on whom rests the royal ray of splendour, the magnificent," and "on whose head the King is firmly fixed²..." She "shews forth joy with her feet,...thirty and two are they that sing her praises³," and "her neck is made in the likeness of the stairs which the first Creator created."

[3673] The translation of the Acts of Thomas published by T. and T. Clark refers, in the context, to no passage of the

¹ *Acta Thomae* (ed. James) § 1.

² [3672 a] *Acta Thomae* (ed. Tisch.) § 6. The "royal ray" appears to mean "the crown of light" which is a name given in the *Pistis Sophia* to the "crown" mentioned in Ode i. The King also "nourishes with ambrosia those who are *firmly fixed on Him*"—a metaphor incompatible with that of the King "firmly fixed" on the head of the Daughter of Light. It proceeds "But Truth lies on her head," which appears to be a repetition in prose of what precedes in poetry. The "King" is "Truth."

³ [3672 b] "Thirty and two." Comp. *Faerie Queene* ii. 9. 26 "*twice sixteen warders sat*." Cant. iv. 2, vi. 6 is simpler, "*thy teeth are like a flock of sheep*."

Song of Songs mentioning the "neck¹"; but it can hardly be doubted that the author of the Acts had before him the two mystical—or at all events, by Jews, mystically regarded—descriptions of "members" in that Song, and perhaps in particular, "*Thy neck* is like the tower of David, builded for an armoury, a thousand bucklers hang thereon²." This passage is referred to by both Talmuds as indicating that the Temple must be the centre towards which the faces and thoughts of all Jews must converge in prayer³. That "hang on" is a poetical and unusual form of the scriptural "cleave to" is indicated by a tradition saying that, in "the new heaven and the new earth," the righteous "*hang on* the throne of the Majesty under the wings of the Shechinah," quoting, in support of this, a Deuteronomic statement about "*cleaving to the Lord*⁴."

[3674] "The neck," said one of many traditions in the Midrash, "is the Temple⁵." "The Temple" would seem to the point here. For the next Ode begins with the words "No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place." It will be found to be a frequent characteristic of this poet that he prepares the way, by some brief and subordinate expression in one Ode, for the subject that he is going to

¹ It refers merely to Cant. iv. 14 "spikenard and saffron," no doubt correctly, but inadequately.

² Cant. iv. 4. Comp. *ib.* v. 10—15 which proceeds from head to foot, and *ib.* vii. 1—5 which proceeds from foot to head.

³ *Berach.* 30a and *J. Berach.* iv. 6 (5) (Schwab p. 90). The Midrash on Cant. iv. 4 gives various explanations implying the power of mediation, or merit, and giving to "hang" the force of "adhering" ("gebunden").

⁴ [3673 a] Midr. on Ps. xlv. 2 (Wü. i. 294) quoting Is. lxxv. 17 and Deut. iv. 4 "*cleave*." In Deut. iv. 4, however, the Heb. "*cleave*" ("die ihr an dem Ewigen, eurem Gotte, *hanget*") is rendered by a Syriac word (*Thes.* 2457) different from the one now under consideration (*Thes.* 4440). The latter means "suspend," "hang up." So Philo (ii. 10) says that God "*hangs up* (*ἀνακρεμάσας*)" the soul (detaching it from earthly degrading forces) and pulls it up to Himself.

⁵ Midr. on Cant. iv. 4 (Wü. p. 113).

take up and develop in the Ode following. Accordingly, here, it is not improbable that the poet, under the metaphor of the "members" of the Messiah, is preparing the way for the approaching thought of the Temple not made with hands. Israel's "neck" was "erect"—so say two Rabbis in the last quoted Midrash—when the Temple was being built, but drooped when the Temple fell; as the "neck" is at the top of Man, so is the Temple "at the top of the world"; as ornaments hang round the "neck," so do "the Priests and the Levites" round the Temple. There was also a Jewish tradition about the letters of the name of Abraham as counting for a number equal to that of the "members" of the human body¹. Much of this is, documentarily, very late tradition. But it points back to much earlier thought. And the evidence, as a whole, seems to shew that our author, without any borrowing from Pauline sources, may here be painting a picture of his own, with Jewish colours, when he describes himself as "hanging" in the "members" of the Lord.

[3675] Yet it is only fair to add that in dealing with a writer of this kind, exuberant in metaphor, condensed in expression, and frequent (even to a fault) in allusion, we ought to be unusually cautious in saying "This, or that, alone, and nothing else, was in the writer's mind." As an instance, take, by themselves, these words of Origen, preserved in Latin, "*Pendere enim in solo Deo debemus*," "We ought to *hang* in God alone." What do they mean?

[3676] Of course, we must turn to the context to reply. And a hasty glance at the preceding words might seem to

¹ [3674 a] See *Gen. r.* (on *Gen. xii. 2* "I will make of thee a great nation") Wü. p. 178. That the name of Abraham should numerically equal 248, the number of the members of the human body, would symbolize the "great nation." This number was also that of the positive precepts of the Law.

² *Hom. Gen. ii. 4* (Lomm. viii. 139). Comp. 3982 a.

give the answer. For they quote from Deuteronomy the words "Cursed by God is every one that *hangeth* (pendet) *on a tree* (in ligno)." This might lead us to say, "He is referring to the crucifixion, and to the Pauline doctrine of being '*crucified with Christ*,' and the meaning is, 'We ought to be *as it were crucified with the crucifixion provided by God*, through His Son, as the means of our salvation.'" But a further examination shews that this is not at all events the primary meaning. For Origen is talking about trees, and about the "tree" of Assyria, "envied" for its beauty by "the trees of the Paradise of God." Then he asks, in effect, whether "hanging" on a "tree" may not mean *depending* on a "tree," that is, *on human aid*, which is an accursed thing as Jeremiah says, "Cursed is the man that placeth his hope *in man*." And the full sentence from which we first quoted is "We ought to *hang in God alone*, and not in any other [being], even though one (*quis*) may be said to come from 'the Paradise of God' [like Satan to Eve] as also Paul says...¹."

[3677] With this caution as to possible complexity of allusion, we may accept, as a working hypothesis, the view that the writer is here regarding the Messiah as a Person, or a Tree, representing the spiritual Israel, without any allusion to Pauline doctrine or to the crucifixion. But see 3962 *b*.

§ 2. *Love*

[3678] Before passing to comparatively small verbal questions about the poet's vocabulary of love, attention is due to his introduction of the doctrine of love—obvious, when understood, but easily misunderstood. How easily, may be gathered from a misunderstanding of the kindred Johannine saying, "We love because he first loved us²," indicated by a rendering in some versions, "*Let us love*, because he first

¹ Gal. i. 8.

² 1 Jn iv. 19, see Westcott's note.

loved us." In such a rendering, "because" would probably be taken by many to mean "as a requital for"; as though we are to love God out of a sense of what is just and fair, in a kind of bargain—"He loved us, and therefore it is only fair that we should love Him." All these bargain-notions are fatal to true love, because they deceive us into confusing with it a spurious substitute, which is really a form of selfishness. And the passage now before us exposes their deceptiveness at once briefly and excellently, going to the very root of the theory of the transmission of love:—"I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not first loved me," and "Who is able to discern-and-interpret love except the one that is loved?"

[3679] We are all familiar with the doctrine implied in the Pauline self-correction "But now, having known God, or rather having been known by God¹." But we are not so familiar with the doctrine implied by our poet which is no less true and perhaps more profitable; and which might have been expressed by a parallel self-correction, "But now, having loved God, or rather having been loved by God."

It is most important to recognise the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of loving God—except through His appointed means. The truth is that we *cannot* feel real love for God until we have accepted God's love for us. Our heart is like a mirror covered by a veil which we have the power to remove. The light of the love of God, descending on us through many avenues—through non-human Nature, through Humanity (living and dead), through Christ—beats on the covering, appealing that it may be removed. Remove it, and our heart, in one and the same moment, beholds the light and reflects the light. In proportion as we remove the veil, we feel God's love for us, and we return some portion of it back to Him. Retain the veil, and we neither feel His love,

¹ Gal. iv. 9.

nor return His love, nor have any notion at all of what His love means¹.

[3680] If that is the author's view of the truth, we ought not to be surprised that he takes some pains to distinguish it from such parodies of the truth as commend themselves to the coarser side of our nature because they are definite and clear and in harmony with business habits and commercial thoughts. And if he appears to take pains to make distinctions we ought to take pains to understand them. There may be doubts arising from the uncertainty that attends a Syriac text not improbably translated from Hebrew (or, less probably, from Greek). The Syriac may here and there confuse words that were distinguished in the original. That has actually occurred in some versions of the dialogue in the Fourth Gospel (xxi. 15 foll.) between Jesus and Peter, where the two Greek words for "loving" distinguished by John—as almost every competent student of the Greek text will admit—are not distinguished in the Syriac and some of the Latin versions. And there are other instances of such confusion. In translations, much will depend on the translator. If he is florid and verbose and averse to repetition of the same word, or forms of the same word, we cannot depend on him. But our translator—if he is a translator—appears at the outset to be free from these faults, and it seems reasonable to begin, at all events, by supposing him to be guiltless till he is proved to be guilty. This course also has the advantage of not committing us to any conclusions that may have to be cancelled if it should turn out that there has been no translation (or, at all events, no translation from Greek).

We pass, then, to the smaller but not unimportant question as to the precise meaning of the word with which the Odes introduce the subject of love (rendered in the text "dearly-

¹ See note on the Mirror (3884 *a* foll.).

love") and as to the distinction, if any, between that and "love."

[3681] The Syriac for "dearly-love" is different (and etymologically very different) from that for "love." The latter, which implies tenderness and sometimes means "compassion," is etymologically and idiomatically different from the former, which describes what may be called "burning-love," or "fervent-love¹." In the Odes both words are used, and sometimes with an obvious emphasis on the stronger one, as in "*Love me with a fervent-love, ye that love*²." There the precept seems to correspond to that in the Fourth Gospel where Jesus warns the disciples that their love *must not be ordinary love but must be like His love*³. In other passages of the Odes the emphasis intended by the stronger word is

¹ [3681 *a*] Comp. Origen *Cant. Prol.* "Solomon sings in the character of a Bride on the point of marriage *burning* (flagrantis) with celestial love for her Bridegroom, who is the Word of God." Later on (Lomm. xiv. 302) he says he cannot blame Ignatius for saying about Christ "My Love (amor, Gk ἔρως) is crucified," any more than he can blame John for saying that (1 Jn iv. 8) "God is Love (*caritas* i.e. ἀγάπη)" (where the context indicates that Ignat. *Rom.* § 7 was interpreted by Origen (though perhaps wrongly, as Lightfoot maintains) as calling Christ "Eros"). Comp. *ib.* p. 306 "Hunc ergo *amorem* loquitur praesens scriptura, quo erga verbum Dei anima beata *uritur et inflammatur*."

² [3681 *b*] Ode viii. 14. R.H. "Love me with *affection*," H. "liebet mich mit *Inbrunst*." H. does not give "*Inbrunst*" in his Index, and I have not noted it elsewhere in his text though the Syriac "fervent-love" (as noun or verb) is frequent. See 3809 *u*.

³ [3681 *c*] Jn xv. 12. Compare also Jn xvii. 26, and 1 Pet. i. 22 "Love one another with a pure heart *fervently*." The Syrian translators of our gospels have not always (as has been said above) expressed differences of this kind, even on the rare occasions where the Gk expressed them (Jn xxi. 15—17). But there are special reasons why the Syriac might represent a "*flagrans amor*" in these Odes or Songs of Solomon, which contain strains from the Song that says (Cant. viii. 6—7) "Love is strong as death...many waters *cannot quench love*." The word under consideration is Hebrew as well as Syriac. But it occurs only once in O.T. (Gesen. 285 *b*) Deut. xxxiii. 3, where Rashi renders it "*abundanti amore dilexit*."

less obvious; and sometimes the scriptural or ancient use of a particular word or phrase—such as “the Beloved” or “he whom my soul loves”—may lead the poet to use the unemphatic where we should expect the emphatic term. But it is unsafe to assume that this author uses the two words indifferently until we have ample proof of it. He is not given to such loose variations or afraid of using the same word over and over again where he means the same word. Sometimes, it is true, he uses one word in various forms; but the variations can often be seen to express subtle shades of allusive thought. We shall, therefore, retain the poet’s distinction between “love” and “fervent-love” (or “love” with some intensive qualification) in the following translations. The retention will often be fatal to rhythm as well as to brevity. But it may sometimes enable the reader to discern shades of thought which otherwise might have escaped him.

[3682] In the present passage, the spirit of the writer seems to be that of a Christian Philo. Philo writes about the “enthusiasm” or “passionate *love (eros)*” of Abraham for God; but our writer implies that he himself has felt this passion not because he first loved but because Another has “greatly-loved” him with a “burning love” that, as the Song of Songs says, “no waters can quench.” It is along with a mention of this “burning-love” that he for the first time introduces in his poems the mention of the new Power brought into the world by “the Beloved¹.”

[3683] Solomon may seem to us a most inappropriate character to represent the pure passion of the love of God. But apart from the associations with his name derived from the Song of Songs, there is in the second book of Samuel a record connecting “love” with the anticipations formed by some about the infant king: “And he (*i.e.* David) called his

¹ 1 Jn iv. 10 “Herein is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us.”

name Solomon. And the Lord loved him, and sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and he called his name *Jedidiah* [that is, *beloved of Jah*]...¹” In proportion as these anticipations failed historically, the allegorizers may have insisted on the perfection of their ideal, as depicted in the central character of the Song of Songs.

§ 3. *Rest, or Home*

[3684] After the introduction of love, which is the power that makes a family and a home for Man, there comes naturally, for a Jewish poet, the thought of rest. For “rest” is the Hebrew term for expressing “home”; as when Naomi says to her daughters “The Lord grant you that ye may find *rest*,” and to Ruth “Shall I not seek *rest* for thee?”—that is, the “rest” of married life, in a home². A promise of “rest,” meaning the promise of a home in the Promised Land, is made to Moses as the representative of Israel³. The successor of Moses, Joshua—who for Christians would stand as the first Jesus and the type of the second Jesus—repeats this promise of God⁴. It is also said that before Joshua’s death “the Lord had given rest unto Israel⁵.” But the historian adds “from all their enemies round about.” Every Jew would recognise that that “rest” was but temporary, and would agree with the Epistle to the Hebrews that in the highest sense the promised “rest” was not yet given:—“There remaineth a *rest* for the people of God⁶.” The literal rendering is, not “rest”—as elsewhere in the Epistle—but “sabbath-keeping.” The true “sabbath-keeping” was yet to come.

¹ [3683 *a*] 2 S. xii. 24—5. In the following passage, *Jedid*, “beloved,” is used six times (*Menach.* 53 *a—b*): “There shall come the Beloved (*i.e.* Jedidiah, or Solomon) the son of the Beloved (*i.e.* Abraham, but?) and build the Beloved (*i.e.* the Temple) for the Beloved (*i.e.* Jehovah) in the region of the Beloved (*i.e.* Benjamin) that the Beloved (*i.e.* the Israelites) may therein obtain forgiveness of sins.”

² Ruth i. 9, iii. 1.

³ Exod. xxxiii. 14.

⁴ Josh. i. 13.

⁵ Josh. xxiii. 1.

⁶ Heb. iv. 9.

[3685] Of David, too, it is said that the Lord "had given him rest¹." But it is with the qualification "from all his enemies." And subsequently Solomon contrasts himself with his warlike father in this very matter of rest, "Thou knowest how that David my father *could not build a house* for the name of the Lord his God *for the wars which were about him*...but now the Lord my God hath *given me rest*...and behold, I *purpose to build a house*...²."

[3686] Of Solomon—along with the mention of "rest from all his enemies round about"—it is uniquely predicted that he shall be "a man of rest," so that "rest" is emphatically connected with his name³, as fitting him to build what is elsewhere called "a house of *rest* for the ark of the covenant of the Lord⁴." Odes of Solomon would therefore naturally lay great stress on "rest." And these Odes do so. "Rest" recurs repeatedly in them, and will have to be discussed in its different contexts and aspects. For the present it will be convenient to defer such discussions, and to pass on to that part of the Ode which combines the thought of "rest" with the union, or "mingling," in the home. But a note here will be added on the first Biblical mention of the word "rest," and on the associations conveyed by it to Jews and to Greeks.

6. And where His rest [is]⁵, there also am I.

¹ 2 S. vii. 1.

² 1 K. v. 3—5.

³ 1 Chr. xxii. 7—10 "And David said to Solomon...The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly...thou shalt not build a house unto my name...behold a son shall be born to thee who shall be *a man of rest*; and I will *give-him-rest* from all his enemies round about; for his name shall be Solomon (*i.e.* Peaceful) and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days; he shall build a house for my name."

⁴ 1 Chr. xxviii. 2.

NOAH AND "REST"

⁵ [3686 a] "Rest." For details as to the poet's subsequent mentions of God's "rest," see notes in 3859 foll. The following remarks will mostly be confined to its association with the story of Noah.

The first Biblical mention of "rest"—not in the sense of God's

(Gen. ii. 2) "keeping-sabbath," but meaning human refreshment, "rest" after toil &c.—is connected with Noah, whose name indeed signifies "*rest*." There appear to be traces of this meaning in the narrative of the Deluge which (Gen. viii. 4—9) describes the ark as "*resting*," and, subsequently, the dove as not yet finding "*rest*." In these two instances the Syriac, as well as the Hebrew, has the same word, a form of the root of the name, "*Noah*," "*rest*" (Gesen. 629).

[3686 *b*] There is also, for Jews, a further mention of "*rest*" in the description of the Lord as accepting Noah's sacrifice (Gen. viii. 21) where R.V. has "and the Lord smelled *the sweet savour*"; but the Heb. for "sweet" is a noun derived from the root of "*Noah*," so that the literal meaning is "smelled the smell of *restfulness*," i.e. (Gesen. 629) "quieting, soothing, tranquillising." Gen. *r.* (on Gen. v. 29) gives it as the opinion of one Rabbi ("nach R. Elieser") that *Noah* was so called because of the *restful* effect of this sacrifice.

[3686 *c*] But there was this very early difficulty about the association of "*Noah*" with "*rest*," that the Hebrew explanation of his name, implied in Lamech's prediction about him, would lead the reader to believe that it meant, not *rest*, but *comfort*, (Gen. v. 29) "This same shall *comfort* us (R.V. marg. Heb. *nahem*, to comfort) for our work and the toil of our hands, *because of* (lit. *from*, and R.V. marg. [which cometh] *from*) the ground which the Lord hath cursed." The LXX, however, instead of rendering *nācham* (R.V. *nahem*) as usual by "*comfort* (παράκαλέω)" has a unique word as follows, "This man *shall-give-us-an-interval-of-rest* (διαναπαύσει) *from* our works and from the troubles (*or*, pains) (λυπῶν) of our hands, and from the ground which the Lord God hath cursed." It is very important to recognise these early causes of confusion in connection with *Noah* and *rest*, because the Epistle of Peter and Justin Martyr severally shew that Noah was connected by Christians in the first century with "*baptism*," and in the second century with "*rest*" as well as "*baptism*." And the question arises about our author whether he agreed with either, or both, of these early authorities.

[3686 *d*] Enoch (ed. Charles) says about Noah (cvii. 3) "He will cause the earth to *rejoice in compensation* for all destruction," and (*ib.* cvi. 18) "Call his name *Noah* for he will be *left* to you." The former agrees with the Heb. of Gen. v. 29 "shall comfort us." As to the latter (on which see Charles's note) I have been unable to find any instance in the LXX where κατάλειμμα corresponds to the Heb. root of "Noah." Sir. xlv. 17 Heb. says that Noah "in a season of destruction, became the successor (*or*, substitute), for his sake there was a remnant," but not, as LXX, that Noah himself was "a remnant" or "left."

[3686 *e*] Philo (i. 214) quotes the LXX, and represents Lamech's prediction as referring to "*rest*" or "*relief*" (ἀνάπαυλαν) from toils, or "works (ἔργων)" of worldliness, and from "troubles (λυπῶν)," which we

bring on ourselves by "our own hands." As for "the earth which the Lord God hath cursed," that, he says, means "wickedness (*κακία*), which is grounded (*ἐνιδρυται*) in the souls of fools (*τῶν ἀφρόνων*)."¹ So far, he writes incidentally and indirectly, but in the extant Latin of his direct commentary, while repeating the explanation given above—about "resting" from "evil works" and "pains" and "fears" and from "the accursed earthy nature"—he makes an admission of which Christians would be quick to take advantage, namely, that Lamech's prediction ("comfort us") is "literally false":—"Attamen attento rerum eventu ad litteram fallitur (? *ψεύδεται*) vaticinium jam prolatum." During Lamech's life, he says, instead of a relaxation, there was a recrudescence of evil.

[3686 *f*] Philo has not left any record of his view as to the way in which Lamech's "literally false" prophecy was to be spiritually fulfilled. And Jewish traditions of early Rabbis (*Gen. r.* ad loc.) while frankly admitting that the explanation of the giving of the name, Noah, did not suit the name itself, afford no answer to the question "How was the prophecy fulfilled *for Lamech*? What 'rest' did Noah give *him*?" Thus the Christians were left free to answer the question, as, later on, Origen answered it. "Our Lord," he says (*Hom. Gen.* ii. 3), is "the true Noah, Jesus Christ"; in the ark, the living creatures, according to their degree, wild and tame, "mount up, so to speak, to Noah himself, who means 'rest,' or 'the righteous one,' who is Jesus Christ." Then he asks, in the spirit of Philo, how anyone can maintain that the literal Noah gave men "rest" from "troubles and curses"; but Jesus said "Come unto me, *all ye that travail*...and ye shall find *rest* for your souls" (Mt. xi. 28—9).

[3686 *g*] These last words of Origen assume, though they do not state, that when Jesus spoke to "*all*," He included Lamech, who had said about Noah "he shall comfort *us*." This is more definitely stated by the Petrine Epistle, which supplies what the extant works of Philo omit, namely, an explanation of the way in which the spiritual Noah released Lamech and the rest from the pains of the curse under which they lay (1 Pet. iii. 18 foll.). The passage contains an allusion (to the "*ceasing*," brought about by Noah) that might easily be overlooked—though the whole of the Petrine context bears on that "rest," or "cessation" (from worldly cares and fears) which Philo connects with Noah—(1 Pet. iv. 1) "He that hath suffered in the flesh *hath-been-made-to- cease* from sin (*πέπαυται ἀμαρτίας* v.r. *ἀμαρτίας*)."² It also definitely mentions those whom Lamech called "*us*," as "*the spirits in prison... disobedient...in the days of Noah*" to whom Christ "proclaimed [release]." The "prison" of Sheol might be regarded as (Ps. lxix. 14—15) "the pit," "the deep," "the water flood," "the deep waters," (*ib.* 1) "the waters that come unto the soul." Only seven persons came alive out of these waters with the first Noah. The second Noah brought up a host, rescued

for a new life. This act of rescue the Epistle likens to "baptism," and it emphatically explains that the act was spiritual. It was "*in the spirit*" that Christ "proclaimed," and it was "*to spirits*." And "baptism" is, "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh but the question-and-answer of a good conscience toward God."

[3686 *h*] The substance of the Petrine doctrine is this: "As Noah in his Ark received and preserved a second, newly measured out, and regenerate world (Iren. iv. 16. 2 Noë...accepit mensuras mundi secundae generationis) washed by the waters of the deluge, that they might cease from corruption and enter on a new and purer life, so and much more did our Noah, the Lord Jesus, purify us—not by mere baptismal washing of the flesh but by the Spirit—dying in the flesh, but living again in the Spirit. And this He did, not only for us but also for those whom Noah had failed to help. The 'cessation' brought by the baptism of the waters of Noah was a destruction even more than a 'cessation.' But Christ's baptism through His Spirit and through His 'suffering' 'causes men to cease unto sin.'"

[3686 *i*] This implies, among other things, a warning against a superstitious trust in baptism by water alone. As the Johannine writings say, in effect, "Not by water only but also by blood," and "Not by water only but also by the Spirit," so does this Petrine writing, "Not by water only but also by suffering; not in water only but also in the Spirit."

[3686 *j*] Passing to Justin Martyr, we find him influenced by, and taking advantage of, the LXX mistranslation of Is. liv. 8—9 "In everlasting mercy will I have mercy on thee, said the Lord that *delivered thee*. From the water during [the days of] Noah..." From this, by slight alteration, he extracts, as a saying of God "to Jerusalem" (*Tryph.* 138) "*I saved thee in the deluge of Noah*." Noah, he says, is a figure of Christ, who has regenerated us by water, faith, and "wood"—in Noah's case, the Ark, in Christ's case, the Cross. The mention of (1 Pet. iii. 20) "eight souls"—transmitted by 2 Pet. ii. 5 in the form of "Noah the eighth [person]," ὀγδοὺς, without the αὐτός necessary to give the phrase its apparently intended meaning—appears in Justin in a tradition that the eight persons were "a symbol of the eighth day," the day of Christ's resurrection. Justin concludes with the assertion that the salvation mentioned by Isaiah ("I saved thee") was intended for the spiritual "Jerusalem," i.e. for Gentile as well as Jewish believers, "for whom also He had previously prepared a *resting-place* (ἀνάπαυσιν) in Jerusalem." We cannot safely infer that "resting-place" alludes to the name of Noah. For the context in Isaiah describes Israel as a "wife" called back to her home. And "home" would imply "rest." Irenaeus speaks of the Messiah as (v. 30. 4) "bringing in for the righteous the times of the Kingdom, that is, *the rest*, the hallowed seventh day"—apparently meaning the

[3687] If "rest" implies a home, then it is natural that the thought of being "at home with the Lord" should be expressed by the phrase "not a stranger," as in the Epistle to the Ephesians which, as will be seen, has many points in common with this Ode, and which reminds its readers that they were once "strangers from the covenants of promise" but that they are now "no more strangers and foreigners¹." That Epistle also emphasizes the metaphor of wedlock—apparently implied in our present Ode—in order to express the unity between the redeemed and the Redeemer.

7. And I shall not be a stranger², because there is no grudging with the Lord [Most] High and [Most] Compassionate³.

real hebdomad, the real "seventh-day," which is, for Christians, "the eighth day" (commonly called "the first day").

[3686 *k*] In the volume of the Odes, the last one is almost wholly devoted to Christ's preaching in Hades, and if we are to pass any judgment at all on the question whether it proceeds from the same pen that wrote the earlier Odes, it is necessary that we should realise something of the Jewish first-century thought about God's "rest." It is clear that the subject was discussed, and probable that it was much discussed. On this point, we may conclude with the evidence of Jerome. Discussing Is. liv. 8—9—the passage misquoted above by Justin Martyr—he declares that the LXX is "confused." Then he gives at great length the opinion of a "vir prudentissimus" who refers the passage, and a number of others, tropologically, to Christ's baptism. While expressing his own dissent, he leaves the reader to judge.

The subject of "rest" will repeatedly come before us in the later Odes. Meantime we have to keep before our minds that for a Jewish writer God's "rest" would imply several thoughts, one of which, and perhaps the most prominent, would be, not the character of Noah, but God's "resting-place" among men, God's Sanctuary, Jerusalem on earth, regarded as a type of Jerusalem in heaven where Jehovah and His Bride were to be indissolubly united.

¹ Eph. ii. 12, 19. On the similarity between the Epistle and the Ode, see 3689.

² [3687 *a*] "Stranger." If the predominating conception of "rest" here is that of a "home," then we may illustrate "stranger" from the passage where Ruth, the foreign ancestress of David, says to Boaz her

8. I have been mingled [in wedlock]¹ because the loving-one (3999 (ii) 17 *t*) hath found Him (3999 (i) *a*) the Beloved².

[3688] In the last verse, the difficult expression, "I have been mingled," might naturally be at first sight supposed to be a metaphor derived from the Christian sacrament, the wine being mingled with water; for the Syriac word, when used literally, generally denotes a "mingling" of liquids³. But it is also metaphorically used of the union of two natures. And a Jewish comment on the words in the Song of Songs, "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his lips," illustrates the meaning

future husband (Ruth ii. 10) "Why have I found grace in thy sight, that thou shouldest take knowledge of me, seeing I am a *stranger*?" Boaz replies, in effect, that she will find rest in God (*ib.* ii. 12) "A full reward be given thee of the Lord, under whose wings thou art come to take refuge."

[3687 *b*] If the words "I shall not be a stranger" had occurred nearer to the mention of the "crown" above, one might have suspected an original Hebrew play on the identical letters which (apart from vowel-points) represent both words, so that it is said concerning the student of the Law (Levy i. 551 *b*) "If he is virtuous, knowledge is a *crown* to him; if not, it is a *stranger*." But the picture in Ruth and similar pictures of the Bride, or Wife, in the Song of Songs and the Prophets, are quite sufficient to explain the sequence of thought.

³ [3687 *c*] "[Most] Compassionate." The Syr. word occurs in Exod. xxxiv. 6 (R.V. and Gesen. 933) "*full-of-compassion*," (A.V.) "*merciful*." The Heb., Targums, and Syr. all agree in the root of the word (Gesen. 933). "Compassion" represents (which "merciful" does not so well) a fellow-suffering. The word is a form of the word rendered "love" and "beloved" in this Ode, which represents (Brederek p. 184) a great number of Hebrew words. One form of the word in Heb. means "womb" or "bowels," whence the phrase "bowels of compassion." There is no "Most" in this Syriac title here or elsewhere (3922 *m*). It is lit. "the High and the Compassionate." But "*the*" means "*pre-eminently*" or "*uniquely*." This may be expressed by "*Most*."

¹ "Mingled [in wedlock]." See 3688 *d*, 3689 *b*.

² [3687 *d*] R.H. 1st ed. "because I shall find love to the Beloved." But H. has "weil der Liebende den Geliebten gefunden hat." And R.H. 2nd ed. also has "the Lover has found the Beloved" (without note).

³ [3688 *a*] *Thes.* 2059 "*miscuit*, spec. de potu miscendo." It corresponds to "mix," "mingle" used thus in the Bible.

from the "bringing of two cisterns into connection¹." Another Jewish tradition—repellent, no doubt, to our taste, but instructive as to Eastern expression—represents Jehovah as saying to Moses, "Our two countenances mix heat²." Moreover "mix" is probably used by Ignatius, in the phrase "mixed with His (*i.e.* Christ's) flesh," not to mean (as interpreted in glosses) participation in the sacrament, but rather to suggest union with the Body of Christ, the union arising from incorporation in the Church, which is His Bride³.

¹ [3688 *b*] On Cant. i. 2 "Er küsse mich...", Wü. p. 17 translates a tradition in the Midrash thus: "Er reinige mich, er schliesse sich an mich, er küsse mich. Wie ein Mensch welcher zwei Cisternen so miteinander in Verbindung bringt [dass zwischen beiden ein Raum für einen Wasserbehälter ist]." But I am informed by Rev. G. Margoliouth that the words I have bracketed are Wünsche's own addition, and that, in the original, the water in the impure cistern is regarded as cleansed by flushing with water from the pure cistern. Compare the expression in our Communion Service "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood," which seems to combine the metaphor of Col. i. 22 "reconciled *in the body of his flesh* ...to present you holy...", with that of Eph. v. 25—7 "as Christ also loved the church...having *cleansed it by the washing of water with the word*, that he might present the church to himself (3884 *t*)."² In Jewish tradition "the mouth of God," meaning "the word of God," is sometimes paraphrased as "the kiss of God." This might apply to "cleansing...with the word," which might be poetically regarded as "cleansing with the Kiss of the Lord" (see p. xlvii).

The notion of mixing wine with water would be alien from this author, who, in the only passage where he speaks of "mingling" elsewhere, uses it of "milk" (Ode xix. 4). He never speaks of "wine" except in a bad sense, as the wine of the Deceiver (Ode xxxviii. 13). H.'s Index does not mention "Mischung" or "Vermischung."

² [3688 *c*] *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xxxiii. 12, Wü. p. 315) "Unsere beiden Gesichter mischen Heisses."

³ [3688 *d*] See *Notes* 2895 quoting Ign. *Smyrn.* 3, and *Son* 3440 *c* quoting Origen (*Comm. Joann.* xix. 1) "the Lord knoweth those that are His, being *blended with* them, and having imparted to them a share of His divinity." The Latin transl. of Origen's *Hom. Numb.* xx. 3 (Lomm. x. 251) uses the word "*misceri*" in connection with Cant. vi. 8—9 thus "Grande est ergo et vere opus Dei, tamen multis dogmatibus quasi

[3689] This view is confirmed by the general agreement of this Ode, in tone and spirit, with the Epistle to the Ephesians. Both have as their central figure "the Beloved"¹; both imply that there is a new "love" that must be "known" or "interpreted," although it "passeth knowledge"²; both speak, in some sense, of "putting on" a new nature³; both deprecate the fear that we shall be rejected as "strangers"⁴ if we draw near to the Messiah; both emphasize the "free" or "ungrudging" liberality of the Lord's grace⁵; and finally, if the interpretation of "mingling" given above is the right one, both agree in regarding the union between the Messiah and

mulieribus *misceri*, nec tamen a veritatis regula declinare, sed constanter dicere (Cant. vi. 8—9) 'Sexaginta sunt reginae et octoginta concubinae... una tamen est columba mea perfecta mea.' Here "misceri" implies a lower spiritual condition than that which is implied by union with the One Dove. And the passage shews how the word "mingle," if sometimes used in very early Christian poetry to describe the unity between the Messiah and His "members," might come to be regarded as an unfit word to represent the wedlock between Christ and the Church, and as better fitted to represent the participation in Christ's Body by the faithful through the Lord's Supper.

¹ [3689 a] Eph. i. 6 "to the praise of the glory of his grace which he freely bestowed on us in *the Beloved*." The marg. gives no other instance of this term, thus used absolutely.

² Eph. iii. 18—19 "to apprehend...what is the breadth and length... and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge."

³ Eph. iv. 24 "put on the new man," that is, humanity as made anew in the Messiah, comp. Eph. ii. 15 "having abolished in his flesh the enmity...that he might create in himself, of the twain (*i.e.* of Jews and Gentiles) one new man." On Ode iii. 1 "put on," see 3760 *m* foll.

⁴ Eph. ii. 12 "ye were at that time separate from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and *strangers* from the covenants of the promise," *ib.* 19 "ye are no more *strangers* and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints." "Strangers" occurs very rarely in the Epistles, and nowhere else in this sense.

⁵ Ode iii. 7 "no grudging," comp. Odes vii. 4, xi. 6 &c. Comp. Eph. i. 6 "freely bestowed," *ib.* 7—8 "the riches of his grace which he made to abound toward us," *ib.* ii. 7 "the exceeding riches of his grace" &c.

believers as capable of illustration from the union between husband and wife¹.

§ 4. *Awakening to the Love of the Son*

[3690] The conclusion of the extract last given, "the loving-one hath found Him, the Beloved," again suggests a thought of the Song of Songs, which represents the Bride as saying concerning the Beloved, first, "I sought him but I *found* him not," and then, "I *found* him whom my soul loveth." And this ought reasonably to induce us to glance at the Song of Songs for something that may bear on the extremely difficult passage with which the Ode terminates, introducing an abrupt mention of "the Son." The Song, of course, if it throws any light, may only throw a side-light. The subject may have been before the poet's mind as a conception, or perhaps as a vision, quite apart from Solomon's Song. If he was a Christian it must have been so. But still, musing on the development of things, he may well have been struck by the typical similarity, as well as the spiritual dissimilarity, between the two "Sons of David," one of whom built the visible Temple, the other, the invisible.

¹ [3689 *b*] The Odes—perhaps under the influence of the Song of Songs iii. 11 "king Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals"—begin with the "crown" and pass at once to the metaphor of wedlock. The Ephesian Epistle works up to it as climax. Comp. Eph. i. 22 "the church which is his body," ii. 19—21 "the household of God...a holy temple in the Lord," iv. 12 foll. "the body of Christ...unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," iv. 15 "the head, [even] Christ," v. 23 "the husband is the head of the wife as Christ also is the head of the church, [being] himself the saviour of the body," *ib.* 25 "husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church," v. 31—2 "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh. This mystery is great; but I speak in regard of Christ and of the church."

[3691] The Son is mentioned, for the first time in the Odes, in the following extract:—

9. Because I shall love Him, the Son, I shall be the Son¹.

10. For he that cleaveth² to Him that dieth not—he, too, will become one that dieth not³.

¹ [3691 *a*] R.H. 1st ed. “and because I shall love Him that is the Son, that I may be a son,” with n. “*or*, the Son,” 2nd ed. “and because I shall love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son” (with the same note). H. “Weil ich ihn, den Sohn, liebe, werde ich Sohn sein.” The Syriac “son” appears to mean, at all events, more than “a son” would generally be taken to mean. Probably it means “identified with the Son” and therefore “the Son”; less probably, “I shall play the [part of] Son [not of Servant].” As to the abrupt introduction of the title, see 3692.

In the contrast between “son” and “servant” it must be remembered that, in Heb., Aram., and Syr., a household-servant is called “*son of the house*” (Gen. xv. 3, Gesen. 120 *b*, Lev. i. 239 *a*, *Theo.* 583). *Numb. r.* (on *Numb.* iii. 40, *Wü.* p. 54) quotes *Numb.* xii. 7 “my servant Moses... faithful in all mine house,” and describes Moses as “*son of the house*,” and so does *Tehill.* (on Ps. ii. 12, *Wü.* i. 29). If we substitute “son of the house” for servant, we shall better understand the argument in Heb. iii. 2 foll. “[Jesus] who was (*Numb.* xii. 7) ‘faithful’ to him (*i.e.* God) ...as also was Moses in all his (*i.e.* God’s) house. For he hath been counted worthy of more glory than Moses, by so much as he that built the house hath more honour than the house...And Moses indeed was ‘faithful’ in ‘all his (*i.e.* God’s) house’ as a ‘*son of the house*’...but Christ as a *son* [of the Father] *over* his (*i.e.* the Father’s) house.”

The argument is, “A *son of the house* is surely inferior to a *son of the Father*.” Somewhat similarly, when Abraham says to God (Gen. xv. 3) “A *son of my house* (R.V. one born in my house) shall be mine heir,” God replies, in effect, “No, the heir shall be *thine own son, the son of the father of many nations*’.”

² [3691 *b*] “Cleaveth to.” R.H. “is joined to.” H. “anhanget.” *Theo.* 2457—8 says that the word is identical with Chald. “*anhängen*,” “*adhaesit, amore junctus est*,” and that the Ethpa. (the form used here) means *vehementer amavit*. It is a rendering of “cleaving to (κολλᾶσθαι)” in Acts ix. 26, Rom. xii. 9.

³ [3691 *c*] Comp. Mt. x. 40—2 which states this doctrine in another form. The doctrine is, that whoever “cleaves to,” or (Mt.) “receives,” the Prophet or the Righteous, “cleaves to,” and, to some extent, “receives,” the character of the Prophet or the Righteous (which, in Mt., is called “the reward”).

The parallels in Mk ix. 37—41, Lk. ix. 48, and Mt. xviii. 5, all of

11. And he that delighteth in Life [eternal]¹—living (R.H. gives altern. “the living One”) shall he be.

12. This is the Spirit² of the Lord, which is not falsehood³, which teacheth⁴ the sons of Man⁵ to know His ways [? saying]

which speak of “receiving” a “little one,” express this doctrine very obscurely. The latent meaning is (*Son 3527 a*) “that to ‘receive’ ‘a little one’ was really to receive ‘the little one,’ that is, Christ, ‘the Son of Man,’ the representative of universal kindness.” The Jews abounded in examples of this doctrine of *receiving*, implying a change of character in the person, or even the thing, that receives. See Schöttg. on Mt. x. 40 quoting *inter alia*, *Numb. r.* (on *Numb. xxxiii. 1*, Wü. p. 530) where it is said that the Desert that *received* Israel is to be rewarded by being metamorphosed (*Is. xxxv. 1—7*), “The desert shall rejoice...the glowing sand shall become a pool.”

The author of the Odes states clearly, and briefly, but hyperbolically, the doctrine stated by Matthew: “Because I love the Son I shall be the Son, because I receive Him that dieth not I shall become one that dieth not.”

¹ [3691 *d*] R.H. 1st ed. “and he who is accepted in the Living One” with note, “the MS. has ‘in life.’ Cf. Apoc. i. 17.” H. “und wer Wohlgefallen hat am Leben.” R.H. 2nd ed. “and he who has pleasure in the Living One,” with n. as before. See Appendix III.

In Rev. i. 17—18 “I am the first...and *the living* [*One*] (ὁ ζῶν) (A.V. I am the first...[*I am*] *he that liveth*),” the Syr. has no final *aleph* (*Son 3069 a*), which it has here, both in “Life” and in “living.” H. follows the text, which makes a slight diacritical distinction (*Thes. 1253—4*) between “life” and “living.” “He that delighteth in Life” implies “He that delighteth in *Him who is life* [eternal].” If the writer had written the latter, it would have been a repetition (positively) of what has just been said (negatively) “he that cleaveth to *Him that dieth not*.” Such repetitions, however, are not alien from the poet’s style, see 3691 *g*.

Perhaps the poet speaks of “the [principle of] life [moral and spiritual]” as a preparation for his next words, “this”—that is, the Life—“is *the Spirit of the Lord*.”

² [3691 *e*] This is the first mention of “*the Spirit*,” which will next be referred to in Ode vi. 2—6 “So speaks in my members the *Spirit of the Lord*, and I speak in His fervent-love...our spirits ascribe glory to *His holy Spirit*.” Then come xi. 2 “*His holy Spirit*,” xiii. 2 (rep. xvi. 6) “*His Spirit*,” and xiv. 8 “*Thy holy Spirit*,” but “*the holy Spirit*” does not occur till xix. 3—4. See 3906 *a*.

In Jn, the first mention of “truth” by Jesus (as distinct from evang. comm., *Joh. Gr. 2066*) is iv. 23—4 (*bis*) “in *spirit* and *truth*,” and comp.

xiv. 17 (rep. xv. 26, xvi. 13, 1 Jn iv. 6) "the *Spirit of truth*," and 1 Jn v. 7 "the *Spirit is the truth*."

³ [3691 *f*] The poet mentions for the first time both "death" and "falsehood," in this Ode, and both negatively—"Him that *dieth not*," "the Spirit of the Lord, which is *not falsehood*." H., who renders "not falsehood" by "ohne Falsch," does not give "Falsch" in his Index. But under "Lüge, Falscheit" he refers to Ode xviii. 6 "let not truth flee before *falsehood* (Lüge)" and xviii. 9 "*falsehood* and death are not in thy mouth." The Syr. noun in these three passages is the same word (*Thes.* 822). "Lie" occurs twice in 1 Jn and both times negatively (ii. 21) "*no lie* is of the truth," (ii. 27) "and is true and is *no lie*."

[3691 *g*] There may be a spiritual purpose in representing "death" and "falsehood"—when first introduced—in this negative way. On the Jewish use of negation as complementary to affirmation, see *Joh. Gr.* 2591 foll.

⁴ [3691 *h*] "Teacheth." "*Teach*" ("lehren") is omitted in H.'s Index. It occurs also in Ode xiv. 7 "*Teach* me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee." In A.V., the first mention of "*teach*" in O.T. is in the promise of God to Moses (Exod. iv. 12) "Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth and *teach* thee what thou shalt say." In the Heb. txt. (Gesen 435 *b*), that is also the first of the few instances where this word, which is connected with *Torah*, "*instruction*," is used of God "*instructing man*." The Syr. there is the same as here, a form of the Heb. *âlaph*, which, in the causative, means "teach," and which Onkelos (Brederek p. 50) regularly uses as equiv. of Heb. "instruct." In N.T., "teach (*διδάσκω*)" is not often used in the words of Jesus. In Lk. (apart from xiii. 26, where Jesus does not speak in His own person) Jesus uses it only in xii. 12 "the Holy Spirit shall *teach* you in that same hour" (where the parall. Mk and Mt. say that it will be the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of the Father that will "speak" in them). In Jn (apart from xviii. 20 "I ever taught in the synagogue") Jesus uses the word only in viii. 28 "even as the Father *taught* me," and xiv. 26 "He shall *teach* you all things," where "He" refers to (*ib.*) "the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name," who is called, both before and after (*ib.* xiv. 17, xv. 26) "the Spirit of truth."

[3691 *i*] In the Odes, the two mentions of "teaching" indicate a high standard for it, and perhaps a tacit protest against such a low standard as led to (Mk vii. 7, Mt. xv. 9, comp. Tit. i. 14) "teaching [as] teachings the commandments of [mere] human beings," that is, commandments not based on the harmonious Law of the Spirit, and therefore not true, and not "living." The poet implies that the Teacher is God, or the Spirit of the Lord, and that the teaching is living, and true, and fruitful for good. This agrees with the Johannine use of the word in Christ's utterances.

13. Be ye¹ wise, and take-knowledge², and awake³. Hallelujah⁴.

The context in the Ode (see next note) rather suggests a reminiscence of the cry of Wisdom to the "sons of man" in Proverbs, and also of Prov. i. 20—23 (LXX) "Wisdom crieth aloud...I will *teach* you my discourse." There the Heb. and the Syr. both have "I will *make-known*," but that is not a great objection.

⁵ [3691 *j*] "The sons of Man." See *Son* 3177 *a*. The Hebrew "sons of *man* (adam)" is regularly rendered in Gk "sons of *men*." For example, in Prov. viii. 4, 31, "sons of adam" is in A.V. 1st "sons of *man*," 2nd "sons of *men*." R.V. has "sons of men" in both cases. The advantage of the rendering "sons of Man" is, that it combines the original Heb. sing. with the notion of collectiveness. In Prov. viii. 4 (as compared with Prov. iv. 1 "Hear, [my] sons") the insertion, "*of Man*," implies (as the context shews) weakness and liability to error, but not so as to prevent Wisdom from taking (*ib.* 31) "delight" in them.

¹ [3691 *k*] "Ye." This—unless the Spirit, not the poet, is speaking (3983 (v) *b*)—is the first of the poet's appeals to his readers in the second person plural. H. gives "Ihr als Anrede, iii. 13, vii. 29, viii. 1—14, 26, ix. 1, 3—6, 11, 13, xiii. 1—3, xxiii. 4, xxx. 1 foll., xxxi. 6, xxxiii. 6—10, xxxiv. 6, xxxix. 7." In vii. 29, as here, the appeal in the 2nd pers. pl. comes (after a previous mention of the Father and the Son) at the end of the Ode, "Confess ye His power and shew forth His grace. Hallelujah." Having fallen into this tone of appeal, the poet continues it through several verses of the next Ode (viii. 1—14) "Open ye, open ye your hearts...rise up...tell ye...love me" (about 11 imperatives). It generally indicates a strong desire to bring the reader into personal relation with the Lord *e.g.* xiii. 1—3 "Behold, the Lord is our mirror. Open the eyes and see them in Him..." (8 imperatives in 3 verses).

² [3691 *l*] "Take-knowledge." R.H. "[be] understanding," H. "erken-net." The word literally means "know," but, as in Lat. and Gk, it may mean "recognise." In the gospels, when precepts about "watching" are given, the thought often is that the Bridegroom, or the Son, may at any time be "coming"; but here the thought seems to be that He is "revealed" (on the substitution of which for "coming" see *Son*, Index, "Revealed") and that the slumberers are to open their eyes and to "*know*," *i.e.* recognise Him.

The first mention of "knowledge" in the Bible is connected with (Gen. ii. 9) "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," which brought sin into the world, through the deceit of Satan. In the first of these Odes, the "crown" that "lives" and bears "fruits" is supposed to come from the counter-healing Tree, the Tree of Life. This, too, brings "knowledge," but a different kind of "knowledge," not that which (1 Cor. viii. 1) "puffeth up" but that which "buildeth up." In this

first introduction of Knowledge upon the stage, the poet defines the "knowledge." There are two kinds of Knowledge, as there are also two Ways; one of falsehood, one of truth; one of death, one of life; one of Satan, one of God. This knowledge, of which I speak, says the poet, is of the latter kind. It is "*not*-falsehood," that is, "the opposite and antidote of falsehood." By it the Lord "teaches the sons of Man to know His ways." It goes along with Wisdom ("be ye wise") and with wakeful sobriety ("awake ye"). By "take knowledge" he really means "take *this kind of knowledge*."

³ [3691 *m*] "Awake." R.H. "[be] vigilant," H. "seid wachsam," which, at first sight, may seem demanded by sequence, but see 3691 *n*. The middle imperative of the Syr. verb here used may undoubtedly mean "be watchful," as in Mt. xxv. 13 &c. But, where this continuous action is implied, the Syr. (SS) uses two words, "*be-ye watching*" in Mk. xiii. 33, 35, 37, Mt. xxiv. 42 (Burk. "be watchful" as distinct from "watch" where the middle imperative is used) and Acts xx. 31. And in Isaiah (Syr.) the middle imperative means "awake" so frequently, and in a strain of thought so similar to that of the Ode, as to afford a strong presumption that "*awake*" is the meaning here.

See Is. xxvi. 19 (Walton) "expergiscantur" ("*Awake*, and sing, ye that dwell in the dust") and Is. li. 17 foll. "*Awake, awake*, stand up, O Jerusalem...there is none to guide her among all the sons that she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up...How (A.V. by whom) shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted..." which precedes the prediction that redemption shall come from a "servant" of Jehovah whose "visage" is "marred more than the sons of Man." "Awake" recurs in Is. lii. 1 (Syr.) "*Awake, awake*." In view of these passages, and of the context here, "awake" seems a suitable rendering. And it resembles the quotation in the Ephesian Epistle (on the similarity of which to this Ode see 3689; (Eph. v. 14) "*Awake* (Syr. same as here), thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee."

The supposition that the poet has Isaiah li. 17 in mind suits the juxtaposition of "the Son" and "sons of Man" with "awake" in the Ode here, and the juxtaposition of "sons" and "sons of Man" with "awake" in Isaiah. The meaning is that "all the sons" having "fainted," Israel must look for redemption to one in some way distinguished from all "the sons of Man." The poet believes that he has found this son, *the son of sons* (so to speak), whom he calls *the Son*.

[3691 *n*] It may be objected that, after the poet has been appealing to his hearers or readers through the whole of a poem, he cannot consistently terminate it with "Awake" as though they had been all the time asleep and hearing nothing of what he had been saying to them. But that would be a prosaic objection. Comp. the termination of Satan's

§ 5. *The Son*

[3692] In attempting to explain the abrupt introduction of "*the Son*" in this Ode, we should note that, when the term occurs the second time, it is again used absolutely, "It rests¹

speech of fifteen lines in *Paradise Lost* i. 315—30 "Princes, potentates... *Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.*"

In these preliminary Odes the poet has been endeavouring to communicate to his hearers something of that which he has felt in the ecstatic union between himself and the Beloved. Now, before taking them further, into the sanctuary (Ode iv. 3) where the Beloved dwells, he tells them in one word, that, whatever they may have thought of their own spiritual knowledge, it has been relatively darkness, if they have not known the light of the love of the Beloved. Have they known it? It has been shining on them, but have they seen it? If not—"Awake."

He does not indeed mention "Light" here, for he probably desires (3699, comp. 3786 *a*) to subordinate it to Life and Love. But he prepares the way for the doctrine (set forth in Ode xlii) that the Messiah will come as Light to the sons of Man in the darkness of Sheol, saying to them (Is. xxvi. 19, li. 17, lx. i, Eph. v. 14) "Awake, ye that sleep, and arise from the dead, and the Messiah will give you light." And this message the poet here proclaims by anticipation to the Gentiles, and to those of his nation who are still in darkness.

⁴ [3691 *o*] "Hallelujah." Concerning the similar form, "praise him," in Ps. xxii. 23 "ye that fear the Lord, praise him," Rashi and the Midr. ("im Namen R. Eleasar") assume that those who "fear the Lord" are "proselytes." And *Lev. r.* (on Lev. ii. 1, Wü. p. 19) quotes the same authority as saying that when the proselytes of righteousness enter into the next world, "Antoninus will come at their head."

[3691 *p*] In N.T., "Hallelujah" occurs only in Rev. xix. 1—6 concerning the ascription of praise from the "great voice of a great multitude in heaven," and the "elders," and the "living creatures." It would be appropriately used at the close of poems intended to emphasize the inclusiveness of God's redemption, which included (Ps. xxii. 23) those "that fear the Lord" as well as (*ib.*) "the seed of Jacob." And this perhaps is meant by Rev. xix. 3 "a second time they say Hallelujah"—*i.e.* for the Gentiles, after saying it a first time for the Jews. "Hallelujah" occurs at the end of every Ode except Ode i. which is printed above as unfinished. Its omission at the end of Ode xxvii. (R.H. Engl. transl.) is a misprint (in 2nd ed. as well as 1st) if the Syr. txt. is correct, which gives "Hallelujah" (as also does H. in his translation).

¹ "It rests." See Ode vii. 18 (3785). R.H. 1st ed. "it was resting," 2nd ed. "He was resting." H. "Er hat seine Freude."

in *the Son*," and, for the third time, "*the Son* is the Cup, and He who was milked is the Father¹." On the fourth occasion we have "*the Son of Truth*, from the Father the Most High," and, in the same Ode, at the end, "the name of the Father was on it (*i.e.* on the great tablet, or volume) and of *the Son* and of the Holy Spirit²." "The Father" is not mentioned till the seventh Ode, and then not absolutely but as "the Father of knowledge (*or*, of recognition)³."

[3693] How are we to account for the fact that "the Son" is mentioned before "the Father," and in this absolute way, as an object of love ("because I shall love Him, the Son, I shall be the Son")? The words have the ring of sincerity. They do not sound as though the poet were endeavouring to decoy us into a belief in the Holy Trinity by first commending to us the love of the Son. They suggest very strongly that the writer had before him and in him, in his heart and soul, some thought (with which we are not familiar) not about "*a son*" but about "*the Son*" who, being Himself undying, was to be the object of an undying love:—"he that cleaveth to Him that dieth not—he, too, will become one that dieth not."

[3694] Such a thought can be found, connecting "the Beloved" with a pre-eminence among "sons," in the Song of Songs—indicated by many similarities of phrase (above noted) as being in the author's mind at the outset—"As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, *so is my Beloved among the sons*⁴." The curious expression, "among the sons," invites comparison with Isaiah's mournful confession that no Deliverer

¹ [3692 *a*] Ode xix. 2. "This is followed by (*ib.* 7) "She travailed and brought forth *a son*." But it must be noted that, in Syr., the same form may represent both "a son" and "the son." *E.g.* in Gen. iv. 25, 26, "a son," whereas the Targums have *bar*, "a son," the Syr. has *bara*, which may mean "the son" (as it means in Lk. i. 13 (SS)).

² Ode xxiii. 16, 20.

³ Ode vii. 9.

⁴ Cant. ii. 3.

is to be found for Zion "*among all the sons* that she hath brought forth¹," and all the more because Isaiah's context and the conclusion of this Ode agree in exhorting believers to "awake," in the anticipation, or in the presence, of the true Deliverer². Moses had predicted that the Deliverer of Israel should be one of their own "brethren"³—a "son," therefore, of the Nation, one who might be called, pre-eminently, *the Son*. Is that the meaning in the Song of Songs, and if so does the meaning there throw light on the meaning here?

[3695] It is impossible to say with confidence precisely what was meant by the writer of the Song of Songs, but it is possible to say what mystical Jews in the first century might take to be the meaning. In the Song, they could not well take "the Son" to be Israel, since Israel is, throughout, regarded as the Bride. Yet they would be influenced by the *consensus* of the Law and the Prophets which regards "the Son" as, in the first place, the ideal Israel, in accordance with the saying, "Israel is my son, my first-born," and in the next place, the ideal Messiah, Representative, or King of Israel, of whom God says, "I will make him first-born⁴"; in the latter passage is added "highest of the kings of the earth"; in the

¹ Is. li. 18, s. 3691 *m*.

² Is. li. 17—18 "*Awake, awake...there is none to guide her among all the sons...*" lii. 1—3 "*Awake, awake...Ye were sold for naught, and ye shall be redeemed without money.*" See 3691 *m* foll.

³ [3694 *a*] Deut. xviii. 15 "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, *of thy brethren*, like unto me," rep. in Deut. xviii. 18 "*from among their brethren*, like unto thee." The marg. in both passages alleges Jn i. 21, 25, 45, and "cited Acts iii. 22, vii. 37." [With "from the midst of thee" comp. Jn i. 26 "in the midst of you"]. There is the same thought of deliverance of "*brethren*" by a "*brother*" in Heb. ii. 12 (quoting Ps. xxii. 22) "I will declare thy name unto my *brethren*," where the writer perceives that "*brethren*" implies joint *sonship*. He has already (*ib.* ii. 6) quoted Ps. viii. 4—6 "the *son* of man (*i.e.* Adam)" as referring to Jesus, and has spoken of God as (*ib.* ii. 10) "bringing many *sons* unto glory."

⁴ Exod. iv. 22, Ps. lxxxix. 27. Comp. Hos. xi. 1 "I called my *son* out of Egypt."

former there is implied, though not added, "highest of the nations of the earth."

Hence might arise occasional confusion between Israel's representative (such as Moses) when regarded as Son, and the same representative, when regarded as Mediator, acting as intermediary between Israel the Bride and God the Bridegroom. It is an astonishing indication of such confusion that in one notable instance a Rabbi ventured to speak of Moses as, in some sense, Bridegroom. Playing on the phrase "*man* of God," where "*man*" is the Hebrew corresponding to the Latin "*vir*," or "*husband*," Resh Lakish actually ventured to interpret Scripture as calling Moses *the husband* of God¹.

[3696] The Targum on the Song, it is true, takes the "Beloved among the sons" as being "the Lord of the World," *i.e.* the true God as being "among," and superior to, "the sons," *i.e.* the angels, the sons of God, who preside over all the nations except Israel²; and the "apple-tree" is the Law given

¹ [3695 *a*] See *Pesikt.* (on Deut. xxxiii. 1 "And this is the blessing with which Moses *the man* of God blessed...") Wü. p. 297. Resh Lakish's saying is based on Numb. xxx. 13 (14) "Her *man*," *i.e.* *husband* (see *ib.* p. 294). The saying is reversed in *Tanchuma* so as to make Moses the wife and God the husband, but (see Wünsche's note, p. 297) incorrectly. It is not surprising that Resh Lakish adds, "If it had not been written [in scripture] one could not have said this." *Pesikta* also says (p. 294) "Moses was *man (vir)*, when he went up the mountain but *God (Elohim)* when he came down (Exod. xxxiv. 30)." On Moses the Mediator see Lightf. on Gal. iii. 19 quoting Philo and other authorities.

² [3696 *a*] So, too, Rashi (on Cant. ii. 3) "Above all other gods He was thus chosen by Israel," *i.e.* when they accepted the Law; "the allegorical meaning is that all flee from the apple-tree because it gives no shade (so *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 133)... 'but I,' said Israel, 'desired its shade'; " "all the [other] peoples fled from the Holy One at the time when the Law was given." As the apple-tree produces flower before leaf, so (*Pesikt. ib.*, and Cant. viii. 5, Wü. p. 181) Israel said, at Sinai, "We will do" before saying "We will hear" (Exod. xxiv. 7, Heb. "hear" *i.e.* be obedient). Similarly, but more fully, says the Midrash. Rashi says that the Law is called the "apple-tree" because it, "when among trees that do not bear fruit (quando est inter arbores steriles), excels them all since its fruit is as

at Mount Sinai, and the Beloved is the Giver. But the Targum is much later than Resh Lakish. And the Supreme God, though the Giver of the Law, is regarded by Paul and Philo as giving it to Israel not directly from Himself, but indirectly, through Moses as mediator. Moses therefore might well be regarded by Jews in the first century as, in a double sense, "Beloved among the sons," since he was specially beloved among the Israelites, who were all "sons," and he was also the representative of the Supreme Beloved, God, the Bridegroom of the Law.

[3697] We have seen that Isaiah, in sorrow for degenerate Israel, represents the Lord as asking, in effect, where He can find a deliverer for her "among all the sons that she hath brought forth," and we must endeavour to realise that all pious Jews in the first century would recognise that Moses was such a "son." Several Jewish traditions say it was Moses (as man's representative) about whom the hostile angels exclaimed to Jehovah, "What is man that thou visitest him and the *son of man* that thou regardest him?"—when he made his way up to the top of Horeb in spite of their opposition, to receive the Law from God and to bring down gifts for men¹. And it is probable that our author has Moses in view—though Moses as the type of the Messiah—when he

sweet as it is fragrant." The author of the Odes from the beginning almost to the end emphasizes the "fruitfulness" of faith.

[3696 *b*] *Sabb.* 88 *a* similarly describes the "apple-tree" in the same passage in which it describes the "six hundred thousand" angels descending from heaven at the Giving of the Law to place two crowns on the head of each Israelite, one for "doing," the other for "hearing."

[3696 *c*] Origen's interpretations of "sons" in Cant. ii. 3 (Lomm. xiv. 267, 270, xv. 10—11, 15—16) are on the lines followed by Rashi, either (1) fallen angels, *i.e.* false gods, or (2) inferior angels, the Bridegroom's companions, whom, as compared with the Bridegroom, one might "liken to trees that bear no fruit."

¹ [3697 *a*] See *Notes* 2998 (xi.)—(xii.) quoting Ps. viii. 4, and *Sabb.* 88 *b*. In *Sanhedr.* 38 *b*, the hostile angels say these words before the creation of man. Comp. also Wagenseil, *Sota* p. 388.

says, in a later Ode, "He lifted-on-high his voice to the Most High and offered to Him *the sons that were with him*¹." That, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, implies the mediation of a pre-eminent Son between God and His other "sons."

[3698] It would appear that this poet is penetrated with the conception of the Son as the divine means of manifesting the Father, so that he does not, as the Fourth Gospel does, place the Word first and, from that, lead us up to the Son. He places the Son first, and does not mention the Word² till long afterwards, and then only subordinately. Nor

¹ [3697 *b*] Ode xxxi. 3—4. See the context, most of which, clause by clause, might be regarded as a hyperbolic account first of the passage of the Red Sea and then of the subsequent song of triumph uttered by Moses and of the illumination of his "face" whereby he was "justified," that is to say, attested in the sight of Israel as God's commissioned Prophet and Mediator. It runs thus, but with some doubt as to the use of "his," or "His," according as the meaning may be (1) Moses, or (2) the Messiah typified by Moses (3793 *d*):—

1. The depths [of the Red Sea] (comp. Ps. lxxvii. 16, where "*depths*" (Heb. and Syr.) is used concerning the passage of the Red Sea) were dried up (so Job. vi. 17 (Syr.) of "torrents") [for Israel] before the Lord; and darkness was destroyed [for Israel] by His appearance.

2. Error erred [in the heart of Pharaoh] and was destroyed by Him; and folly [in the heart of Pharaoh] offered (but better, as Codex N, *received*) a no-path [for Pharaoh, through the Red Sea, pursuing Israel], and was drowned by the Truth of the Lord.

3. He (*i.e.* the Truth, the delivering Spirit of God in Moses) opened his mouth (*i.e.* the mouth of Moses) and spake grace and joy; and he (*i.e.* the Deliverer, or Moses) spake a new song of praise to His (*i.e.* the Lord's) name.

4. And he (*i.e.* Moses) lifted-on-high his voice to the Most High and offered to Him the [redeemed] sons [of Israel] that were in his hands.

5. And his face was declared righteous [by being illuminated with a divine glory] for thus his holy Father had given unto him.

[3697 *c*] From this point the writer perhaps passes to the thought of Jesus and the descent into Sheol ("Come forth, ye that have been afflicted...") but even here the "affliction" may refer to the affliction in "the iron furnace of Egypt." It must be borne in mind that some marvels might be ascribed to Moses and Jesus in common. For example, the "justification of the face" by "illumination" might be applied to both Deliverers, to Moses as being "illuminated" after speaking face to face with God, and to Jesus as being transfigured on the Mount of Transfiguration.

² [3698 *a*] "Word" does not occur till Ode vii. 9 "word of knowledge." Contrast, with this, the *Acts of John*, which never mentions

does he, as the Jews do, conceive of the Son—primarily at all events—as the Nation. Such a conception has been shewn to be frequent in Hebrew and Jewish literature; and, in a few instances, one might find a Jew speaking absolutely about “the Father” and “the Son,” meaning “God” and “Israel¹.” But this author, if he had written a gospel, would perhaps have begun it thus: “In the beginning was the Son, and the Son was with God, and the Son was God.” He regards the Son as a necessity to the Father, so to speak—or at all events as a necessity for human conception of the Father, since, without the Son, we cannot conceive of the Father as loving, and therefore cannot conceive of Him as living, or as being Himself.

Step by step we appear to be groping our way back to a first-century region of poetic and mystic thought about some kind of new Mediation as being a necessary means for bringing about the Wedding between God and Man—a region

“the Son” except in § 13 “This Cross of Light is sometimes called the Word by me for your sakes, sometimes Mind, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes Door, sometimes Way, sometimes Bread, sometimes Seed, sometimes Resurrection, sometimes *Son*, sometimes Father, sometimes Spirit, sometimes Life, sometimes Truth, sometimes Faith, sometimes Grace.” But it represents Jesus as saying previously in a kind of hymn (§ 11) “Glory to thee, Father...Glory to thee, *Word*,.....if I had not been sent unto thee as the *Word* by the Father,” and (in doubtful text) “Say thou again (?) with me, ‘Glory to thee, Father; Glory to thee, *Word*...’.”

[3698 *b*] The *Acts of John*, however, is strikingly similar to the present Ode, and to others of the Odes, in its acceptance of the axiom “the Active and the Passive go together,” exemplified about “love,” in Ode iii. 3. See the Hymn of Jesus in *Acts* § 11 “I desire to be saved and I desire to save...I desire to be loosed and I desire to loose...I desire to be wounded (*τρωθῆναι*) and I desire to wound (*τρωσσαι*)...I desire to be begotten and I desire to beget” &c.

¹ [3698 *c*] See *Mechilta* (on Exod. xii. 1, Wü. p. 3) on Jeremiah, who regarded the honour both of the Father and of the Son; on Elijah, who regarded the honour of the Father, but not that of the Son; and on Jonah, who regarded the honour of the Son, but not that of the Father. The Son is, in each case, Israel.

speedily submerged (for Christians) by doctrinal definings and disputings, but not without leaving a few islets of the ancient mysticism. Thus, though the Epistle to the Hebrews does not actually, as Philo does, call Moses by the title of Mediator, and though Paul, while referring to Moses as Mediator, does not actually mention Moses by name, yet it cannot be doubted that the mediation of Moses is implied by both. And in the words "He (*i.e.* Jesus) is the mediator of a better covenant¹," the meaning is, in effect, "Moses, the Servant, was the Mediator of the Old Covenant; Jesus, the Son, is the Mediator of a better one, the New. The mediation of the Servant implied some touch of the bondservant; the mediation of the Son implies the pure spirit of sonship." That is the doctrine in the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Hebrews; and the author of the Odes appears, here and elsewhere, to be independently exulting in the revelation of the same truth, the transition from the Old Mediation to the New².

[3699] If we realise this conception of the Son as paramount in revealing God, we may perhaps be better able to understand why our author lays more stress on "life" and less on "light," than the Fourth Gospel does. "Light" does not occur till the fifth Ode and then only negatively³. The Fourth Gospel just touches on "life" as being "in" the Word and as being "the light of men," but then passes on to dilate on "light⁴." But the Odes imply "life" and speak of "life"

¹ Heb. viii. 6.

² [3698 d] See *The Assumption of Moses*—dated (Charles, p. lviii) "between the years 7—30 A.D.—i. 14 "He (*i.e.* God) designed and devised me (*i.e.* Moses) and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His covenant."

³ Ode v. 6 "they shall have no *light* to see." It has been noted above (3668 a) that the *Pistis Sophia* described the crown in the first Ode as "a crown of light."

⁴ [3699 a] Jn i. 4 foll. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men...(5) and the light shineth...(6) there came into being a man...(7)...came that he might bear witness of the light...(8) he was not the

from the outset¹. Perhaps if the poet had been asked why the first chapter of Genesis does not mention "life" till it comes to speak of the animals created on the fifth day, as though there were no life in the vegetation created on the third day, he would have replied that "life" was implied in the "brooding"² of the Spirit, before the first day, so that even light, the thing commonly called "first-created," was only one mode of the many modes of motion that make up life. Life, after all, he might say, not light, was the primary existence—life, the essence of "the living God." And on that thought, perhaps, he bases his arrangement and development of subjects in the Odes³.

[3700] The last three mentions of Son in the Odes are as follows:—

Ode xxxvi. 3. It (*i.e.* the Spirit) brought me forth before the face of the Lord and although I was a man (*lit.* son of man) [yet] was I named the Light (*or*, the Illuminated), *the Son of God*.

light...that he might bear witness of the light...(9) there was the true light...."

¹ Life is mentioned in Ode i. 3 "thou *livest* upon my head" and implied in (*ib.* 2) "it caused thy branches to *bud*...(3) thou hast *blossomed*...(4) thy *fruits*...."

² "Brooding." Gen. i. 2 R.V. marg. "brooding," and so Syr. See Gesen. 934 *a* "hovering over face of waters, or perh. (v. Syr.) *brooding* (and fertilizing), so Jer. *Quaest. in Gen.*..."

³ [3699 *b*] On Gen. i. 1, "In the beginning God created," Jerome says that "*most* (or, *many*) (plerique)" (including Tertullian and the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus [and Hilarius]) think that the Hebrew has "*In the Son* God created," and he refutes this. The *Preaching of Irenaeus* § 43 (ed. Harnack) has "Sohn am Anfang—gründete Gott dann den Himmel..." (see 3772). These and other translations may have been sometimes paraphrases. E.g. *b-reshith*, "in the beginning," may have been paraphrased (Taylor, *Aboth* p. 78) as "in Israel," because Israel is called (Jerem. ii. 3) RESHITH. Jer. II. has "In *Wisdom* God created" (comp. Prov. viii. 1, 22). Or, ב being read as יב, "by ME," (Taylor) THORAH says "By ME (*be-*), the beginning (*reshith*), God created"; and then concerning Moses, through whom the Law was given, it is said, "by the merit of Moses the world was created." The Heb. *bara*, "created," is, in Aramaic, "the Son."

Ode xli. 13—16. The Man who (3815 *p*) humbled Himself and was lifted up in the righteousness that was His [own], (14) *the Son of the Most High*, hath appeared in the fulness-of-perfection (3819 *r*) of His Father, (15) and light hath dawned from the Word that from beforetime was in Him. (16) The Anointed (*i.e.* the Messiah, *or*, Christ) in truth is One, and was known from before the foundation of the world....

Ode xlii. 21 foll. And they (*i.e.* those in Sheol) cried...“*Son of God*, have pity on us...(22) and bring us out of the bonds of darkness...(23) for we see that our death hath not touched thee.”

[3701] It will be observed that all these speak of the Son, not absolutely as at the beginning of the Odes, but definitely, as “the Son of God” or “the Son of the Most High.” One might have expected the opposite process—beginning with “the Son of God” and abbreviating into “the Son” (just as “the Spirit of God,” or “the Holy Spirit,” was abbreviated by Christians into “the Spirit”). But the nomenclature in the Odes confirms the view taken above, that the author starts from the revelation of “the Son” as the highest revelation that we can (at all events in our present nature) receive of Life and Truth. Also, it was said above that, whereas the Fourth Gospel begins with the Word, and lays great stress on Light, the Odes begin with the Son, and subordinate Light; and this harmonizes with what we find in Ode XLI “light hath dawned from the Word that was from beforetime in Him (*i.e.* in the Son of the Most High)” —the Son coming first, in order of existence, then the Word (in the Son), and then the Light (from the Word).

[3702] This assumption, at the outset, of the existence of the Son, from the beginning, may help us to understand the words in Ode XLI, above quoted, “the Anointed, in truth, is One”; that is to say, priests, prophets, and kings were all anointed; but the type of combined priest-prophet-king, outlined by Melchizedek, was, and is, “in truth One,” and ordained from the beginning.

[3703] A Jewish tradition, on the other hand, preserved in

Genesis Rabba, subordinates the name of the Anointed to the Law, and to the Throne of Majesty. These two, it says, were the only things created *in fact* before the world-creation. Four other things were created indeed (before the world-creation), *but only in (the Creator's) idea*:—(1) the Patriarchs, (2) Israel, (3) the Sanctuary, (4) the Name of the Anointed¹. Perhaps our author would have repudiated such a distinction between “in fact” and “in God’s idea.” In any case, he seems to be insisting on the precedence of personal, above intellectual, conceptions of God, when he lays this stress on the uniqueness of the Anointed, whom he regards as the source of that Word which was itself the source of Light.

[3704] Concerning the last instance of all in the Odes, “Son of God, have pity on us,” some may be disposed to say that it is divided by a great gulf from the instance in the third Ode where “the Son” seemed to stand for the spiritual Israel and to be connected with interpretations of the Song of Songs. But may not the mind of the author himself be passing, in mystical vision, from type to type of “the Son,” in the course of his poems? May he not be trying to make others feel, in the same gradual way in which he himself perhaps has come to feel, that the Spirit of Sonship has been from the first indicated in the Hebrew Scriptures as being from God, and with God—though indicated only obscurely under such terms as the Spirit of God, or the Wisdom of God, or the Anointed, or else under the poetic character of the Beloved delineated in the Song of Songs²? If that is the

¹ *Gen. r.* (on Gen. i. 1, Wü. p. 2) quoting R. Tanchuma.

² [3704 a] For example, Ode xli. 16 “the Anointed is One” may be illustrated—so far as concerns the thought of one type expressed in different representations—by Cant. vi. 9 “my dove, my perfect, is [*but*] *one*; she is *the only one* of her mother; she is the *choice one* of her that bare her”; on which many traditions say that the three assertions of unity are connected with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, each of whom is, in some special sense, “one,” and the result of the three is the “oneness,” *i.e.* the uniqueness, of Israel.

case, we may admit the gulf—not however so great a gulf as some may think—and yet not admit that the gulf parts two distinct authors, one Jewish in faith, and one Christian in faith. There is an alternative—a Christian Jewish author capable of sympathizing both with the old Jewish and with the new Jewish belief, and desirous of shewing how, under the influence of the Incarnation, the former passed into the latter.

§ 6. *Did Jesus call Himself "the Son"?*

[3705] The doctrine of the Ode about Sonship, when closely examined, appears to afford a consistent and intelligible unity in itself, and also a link between the Synoptic and Post-synoptic reports of the words of Jesus. According to the threefold tradition of the Synoptists, Jesus did not call Himself "the Son." But He called His disciples "little ones," and implied that He Himself was "the Little One¹." "Whosoever receiveth a little one in my name," He said, "receiveth me"—specifying at the same time the nature of "the little one." Then He added, "And whosoever receiveth me receiveth Him that sent me," that is, "the Father in heaven." "Little one" meant the simple-hearted, loving, "babe of God"—as Clement of Alexandria says². And Christ was in this sense, for many Christians, the Babe of babes. Other babes of God "see the face" of the Father. But *the* Babe not only saw His face but was also, always and for ever, "in the bosom" of the Father.

[3706] Christ's "doctrine of receiving"—expressed most fully by Matthew, but recorded also by Mark and Luke—appears to have been to the following effect:—"Whosoever receiveth a prophet receiveth a prophet's reward (*i.e.* a share in the prophet's nature or spirit); whosoever receiveth a righteous man receiveth a righteous man's reward; and

¹ See *Son* 3523 *a* foll.

² See Clem. Alex. 952—3.

whosoever receiveth a babe-of-God receiveth the reward of a babe-of-God." Applying this doctrine to Himself, He taught that whosoever received Him received the Father ("Him that sent me"). In other words, he that received the Babe would become a babe receiving the stream of love that flowed from the bosom of God the Nursing Father. Now this is precisely the doctrine of the Odes, both here and elsewhere. The only real departure of the Odes from the rather obscure Synoptic doctrine is that the Odes sometimes substitute "Son" for "babe" or "little one." This the poet might naturally do for clearness. The Fourth Gospel does it habitually.

[3707] A writer of originality might practise this substitution at an early date, especially if he felt strongly that his mission was that of a poet and not that of a catechist. A catechist, who has been taught by catechism, teaches in the order of catechism, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." But Paul, who was taught not by catechism, but by the Lord Jesus, puts the Lord Jesus first, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit¹."

[3708] If Jesus called Himself "the little one" as well as "the son of man," it is easy to see the confusion that would sometimes arise in the Gentile Churches when "the little one" came to be thought of as "the little child," and then "the son." For "little one" meant one that is born again, as a little child, into the circle of God's Family—in effect, therefore, "the child of God." But Christ's habitual self-appellation was "the son of *man*," and "the son of man," in His lips, laid little or no stress on "son," but much on "*man*." Yet, in Greek, "*son*" and "*son of man*" (in view of "*son*" as common to both) might naturally seem to be connected, and to lay stress on *sonship*.

¹ [3707 *a*] From the point of view of experience, the Son might be regarded as "the beginning." Comp. Ignat. *Magn.* 13 "...in flesh and spirit, faith and love, in Son and Father and in Spirit, in beginning and in end" (see Lightf.).

[3709] Outside Johannine writings "the Son" is hardly ever used absolutely in N.T. Of the apparent instances in the Synoptists, the one in Mark (omitted in the parallel Matthew) is probably a corruption, and the one in the Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke has often been noted as having a Johannine character¹. And it is noteworthy that in exceptional cases, when the first Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Hebrews speak of "Son" absolutely, or quasi-absolutely, in connection with Jesus, both of them quote in their contexts the eighth Psalm. This treats, not of "the Son of God," but of "the son of man²." It is possible that

¹ Mk xiii. 32 "neither *the Son*, but the Father" (Luke altogether differs), see *Son* 3304—5; Mt. xi. 27 (comp. Lk. x. 22) "no one knoweth *the Son* save the Father...." The latter is connected with God's revelation to "babes."

"THE SON" IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

² [3709 *a*] (1) 1 Cor. xv. 20—8 "But now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of them that have fallen asleep (*ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*). For since by *man* [came] death, by *man* [came] also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam (*i.e.* the First *Man*) all die, so also in Christ (*i.e.* the last Adam, or *Man*) shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ, the firstfruits....Then [cometh] the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to him who is God and Father (*τῷ Θεῷ κ. Πατρὶ*).... For he (*i.e.* Christ) must reign....For [says the Psalmist about 'the son of man' who is Christ (comp. Ps. viii. 6)] He (*i.e.* the Father) put all things in subjection under his feet (*i.e.* under the feet of 'the Son of *Man*')...and, when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected." This seems to begin with the thought of "the son of man," or "son of Adam" and to end with "the Son," apparently meaning "God the Son" as distinct from "God the Father."

[3709 *b*] (2) Heb. i. 1 foll. "God, having spoken...in the prophets... hath spoken unto us in [*a*] *Son*...by so much better than the angels...of the angels he saith...but of *the Son* [he saith]...(ii. 5 foll.) not unto angels did he subject the world to come...but (comp. Ps. viii.) What is man...or *the son of man*...thou madest him a little lower than the angels...thou didst put all things in subjection under his feet...him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, Jesus,...crowned with glory...that he should taste death for every [man]. For it became him (God the Father) ...in bringing many *sons* unto glory...to make the captain of their salvation

perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth (*i.e.* Jesus who, though "the Son [of God]," is also "*the Son of Man*") and they that are sanctified (*i.e.* *the sons of man*) are all of one [Father], for which cause he (*i.e.* Jesus) is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying (Ps. xxii. 22) I will declare thy name unto my brethren...." This begins with "Son," obviously meaning "Son of God" supremely above "prophets of God"; then passes to His inferiors the "angels"; then to "*the son of man*" as being "a little lower than the angels"; and then to "Jesus," who also was made "a little lower than the angels." This, without actually saying, "Jesus called Himself *son of man*," seems tacitly to explain it as though events had thrown an emphasis on "*son*":—"The *Son of God* became *Son of Man* among *the sons of man* in order to make them *sons of God*."

[3709 *c*] Another aspect of the same doctrine appears in Barnabas (vi. 11 foll.) in connection with God's purpose to reshape (*ἀναπλάσσειν*) man, so that we might have "the soul of little-children (*παιδίων*)." "For the Scripture saith about us that He saith *to the Son* (*τῷ υἱῷ*) (Gen. i. 26) 'Let us make man...and let them rule...the fishes of the sea.' And the Lord said, when He saw our fair shape (*τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν*) (Gen. i. 28) 'Increase and multiply...' These things [He said] *with-respect-to* (*πρὸς*) *the Son*. Again I will shew you how He saith *with-respect-to us* (*πρὸς ἡμᾶς*), (Lat. *to us*). A second shaping (*πλάσιν*) did the Lord make at the last. And the Lord saith, 'Behold I make the last as the first.'

[3709 *d*] Details in this text are uncertain. "*To*" and "*with-respect-to*" are sometimes confused in translations from Hebrew (*Son* 3371 (i) *b*). This may be the case here. The Latin omits "saith *to the Son*" and "These things [He said] *with-respect-to the Son*" (as to which comp. Heb. i. 8 *πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν*, where, apart from the context, the words would naturally be rendered "[he saith] *to the Son*"). But these uncertainties do not affect the conclusion that Barnabas had before him a tradition—probably old in his days and perhaps not understood by him—that the making of men in God's "image" was connected with the "shaping" of them "anew" as "little children."

[3709 *e*] Here we touch the solid ground of the Synoptic teaching. Perhaps, too, we may fairly argue that the Latin translation was more likely to omit the difficult clauses "*to the Son*" and "*with-respect-to the Son*" than the Greek text was likely to insert them. If those clauses are sound, then Barnabas is telling us what the Father said "*to the Son*" before the creation of Man, and what He said "*with-respect-to the Son*" after the creation of Man, when He bade Man, in effect, rule over all things, that is, when He—as the Psalm says—"put all things in subjection under his feet." If so, then the first clause relates to the eternal "Son," with whom God took counsel, and the second to the Son incarnate as "son of man," who was to fulfil that counsel. In that case, Barnabas repeats the sequence of thought found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but

our poet here ("sons of man") may be alluding to the same Psalm. If so, he perhaps alludes to it in the plural and deliberately, in order to shew that the two titles are entirely distinct. In the Odes, "the Son" is the ideal Son, the Living One, the Spirit of the Lord; "the sons of man" are non-ideal, and unspiritual, needing to be "taught" by this Spirit that they may "know His ways."

[3710] Our conclusion is that Jesus, in His doctrine of "receiving," called Himself by a title that implied, though it did not express, sonship. And the fact that this doctrine is here connected with the express mention of "Son" indicates a sympathetic insight into the essence of Christ's teaching, probably going back to a very early date, before the fundamental truths of the Gospel had been hardened into technical terms. Philo (3796 *i*), and the Psalms and Songs of Scripture, influenced the poet (no doubt) but do not seem sufficient, by themselves, to explain his language¹.

adds something of great importance, a recognition that the whole of the Son-doctrine implies a Child-doctrine—that men are to become as "little children." This is Synoptic and historical, and, perhaps we may say, the foundation of all Christ's practical teaching.

"THE SON OF THE VINE"

¹ [3710 *a*] Perhaps more should have been said above (3670—1) about the Messiah as Son of the Vine. This metaphor would become obsolete when the Churches accepted as Christ's words "I am the true Vine." But a first-century Jewish poet, repeating the Psalm of the Vine and thinking of God's "visiting" (Ps. lxxx. 14—15) "Look down...and *visit this Vine...*" and the *Son* (so Heb. *lit.*) (Targ. *King Messiah*) (R.V. txt *branch*, marg. *son*) whom thou madest strong for thyself," would naturally think (comp. *Tehill.* Wü. ii. 34) of (Gen. xxi. 1) the Lord's "*visiting*" Sarah. Sarah was metaphorically the Vine, being the Mother of the promised Seed. Sarah was also (Gal. iv. 22—6) "the freewoman"; and "the Jerusalem that is above is free, which is *our mother*."

[3710 *b*] Isaiah's Song of the Vine (v. 1 foll.) "Let me sing for (*or*, of) *my well-beloved* a song of *my beloved* touching his vineyard," suggests a parallelism between Jehovah as the Husband and Jehovah as the Lord

of the Vineyard. In the Blessing of Joseph by Jacob, "*son*" is again used for "branch," (Gen. xlix. 22) "Joseph is a *son of the fruitbearer*," i.e. branch of a fruitful tree; and Christian Jews, regarding Joseph as a type of the Messiah, might naturally apply to Jesus both these and the following words (*ib.* 25—6) "blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath, blessings of the breasts and of the womb...on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren."

[3710 *c*] The early Greek fathers, who seldom quote the Blessing of Joseph as a source of Messianic argument, often use the Blessing of Judah to prove the Virgin Birth. Justin (*Apol.* §§ 32—3)—after explaining from the Gospels (Gen. xlix. 10—12) "binding his foal unto the vine"—says that the Messianic "blood of the grape" was made by God's divine power, as He makes the material juice from the material vine. Then he quotes Numb. xxiv. 17, Is. xi. 1 to shew that a "star" or a "flower" was to spring "from the root of Jesse," and that Christ was to be "*conceived by a virgin of the seed of Jacob the father of Judah*," so fulfilling the prophecy (Is. vii. 14) "*a virgin shall conceive*." Origen, too, arguing from Gen. xlix. 9 (LXX) "from a *branch* (βλαστοῦ)," explains "ex germine" as "*from a virgin*":—"ex *virgine* enim natus est. Non ex semine sed *ex virgine*..." *Const. Apost.* vi. 11 combines Gen. xlix. 10, 9 and Is. xi. 1, ix. 6, to shew that Jesus Christ "sprang out of Judah, the '*Son*' from the '*branch*,' the '*flower*' from '*Jesse*,'" a combination favoured by Is. ix. 6 "unto us a *son* is given."

[3710 *d*] Our poet would not accept such deviations from the scriptural Blessing of Judah, nor would its emphasis on "wine" ("washed his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of grapes: his eyes shall be red with wine") accord with his usage (3855 *p*—*r*). For his purpose, Jacob's blessing of Joseph, as "the son of the fruitful tree," with the subsequent mention of "the breasts and the womb," would be more suitable. For him, also, the conjunction of "the fruitful tree"—i.e. the Vine—with "the breasts" would be commended by the Song of Songs (vii. 8) "Let thy *breasts* be as clusters of the vine." These considerations indicate the existence of a stream of Hebrew thought that would agree with the above suggested rendering (3637 *e*) of Ode xix. 6 "[As] the vine was the womb of the Virgin." See also 3817 (*i*) *a* foll. on "the Fruit of the Virgin" in Clement of Alexandria.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOLY PLACE OF GOD*

§ 1. *The Temple*

[3711] The last Ode (III) spoke of the single Believer, loving, and one with, the Beloved, in whose "members" he finds a place. Ode IV passes to the thought of the many, the Assembly, Congregation, or Church. The last Ode prepared us for this by the transition from "I" and "me" at the beginning to "sons of man" at the end. Now the question is, "What is to be the *place* in which we, all, are to be made one with each other and with the Lord?"

The principal subjects in the continuous text of the Ode (for which see Appendix III) are as follows:—(1) God's "place," (2) God's "heart," (3) "believers" and "belief" in God, (4) "grace," (5) "seal," (6) "fellowship," (7) "milk and honey," (8) "no repentance" with God concerning the things that He has "promised." This sequence corresponds fairly to the following events in, or associations with, the life of Abraham.

(1) At the express command of God, that Patriarch—who was to be the Father of the Church of "many nations"—"went forth to a *place* that he was destined to receive for an inheritance¹." (2) God might be said to have given His

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ Heb. xi. 8. Subsequently it is said that he and his descendants were really looking for (*ib.* 10—16) "the city that hath the foundations," and a "fatherland (*πατρίδα*)" in "heaven."

“heart,” when He gave Himself, to Abraham—who was called His “lover”—as his “reward¹.” (3) Abraham was the first that is said to have “believed” in God. (4) He was the type of those who received God’s “grace.” (5) He was the first to receive the “seal” of circumcision. (6) He was the type of “fellowship” with God, who would not “hide” His thoughts from him, and also of human fellowship, as being the man in whom “all the nations of the earth” were to be “blessed².” (7) The Land of Promise, described by God to Abraham as the “land” of the Canaanites and other nations, is subsequently called, when the Promise is renewed to Moses, “a land of milk and honey³.” (8) He was the type of those who have received “gifts” and “calling” from God, concerning whom, according to Jewish tradition, God said, “The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,” and Paul said, “The gifts and calling of God are without repentance⁴.”

But further, there is probably, underlying the whole of the Ode, the thought of the Church, first, in the persons of Abraham and Isaac, drawing near to Jehovah in the “place” of which God said He would “tell” Abraham, and which Abraham saw “on the third day” when he had “lifted up his eyes⁵,” and then of Israel assembled in whatever “place”—Tabernacle or Temple—the Lord might “choose,” to “put His name there⁶.”

That “place” was for a time the Tent of Meeting, afterwards the Temple of Solomon, afterwards the Temple of Ezra repaired and decorated by the Herods. Concerning this last,

¹ Gen. xv. 1 (for “lover,” s. 3719 *a*).

² Gen. xviii. 17—19.

³ Gen. xv. 18—21, Exod. iii. 8.

⁴ Ps. cx. 4 (on which see *Son* 3458, 3492 *e*, 3583 (xi) *e*) and Rom. xi. 29, where “the gifts and calling” are those of “the fathers,” *i.e.* the Patriarchs, beginning with Abraham.

⁵ Gen. xxii. 1—4.

⁶ [3711 *a*,] Deut. xii. 5, 11, 21 &c., where Onk. has (Brederek p. 123) “Shechinah” for “name.” On “place” (apart from “holy”) see 3716 *a*.

the Fourth Gospel represents the rulers of the Jews as saying, "If we let this man (*i.e.* Jesus) alone,...the Romans will come and take away our [*holy*] *Place* and our Nation¹." Even though these precise words may never have been uttered, we may be sure that they illustrate a popular thought among the Jews about the connection between their "Nation" and their "Place," and also possibilities of different and more spiritual thought.

[3712] The book of Daniel indicates that, long before Christ's time, Jews were everywhere in the habit of praying "toward Jerusalem²." Later Jewish discussions about this practice may perhaps explain a somewhat abrupt personification in the Ode before us. The Temple is apparently personified as the Elder:—"The Elder shall not be changed by those that are inferior to (*or*, younger than) itself. Thou hast given thy *heart*, O Lord, to thy believers³." The poet

¹ [3711 *a*] Jn xi. 48. Origen says (*ad loc.*) that, though the Jews did *not* "let Him alone," yet they did not save their "*Place*," for "Where," he asks, "is what they-themselves (ἐκείνοι) call [the] holy [place] (ἁγίασμα)?" He means that what they called (in Jn) their "*Place*"—the house built of stone, which they were ready to save at the cost of murder—was razed to the ground. The first Biblical mention of "holy [place]," ἁγίασμα, is at the conclusion of the Song of Moses at the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 17) "Thou shalt...plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, the fixed [place], O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the *holy* [*place*], O Lord, which thy hands have established." The second is Exod. xxv. 8 (7) (LXX) "thou shalt make for me a *holy* [*place*]." The advantage of the rendering "holy [place]" (instead of "sanctuary") is that it keeps the connection between "holy [place]" and "holy," when, as in this Ode, the two occur close together. Origen goes on to say that, spiritually speaking, "the '*Place*' of those of the circumcision" (by which he means the New Temple, or the New Jerusalem, which had been ordained from the beginning) passed into the hands of the Gentiles.

In Exod. xv. 17, "fixed [place]," "site," *mâcoun* (Gesen. 467 *b*) must be distinguished from "place," *mâkoun*, which is the regular Heb. for "place." On the latter see 3716 *a*.

² Dan. vi. 10, quoted by *J. Berach.* iv. 1. Rashi, on Dan. vi. 10, says that Daniel was fulfilling the precept in 1 K. viii. 48.

³ Ode iv. 4—5. On the ideal "elderhood" see Philo i. 237.

seems to assume some connection, not patent to us, between God's "*holy place*" and His "*heart*." If we take "God's *place*" as equivalent to "God's Temple in Jerusalem," such a connection is found in the saying of God to Solomon, "I have hallowed this *house*, which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever; and mine eyes and mine *heart* shall be there perpetually¹." This is followed by a second and conditional promise of further blessing if Solomon will walk before Him "in integrity of heart." But the first promise is not conditional. The Babylonian Berachoth speaks of God as mourning like a Dove over the destruction of the Temple, as though His heart were still there over its ruins².

[3713] The Ode begins thus: "No man changeth thy Holy Place, O my God." Yet God *had* "changed" it—at least for those for whom God's "Place" meant the visible and material Place on which He had "put His Name," whether the Tabernacle or the Temple—in some sense perhaps when Solomon's Temple was built, but much more when Solomon's Temple was destroyed. After that destruction Israel needed consolation indeed, and a new revelation of what God's "Place" meant. The Psalmist had said "The heavens are the work of thy hands," and yet, "As a vesture shalt thou change them and they shall be changed³." If that was true

¹ [3712 *a*] 1 K. ix. 3. The margin mentions no other place where God's "heart" is mentioned (exc. the parall. 2 Chr. vii. 16). Rashi (see Breithaupt's note) calls attention to the Targum, which altogether alters the meaning by this reading (which is also that given in Walton): "And my Shechinah shall be abiding therein *if* my good-pleasure shall be done there, every day" (v. r. "*and verily* my good-pleasure"). Thus "*heart*" is paraphrased as "*good-pleasure*" (the "*eyes*" being previously paraphrased as "*Shechinah*") and the promise is made conditional. This alteration is not adopted or recognised in *J. Berach.* iv. 6 (5) and *Berach.* 62*b* where 1 K. ix. 3 is quoted. Rashi does not allege (as he often does) the authority of "the Rabbis" for the Targumistic interpretation, nor does Breithaupt quote any such authority. See 3999*b* foll.

² *Berach.* 3*a*.

³ Ps. cii. 25—6.

even of the "heavens," how much more of the Temple! And how needful for Israel, after such a "change," to be reminded of the Psalmist's following words, "But thou art the same and thy years shall have no end," and of the suggestion in the close of the Psalm ("the children of thy servants...shall be established before thee") that, after all, the true Temple or Church consisted not of stones¹ but of souls!

[3714] Can we then infer that "No man changeth" was written immediately after such a "change," say, for example, after the destruction of the Temple by Titus? We cannot. We may perhaps infer that the words were written with some reference to the destruction of the Temple—probably (for reasons given hereafter²) several years after it, when many Jews had learned to accept the fall of the Temple in Vespasian's days as a proof that "except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it³." But nothing definite can be inferred as to date from these words taken by themselves.

[3715] The prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel shew that a prophet might write thus either before or after the fall of a visible temple—regarded spiritually as the mere type of the invisible Holy Place, and destined to be destroyed when it no longer served the purpose of a type. Either of these prophets might have pointed heavenward, and blended our poet's saying with the title of the New City in Ezekiel "No man, O Jehovah, changeth thy Holy Place, the name of thy City is *Jehovah shammah*, '*Jehovah [is] there*⁴.'" It was also the later Jewish belief that the celestial and invisible "holy place" which was made "in the beginning," before the six

¹ Comp. Ps. cii. 14 "thy servants take pleasure in her *stones*." "The stones," says Jerome, "are the saints."

² See 3737 and 3936, where reasons are given for thinking that the Ode was written soon after the accession of Nerva.

³ Ps. cxxvii. 1 (see Rashi).

⁴ Ezek. xlvi. 35.

days of Creation¹—being older than any tabernacle or temple made in wood or stone in accordance with the divine “pattern”—could not be “changed” or supplanted by the younger and visible structures erected by the hands of Moses, Solomon, Êzra, and the Herods.

[3716] The Mishna said to the Jews—and the saying might be helpful to many a poor creature saying his prayers in the darkness of a prison “fast bound in misery and iron”—that if they could not turn the face to the “holy [place],” they must turn the heart². There—as in the Ode—we find “heart”

¹ [3715 *a*] “Before the six days of Creation.” Comp. *Gen. r.* (on *Gen. i. 1*, Wü. p. 2) which says that the Holy Place was made “in God’s idea” (along with the Patriarchs and the Name of the Messiah) before the six days, comp. *Jerem. xvii. 12* “A glorious throne, on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary (*i.e.* holy [place]).” *Gen. xxviii. 11* “he lighted upon (Heb.) *the place*,” is in *Jer. I.* “he prayed *in the place of the house of the sanctuary*,” as to which see Rashi, who (*ib. 17*) speaks about the correspondence between “the Sanctuary above” and “the sanctuary below.” The Jews all recognised (in theory at all events) that (*Midr. on Ps. ciii. 1*, Wü. ii. 106) “as a man knows not the place of his soul, so he knows not the Place of the Holy One. It is not known even to the ‘living creatures,’ so that they say (*Ezek. iii. 12*) ‘Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place’.”

² [3716 *a*] *J. Berach. iv. 6 (5)*. Philo (*i. 630*) on “the place” in *Gen. xxviii. 11* foll. says that “place” means (1) space filled with bodies, (2) the divine Logos, (3) God as including all. This third meaning was probably familiar to many Jews in the first century.

The first mention of a word in the Bible often derives importance from its being specially commented on by Jewish tradition, in and before the first century, and the importance is independent of all questions of the antiquity of this or that book in the Bible. Genesis is probably much later than many Biblical writings. But, for us, putting ourselves in the place of Jews of the first century, what is mentioned in Genesis comes “first in the Bible.” Hence attention is claimed by *Gen. i. 9*, the gathering of the waters into “one *place*,” as being the first mention of “place” in the Bible. On this the Midrash gives instance after instance to shew that “the Little has included the Many (*das Viele*),” meaning apparently that that which is “little” in the world’s estimation is greater than “the great,” and also referring to spiritual inclusion. How, it asks (*Wü. pp. 20—21*) could all Israel be included in the Court of the Tabernacle? One reply is from *Isaiah liv. 2*, “God said to Jerusalem, Lengthen thyself

and "holy [place]" again connected, but in a more conventional way—not God's "heart" but man's. Our author declares that God will give *His own* "heart" to those who come to the true "holy [place]." This is bold indeed. Ezekiel had spoken of God as giving "a *new* heart." And all Jews were familiar with the thought of the gift of "God's Spirit." But to speak of God as "giving *His own heart*" betokens an enthusiasm novel to Jews, yet intelligible (under the influence of the Spirit of Jesus) as a development of the purest and most poetic anthropomorphism of the ancient Hebrew doctrine concerning Jehovah the Bridegroom.

[3717] In the first sentence of the following extract the prophetic present, "changeth"—which suggests, and prepares the way for, "shall change" in the next verse—appears preferable to "is able to change¹."

and broaden thyself to include thy multitudes," and R. Joshua said that the lesson was "that the Shechinah itself dwelt among them." That is to say, when Joshua said (Josh. iii. 9) "Come hither [to the ark]," he meant (*ib.* 10) "Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you." If they opened their hearts to receive the Lord, the Lord, being THE PLACE, would receive them. In Deut. xii. 5, 21, where the Hebrew speaks of the "Place" on which God puts His "Name," the Targums, for His "Name," substitute His "Shechinah," *i.e.* His glorious Presence; and our poet—who repeatedly mentions the "Name" in his later Odes, but only once before the eighth—leads us up to the right conception of it, not as a mere word of incantation but as a spiritual influence, by insisting first on the need of spiritual unity with God, such a unity as does not depend on any alterable "place," on which a "name" has been "put," but only on the Presence, the supreme all-including, all-penetrating, and unalterable PLACE.

Philo (i. 229—30 and elsewhere) has much to say about the "Place" as typified by Mount Moriah seen by Abraham (Gen. xxii. 4) "afar off" and always destined to be "far off." Looking at the search for God intellectually rather than emotionally, he says "we rejoice with the lovers of God that seek God even if they do not find Him." His tone necessarily contrasts with that of Jn viii. 56, "Abraham...saw it and was glad."

¹ R.H. in 2nd ed. Syr. adds a note suggesting, in Syriac, "is able to change," but retains the text in 2nd ed. Engl. without note.

1. No man changeth thy Holy Place¹, O my God².

¹ [3717 *a*] "Thy Holy Place," lit. (in two words) "thy-place holy," so that an emphasis is laid on "*place*" here (as compared with (Ode iv. 3) "thy holy [place]"). "Place" is further emphasized by being repeated in the next verse. Like *τόπος* in Lk. ii. 7 &c., the Syr. "place" may also mean "room"; and it may be so rendered in the only other mention of "place" in the Odes, (xi. 15—20) "Blessed are...and they that have *place* in thy Paradise...for there is abundant *place* in thy Paradise." Comp. Jn xiv. 2 "I go to prepare *a place* (or, *Place*) for you" (see *Son*, Index, "Place"). Perhaps the meaning "room" is mostly confined to negative sentences (as in Lk. ii. 7), and even in Ode xi. it conveys the meaning of divinely appointed "place." See *τόπος* in Clem. Rom. *Cor.* § 5 (Lightf.).

² [3717 *b*] "O my God." "God" occurs (H.) 13 times and mostly in emotional expressions with "Father" or "my" or in the vocative. The poet mostly says "Lord," not "God."

[3717 *c*] In the Heb. Bible, *Eli*, "my God," occurs for the first time in Exod. xv. 2 "This is *my God* (*Eli*) and I will praise him." Onkelos has "This is *my God*, and I will build Him a sanctuary"; and it is to be noted that, similarly, in these Odes, the first mention of God is in the phrase "*my God*" and is connected with "*holy place*," i.e. "*sanctuary*." Rashi, on Exod. xxxiv. 6, says that (as in Ps. xxii. 1 "my God") *El* denotes "*proprietatem misericordiae*" as distinct from "*proprietatem iudicii* (s. *justitiae*)." He adds "*sic reperi in Mechilta*," referring to *Mechilt.* on Exod. xv. 2 (Wü. p. 123) where it is said that *Eli* denotes "compassion" ("*Barmherzigkeit*") (as distinct from *Elohim* which denotes "strict justice").

[3717 *d*] But Rashi does not touch on the possessive suffix ("my"). It appears to denote inseparable connection:—"God, who will *always be with me*, or *in me*." See *Son* 3491 quoting Origen (on Jerem. xi. 4, quoting Gen. xvii. 1, xxxv. 11 in LXX) who says that God is "the God of those to whom He graciously gives Himself..." The translation of the LXX renders "Shaddai" in Genesis by means of a personal suffix ("thy God" &c.). But, in Hebrew, "my God," *El-i*, does not occur till Exod. xv. 2, where Moses utters it in behalf of the new-made nation of Israel, whose very name (*Isra-el*) contained that title. The "sanctuary" was to be, primarily, the Tabernacle of Israel, but also (comp. Is. lvii. 15) Israelites, singly and collectively, and ultimately Man. On early views of Shaddai as (possibly) Raingiver and Lightgiver s. *Son* 3120 *b*.

[3717 *e*] It appears, then, that to any thoughtful Jew "my God" would suggest the God who finds a "holy place" for Himself in Israel and in the Israelite, independent of literal place, but dependent on the co-operation of the human with the divine Spirit. See 3999 (iii) 2 *a-b*.

2. And [there is] not [one] that shall change¹ it and put it in another place, because he hath not over it the power [to do so].

3. For thy Holy [Place]² thou didst will-and-purpose³ before thou madest places⁴.

4. The Elder⁵ shall not be changed by those that are inferior⁶ to (*or*, younger than) itself.

¹ [3717 *f*] "Change." "Change," which occurs thrice in the opening of this Ode—not meaning "change for the better"—does not perhaps occur again. The emphasis laid on it here resembles the emphasis laid in Heb. i. 2—12 on the contrast between the "Son," who is ever "the same," and "the heavens," which "shall be changed." "Not over it the power [to do so]," R.H. "no power over it," H. "nicht die Macht (dazu)."

² [3717 *g*] "Thy Holy [Place]." This word (*The*s. 3501—2) mostly means "holiness," but another form is used in Ode xiii. 2 "love His holiness," and the form here used (though not the common one for "sanctuary" (*The*s. 3503)) is used (*The*s. 3502) to denote "*holy place*" in Lev. vi. 30, x. 18, &c., especially where the inmost "sanctuary," or "holy of holies," is designated.

³ [3717 *h*] "Thou didst will-and-purpose." R.H. "designed," H. "bestimmt." The Syr. verb (*The*s. 3943) means "to be well-pleased," "desire," "will"; though its noun derivatives often mean "mind," "purpose." The noun occurs in Ode ix. 3—4 where it might be rendered "*will-and-purpose*," or, for brevity, "*thought*," meaning God's Thought of Redemption, "His *thought* is everlasting life.... Receive ye the *thought* of the Most High" (s. 3818, 3819 *l—n*). The word appears to imply something more than the exercise of the mere intellect.

⁴ [3717 *i*] "Before thou madest places." That is, before thou madest places of any kind. The spiritual preceded the material. The invisible Holy of Holies pre-existed, before the existence, not only of Tabernacle and of Temple, but of place of any sort—being as independent of place as of time.

⁵ [3717 *j*] "The Elder." *The*s. 3765 foll. indicates that the meaning is, not "older," but "Elder." It is assumed that this invisible Temple is a Person, the Firstborn, not to be supplanted by any temples made of visible wood and stone, which may be called "junior" or "inferior." The thought is different from that of Philo, but may be illustrated by the frequency of the Philonian epithet "elder," or "eldest," applied to the Logos (Philo i. 121, 207, 427, 437, 501—2, &c.). Our author thinks rather of the Son, whom he mentioned in the last Ode, than of the Logos. Here he appears to think of the Son as the Temple (Rev. xxi. 22 "I saw no temple...for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the Temple thereof").

[3717 *k*] Philo says in one place (ii. 222) that there are two temples

5. Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers¹; never wilt thou fail-or-become-futile², and thou wilt not be without fruit.

§ 2. *God's "heart" and Man's "faith"*

[3718] The conclusion of the preceding extract—besides returning to the initial thought of the "fruit"³ that must be on the living crown of those that love the Lord—introduces two new thoughts:—1st, that of God's "heart" (3999 *d*), 2nd, that of faith, or belief ("thy believers"). Concerning the former, it has been shewn above that there were Jewish associations connecting God's "heart" with God's "holy place." But further the Song of Songs mentions "heart" and "seal" together, thus: "Set me as a *seal* upon thine *heart*, as a *seal* upon thine arm, for love is strong as death⁴"; and the

(1) the Cosmos, (2) the Temple made by hands; but elsewhere (i. 653) (1) the Cosmos, (2) the "soul endowed with Logos," of which soul the priest is the ideal Man. Of this "Man" the Priest of the Law is a copy. He also says (i. 277) that "this Cosmos" is the Younger Son, apparently implying a contrast with the Elder Son. There is no indication that our author copies Philo, but some, perhaps, that he knew Philo's thoughts and differed from them.

⁶ [3717 *l*] "Inferior." Lit. "deficiens," "imperfectus," "minor," &c. Here, the meaning "younger" is given by R.H. and H., and it suits the context (comp. Lat. "minor" = "minor natu"); but no instance of its use, absolutely, in this sense is given in *Thes.* 571—2. *Thes.* gives, however, two instances (non-Biblical) of such a phrase as "decimo anno *minor*."

¹ "Thou...believers." That is, "hast made them thy Temple" (3712 *a*).

² [3717 *m*] "Fail-or-become-futile." The meaning is not simply "fail of attaining a purpose" (comp. R.H. "fail"), or "be idle" (comp. H. "müssig"). Its meaning here is illustrated by its use in Ps. xii. 1 (Syr.) "the godly man ceaseth, the faithful *fail*...", Jerem. xxxi. 36 (Syr.) "the seed of Israel shall *fail* (R.V. cease)..." (*Thes.* 509). See 3881 *e* foll.

³ "Fruit," Ode i. 4.

⁴ [3718 *a*] Cant. viii. 6. Rashi paraphrases it as the prayer of Israel thus, "On account of that love, seal me upon thy heart, lest thou forget me...for I am being slain for thy sake." *Taanith* 4 *a* implies that the prayer is not so good as one that might be based on Is. xlix. 16 "I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands," where the preceding words—"Can a woman forget her sucking-child...yea, these may forget, yet will

present context also, after mentioning God's "heart," almost immediately mentions His "seal," in a somewhat obscure connection, "for thy *seal* is known¹."

[3719] This must be considered along with the introduction of "believers" at this point. "Thy believers," in accordance with the poet's usage, does not primarily mean (though it implies) "the believers *in thee*," but rather "the believers *that belong to thee*." Abraham, who is called in Isaiah the "*lover*"² of the Lord, is also recognised as being His first "*believer*"³. The transition, therefore, from "fervent-love" in the third Ode to "believers" here, is a very natural one. From this point onwards, "belief," "believe," and "believers" occur frequently, especially in the last Odes. The connection between "love" and "belief" is clearly seen in the last instance of all:—"And as the bridal couch that is spread in the house of the bridegroom and the bride, so is my fervent-love over those that believe in me⁴."

[3720] This well illustrates the poet's thought concerning the "gift" of the "heart" of God. It is not indeed more than, but it is different from, the highest gift of His Spirit. And it is much more than the gift of the Spirit when the latter is regarded merely as God's wind breathing through the organ-pipes of the soul and using humanity as an instrument for His utterances. The Pauline saying "We have

I not forget thee"—suggest somewhat of a rebuke to the prayer implied by Rashi. The "seal" in the Ode seems quite different from the one in Solomon's Song, but may possibly spring in part from a recollection of the juxtaposition of "heart" and "seal" in that poem.

¹ [3718 *b*] Ode iv. 7—8. "For who is there that shall put on thy *grace* (R.H. "*grace*," H. "*Güte*"), and be wronged [(?) by being deprived of it] (R.H. "*and be hurt*," H. "*und ungerecht handeln*")? For thy *seal* is known." See 3722 *d*—*f*.

² [3719 *a*] Is. xli. 8 (R.V.) "Abraham, my friend," but Ibn Ezra says that it means "loving me" not "loved by me" (*Son* 3501 *i*, &c.).

³ Rom. iv. 3, quoting Gen. xv. 6.

⁴ Ode xlii. 11—12, "believe in me," not there "my believers."

the mind of Christ¹” comes close, but does not reach, to “We have the heart of God.” It is amatory language, the language of the spiritual seed of Abraham, God’s “lover.” The boldness of such a conception—Jehovah and the Daughter of Zion, two lovers, “giving” their “hearts” to one another—is probably difficult, if not impossible, to parallel in early Christian literature. But it is not altogether unlike (though the likeness is superficial and verbal) the passage in the Song of Songs describing the Bridegroom as saying to the Bride “Thou hast ravished my *heart*,” on which several comments take the meaning to be “thou hast given thy heart to me,” so that God says, in effect, “In Egypt I had only one *heart* for you, but ye gave me two *hearts*².”

[3721] But, further, this juxtaposition of “belief” and “seal” in the Ode should remind us that there is a similar juxtaposition of the two words in the Epistle to the Romans, when introducing the subject of Abraham’s justification³. The Epistle also mentions God’s “grace⁴.” So will the Ode here⁵, in the first of many instances. Lastly the narrative (in Genesis) of Abraham’s “belief” represents God as saying to Abraham “I am thy *reward*,” and the Epistle speaks of “*reward*,” or “hire,” in connection with “grace” (as distinct from “debt⁶”). It cannot be asserted authoritatively that the

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 16.

² Cant. iv. 9, on which see Wü. pp. 122—3. The “two hearts” correspond to the twofold repetition of a Heb. verb. that is (Gesen. 525 *b*) variously explained.

³ Rom. iv. 3—11 “What saith the scripture? Abraham believed God...and he received...a *seal* of the righteousness of the *belief*...that he might be the father of all them that *believe*.”

⁴ If Abraham had been justified by “works” instead of by “belief,” then (Rom. iv. 4) his “reward” would have been “not reckoned as of *grace* but as of debt.” It is implied that it was reckoned “as of *grace*.”

⁵ Ode iv. 7 “who is there that shall put on thy *grace*?” See 3722 *d*, 3724.

⁶ Gen. xv. 1 “I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward.” Comp. Rom. iv. 4.

Ode also mentions "reward," but we shall find that the text may imply it. Even if it does not, the evidence of coincidence is strong enough to indicate that the poet, in bringing his readers to the portals of "the holy place" of God, has in his mind the faith of Abraham, who, though he had no "place" at all in the dust and soil of Palestine, carried about with him, so to speak, a perpetual Mount Moriah in his heart, an unchangeable "holy place" of God.

[3722] The Jews believed that all through the generations, from Adam to Abraham, the Lord was waiting for the latter that He might begin to build His Habitation¹. Before Abraham, all was swamp. When he came, the rock rose to the surface, and building became possible. In effect, the Building was begun when Abraham "believed." Nothing outward and visible took place then. But inwardly and invisibly a new spiritual period began, the period, or *aeon*, of "belief." Such an *aeon* is not measured by days or years or by "time" at all. For *time* depends on material, *aeon* on spiritual, motion². That is the meaning of the opening words which introduce the *aeon* of "belief" in the following extract:

¹ See *Son* 3501 k, 3595—6.

² [3722 a] Philo says (i. 277) that "time," χρόνος, being measured by the motions of the material Cosmos, may be called son of Cosmos, but only the grandson (not the son) of God, who is the Father of Cosmos. *Aeon*, he says, is the archetype of Time. We might be disposed to say that it must be measured by the motions of God's Thought; but he thinks of God's Thought as never past or future but always present:—(*ib.*) "In *aeon*, nothing has passed away, nothing is future, but everything simply subsists (ὑφέστηκεν)." The Hebrew view is that God combines past, present, and future, in a motion that is also rest. Elsewhere Philo says that the race of Wisdom produced (i. 455) "the threefold fruits of him that seeth, [namely], Israel." These are "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," and he calls these three "measures of *aeon*," *i.e.* apparently of divine Time. According to Philo (i. 342), "aeonian" does not mean "infinite in time" but "He that is graciously giving (ὁ χαριζόμενος)... always and continuously..." in other words, "infinite in His scope of graciousness," so that no limit of space, time, or thought, can be attached to it.

6. For one hour of thy belief¹ is more than all days and years².
 7. For who is there that shall put on thy grace³ and be wronged
 [(?) by being deprived of it⁴]?
 8. Because thy seal⁵ is known, and known unto it are thy

¹ [3722 *b*] "*Thy belief.*" That is, "the belief in thee, and the belief that thou givest." Comp. Ode viii. 12 "Keep *my* belief," parall. to "keep my secret," but not meaning "the belief that I *have*," but rather "the belief that I have ready as a gift to them that seek me." So Ode xli. 1 "*His belief,*" *i.e.* the belief in Him, which is His gift.

² [3722 *c*] Comp. Ps. lxxxiv. 10 "a day in thy courts is better than a thousand"; but there the Heb. and Syr. have "better," here the Syr. has "more [abundant]," perh. suggesting a paradox. *Maccoth* 10 *a* (rep. *Sabb.* 30 *a—b*) says that David complained to God, "People say, When will this man die and his son build the Temple?" God replied "A day, &c.," *i.e.* "I love one of thy days spent in the study of the Torah better than all the offerings that Solomon will offer." Comp. *Aboth* iv. 24.

³ [3722 *d*] This is the first mention of "grace" (R.H. "grace," H. "Güte"). The Syr. means etymologically "goodness," and it often means that sort of goodness which we call "goodness of heart." We might call it "kind goodness." But as the Syr. here used represents the Gk *χάρις*, "grace," in N.T., "grace" will be the rendering adopted in future extracts. H. sometimes renders it by "Gnade," *e.g.* in Odes xxiii. 2, xxv. 4, xxix. 5, and in his Index, along with "Güte Gottes," he places "Freundlichkeit," "Sanftmut." These words and "Gnade" occur altogether about 35 times in the Index—a fact that indicates the nature of the Odes as a whole. H.'s rendering, "Güte," has, over "grace," the advantage of always keeping to the etymological meaning, and of sometimes shewing a connection with uses of the word "good" in the context.

⁴ [3722 *e*] "Wronged." *Thes.* 1476—7 gives "fraudavit" and "fraudatus est" as frequent meanings, besides "oppressit," &c. The former would suit an allusion to Abraham's "reward," and Abraham's reply implying that he could not see how he should receive his "reward." But the latter would suit those Jewish traditions on Gen. xv. 1 (see Jer. Targ.) which represent Abraham as being alarmed at the prospect of the enmity of the friends of those whom he had just slain. It would also suit the Hebrew and Christian thought, frequent all through the Bible, that whoever can say "The Lord is on my side" need not fear any enemy.

⁵ [3722 *f*] "Thy seal." The Syriac word (*Thes.* 1410) means (1) "seal-ring," as in Jerem. xxii. 24 "signet"; (2) "seal," *i.e.* the stamped wax on which the seal-ring has been impressed, and hence "stamp," as in Rev. ix. 4 "the *seal* of God upon their foreheads," Rev. v. 5, 9 "open... the *seals*" (placed by *Thes.* under (1), but more suitable, with the other N.T. instances, to (2)). Since, then, "thy *seal*" must mean either "thy

signet," or "the *stamp* of thy signet," and since, in either case, the "signet" must be something belonging to God ("thy"), the question arises whether it is God's "substance" mentioned in Heb. i. 3—where God's Son is called "the effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of his glory and the *stamp*, or *impress* (*χαρκτήρ*) of his substance (*ὑπόστασις*)," and the Syriac (and Delitzsch's Heb.) represents "stamp" by "image." Our poet appears to use the Syriac "seal," very nearly as "stamp," or "impress," to mean the likeness of God as revealed through the Son, and as stamped on humanity. The "signet," if it were ever mentioned, would be the Son, and, more particularly, the Son regarded as the Light of the world. So the face of Stephen—shortly before his martyrdom and his vision of the Son at the right hand of the Father—becoming (Acts vi. 15) "as if it had been the face of an angel," might be said to have received (Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity*, *Prelude* l. 20) "the *print* of the approaching light." The light of the material sun "gilds all objects," but "alters none"; but the light of (Mal. iv. 2) "the sun of Righteousness" brings "healing in its wings" and transmutes the nature that it illuminates. Everything that comes to the light and (Eph. v. 13) "is manifested (*φανερούμενον*)," not only receives light but "is light"; whatever shrinks from the light is (*ib.*) "convicted." Also, in Job xxxviii. 12—14, "changed as clay under the seal" is connected with "the dayspring" and with the "shaking out of the wicked," but the passage is too obscure to justify confident inference. The facts above stated suffice to shew that God's "seal," meaning Light, might be described by a Jewish poet as "known" to all His creatures, even to those who are symbolized by the "young lions," which (Ps. civ. 22) "when the sun ariseth," are said to "get them away and lay them down in their dens" (on which see *Baba Metzia* 83 b and Origen).

A blending of three metaphors appears to explain our poet's conception of the "seal." It is (1) *light* streaming *on* us from the Sun of Righteousness as seen in the Mirror (3884 a foll.); (2) but it also streams *into* us, affecting our form and nature, like a *stamp* upon wax; (3) lastly, as being the *stamp* from God's "seal," it denotes that we have, by a kind of "signing and sealing," become God's *possession*. Comp. Ode xlii. 25—6 "I heard their voice and *signed* (3814 d) *my name upon their heads*, for they are free men and they are mine." But Codex N (App. IV) has "*put*" for "*signed*," implying the same result in a different way.

The Syr. is here a form of Heb. *châtham*, but in Ode viii. 16 a form of Heb. *tâba'* (3814 c foll.). In both Odes the "seal" may be taken as being revealed by light, so that the angels "sealed" are "angels of light," and the mortals "sealed" are "children of light." In *Sanhedr.* 64 a R. Chanina says "Truth is the Seal of the Holy One," and light, since it may be regarded as the symbol of Truth, may be regarded as the visible expression of God's "seal." On Cant. iii. 7—10 the Targum says

creatures [v.r. thy creatures know it¹] and thy armed-hosts² possess it, and the elect archangels are clothed therein³.

that the "seal" of circumcision keeps off evil spirits and demons; and the *Pistis Sophia* attributes the same power to the "crown of light," called in the first Ode (i. 2) "*crown of Truth*." The seal imparts an illuminated and regenerated nature recognisable by all. Comp. Ode xxiii. 7 "they (*i.e.* the opposing powers) were affrighted at it (*i.e.* at the Letter, which contained the Gospel) and at the *seal* that was upon it." [On Ode xxiv. 5 (R.H.) "sealed...with the *seal*," see the reading of N (3999 (ii) 8).]

[3722 *f*₁] Here "seal" is parall. to "grace." It means, fundamentally, "*truth*," *i.e.* correspondence to God, personified in (xxiii. 16) "the Head, even *the Son of Truth*."

¹ [3722 *g*] "Thy creatures know it." So R.H., slightly altering the text, which has "known unto it are thy creatures." The alteration makes the meaning easier, and though open to the charge of tautology, may be defended as meaning "known—yes known to all thy creatures." If the text is retained, the seal of Truth is personified: "The Truth is known as God's seal, and knows all God's true creatures, distinguishing those that He 'knows,' the true ones, from those to whom He says (Mt. xxv. 12) 'I know you not'." R.H. is favoured by *Jubilees* i. 25 (3913 *c*).

² [3722 *h*] "Armed-hosts." R.H. "[heavenly] hosts," H. "Heerscharen" (as in Ode xvi. 15): only twice in H.'s Index. It may mean (Hastings ii. 429—30) "stars" or "angels." In either case, they might be regarded as "possessing" light as their peculiar characteristic, stamp, or "seal." Perhaps the best meaning is "the army of angels in heaven," as distinguished from the "creatures" on earth and from the "archangels" in the higher heavens. The Index does not give "Engel."

³ [3722 *i*] "Clothed therein." Can archangels be "clothed" with a "seal"? Apparently Jews would say "Yes." At least, Philo (i. 653—4) uses "seal" somewhat similarly when describing the three investitures of the Great High Priest, and especially the one used for making atonement. The first step is, to clothe himself, as it were, with water and ashes (in the spirit of "the wise Abraham" (Gen. xviii. 27) when interceding for Sodom). Next comes a "variegated" clothing. The third is a linen robe of purest white, "shining with a most brilliant ray (*ἀνγοειδέστατον φέγγους*)," "most bright and full-of-essential-light (*λαμπρότατον καὶ φωτοειδέστατον*)." This is a sign that he is "aiming at incorruptibility (*ἀφθαρσίας*), laughing at the blind fictions of mortal [joys]." Thus "he is wholly lit up by the shadowless and illuminating ray of *truth*." He concludes thus: "So much for the Great High Priest [of the Confession (?) interpol. from Heb. iii. 1] *stamped* with the three above-mentioned *seals*—the *pure white*...."

[3722 *j*] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 25 "the people were (A.V.) naked, for

§ 3. *God's "fellowship" with Man*

[3723] So far, the poem indicates that there is no need of any visible Temple. It seems to say to us, "Believe, and ye are in God's Temple."

But then, what as to sacrifice on the altar? The poet—speaking of *need* as a kind of *falling short*—replies, in effect, "There is no need of sacrifice either, except so far as our hearts, feeling that they *fall short* of their due likeness to God's heart, send upwards an offering of love responsive to His love. As fruit springs up in return for dew, and as the babe grows up in return for the mother's milk, so must our sacrifice of love go up in return for His love. The mother might be said to *need* her child's love. And God might be said to *need* His children's love. But He does not *need* anything from us in the sense of *falling short of* us. On the contrary, it is we who *fall short of* His likeness. And the sacrifice that He *needs* is not that of bullocks, but that of hearts lovingly conforming themselves to His heart¹."

Aaron had made them naked," *ib.* xxxiii. 6 "stripped themselves of their ornaments," where Targ. Jer. I. says (1) (Etheridge) "they had been stripped by the hand of Aaron of the holy crown which was upon their head, inscribed and beautified with the great and glorious Name" (and Jer. II. adds "set forth at Mount Horeb"), but (2) (Etheridge) "the sons of Israel were deprived of their usual adornments (*or*, appointed arms) on which was written and set forth the great Name; and which had been given them, a gift from Mount Horeb." Here we see that "naked" may mean "crownless," and the "crown" derives its glory from the NAME inscribed or stamped on it. The human soul may be regarded as "clothing" itself permanently with the Name, or Truth, of God, which is regarded as His Seal stamped upon Man. On "elect," see 3815 *f* foll. Here perhaps it means "those that excel [the rest]."

¹ [3723 *a*] Ps. I. 7—14 "I am God, [even] thy God. I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices...offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving." This Psalm is also in the mind of the writer of Heb. xiii. 14—15 "We have not here an abiding city...through him [Jesus] then let us offer up a *sacrifice of praise*." Perhaps it would have been better to substitute "*fall short of*" for "*need*" in Ode iv. 9 "It was not that thou didst fall short of us," s. 3999 (ii) 17 *k—m*.

[3724] One of the most noteworthy points in the short extract given above is the unobtrusive way in which the author introduces his first mention of God's grace ("who is there that shall put on thy *grace*?"). Under various forms, this thought—that is, the thought of God's free and gracious and self-originated kindness, coming to Man like the dew or like a perennial stream of illuminating light or fertilising water—is found far more frequently in these Odes than (proportionately) in the works of Philo, and with such originality of expression that we have no justification for supposing that the author borrows it from him, or from Paul, or from any extant writer later than the Prophets.

[3725] It is appropriate for a song about God's Temple that the singer should, in the course of it, pass from the thought of self to the thought of the collective worshippers, from "I" to "we." The Ode began with "O *my* God," but the last section of it will be found to introduce "us¹." This first mention of "us" will be connected with the first mention of "fellowship." This, too, is appropriate for a Temple. And we may note that the only other mention of "fellowship" in the Odes is connected with an express mention of "light," which has been shewn (3722 *f*) to be implied here².

¹ [3725 *a*] The Index has "'Wir,' nicht 'Ich,' iv. 9, 10; vi. 5, 6; xvii. 15; xviii. 7; xli. 2—7, 11; xlii. 21—24," shewing that it is most frequent in the last two Odes. I have noticed no additional instances except xiii. 1 "our mirror," xiv. 9 "our petitions" and "our needs."

² [3725 *b*] Ode xxi. 2—4 "I put off darkness and clothed myself with *light*...and superabundantly helpful to me was the Purpose (*or*, Design) of the Lord and His *fellowship* which is incorruptible." Comp. 1 Jn. i. 5—7 "God is *light*....If we say that we have *fellowship* with him, and walk in the darkness, we lie, and do not the truth; but, if we walk in the *light*, as he is in the *light*, we have *fellowship* one with another...." The Epistle adds "and the blood of Jesus, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin." This metaphor the Odes do not use, nor do they ever mention the word "blood." But they repeatedly speak of Redemption, and imply it as the "Purpose of the Lord," and they make frequent allusions to the Cross (3664).

[3726] In accordance with above-mentioned Hebrew precedent, the thought of God's "fellowship" is at once associated with the thought of God's freedom from "need" (but see 3999 (ii) 17 *k* foll.) :—

9. Thou hast given us thy fellowship¹. It was not that thou didst (?) need [gifts] from us, but we (?) need [gifts] from thee.

10. Sprinkle on us thy sprinklings [of dew²], and open thy

¹ [3726 *a*] "Fellowship," H. "Gemeinschaft," Levy *Ch.* ii. 522—3 qu. *Jer. Taan.* ii. p. 65 *d* "Gott hat seinen erhabenen Namen mit dem von *Isra-el* gemeinschaftlich gemacht, vereinigt...(Josh. vii. 9)" (also Levy iv. 618 *b*). Rashi (on Josh. vii. 9) says that this "fellowship" in respect of the name *el*—common both to God and to His people—is "expositio allegorica." Our author takes the "fellowship" to be that of the Holy Spirit. Of this, the sign is, in the present context, the Seal of Light. But it might be called the Seal of the NAME.

[3726 *b*] The only other instance of God's "fellowship" with Man is in Ode xxi. 4—5 "And above-measure [R.H. *increasingly*, H. *besonders*, *Thes.* 1651 sanctions either rendering, but favours *περισσοτέρως* &c.] helpful to me was the Design of the Lord (*i.e.* the revelation of the Lord's Plan of Redemption) and His incorruptible *fellowship*, and I was lifted up in (or, into) His light."

² [3726 *c*] "Sprinkle...sprinklings [of dew]." *Thes.* 3938 gives "sprinkle" as the regular meaning of this word. It occurs in Deut. xxxiii. 28 (Syr.) "The fountain of Jacob...corn and wine...yea, his heavens will *sprinkle* dew," where Rashi remarks that this is "the blessing of Isaac" (Gen. xxvii. 28) which "will be added to the blessing of Jacob." On Gen. xxvii. 28 "God give thee of the dew of heaven...earth...corn and wine," Rashi says "there are many mystical interpretations." Philo i. 452 says that "the dew of heaven" signifies the gentle blessings from heaven, while the "earth" signifies earthly blessings, and that this agrees with the lesson taught by the garment of the High Priest, Logos, on whose head is a golden plate (Exod. xxviii. 36) with the "impress of a seal," which "seal" is "the idea of ideas"—an Alexandrian specimen, perhaps, of the "mysticism" mentioned by Rashi.

[3726 *d*] These facts, and a great many more that might be adduced about the allegorical meaning of "dew" and "showers" in Jewish literature, indicate that the Ode is alluding to "dew" not merely as a blessing but also as a *promised* blessing, part of God's Will and Purpose of Redemption.

It may be no more than a coincidence, but it is to be noted, that two such apparently dissociable things as "dew" and "seal" should be con-associated both by Philo and by our poet in a brief context.

rich fountains that pour forth to us the Milk and Honey [of thy Promise¹].

11. For there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldst repent anything that thou hast promised².

12. And the end [of all things] was open-and-visible to thee; for indeed whatever thou hast given thou hast given freely³.

13. So that thou wilt not draw them back and take them [again].

14. For everything soever—[to thee] as God—was open-and-visible to thee, and was ordained from [that which was] in the beginning⁴ before thee (*i.e.* before thy face), and thou, O Lord⁵, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

¹ [3726 *e*] "The Milk and Honey [of thy Promise]." The first mention of "milk and honey" is in the Promise made to Moses (Exod. iii. 8) "to bring them up...unto a land flowing with milk and honey." The Odes might have expressed this (*s. last note*) by a reference to the "corn and wine" in the Blessing of Isaac. But they never mention "bread," and hardly ever (see 3688 *b*) "wine." "Milk," on the other hand, they frequently mention, and even as coming from the "breasts" of the Father (see 3814 *j* foll.). But to mention it thus for the first time would be an abruptness on which even our poet would hardly venture. It is here introduced as a part of a well-known scriptural phrase, but probably with intention to lead the readers quickly on to higher thoughts of the spiritual "milk." It recurs in Odes viii. 17, xix. 1 foll. and xxxv. 6 "the dew of the Lord gave me milk" (or, "and He gave me milk the dew of the Lord")—which drops the distinction between "dew" and "milk" drawn here, and shews that the two metaphors may express one thing.

² [3726 *f*] Comp. Numb. xxiii. 19 "God is not a man...nor the son of man that he should *repent*," *i.e.* concerning His promises to Israel—alluded to perh. in Rom. xi. 29 "the gifts and the calling of God are without *repentance*." This is the only mention, in the Odes, of "repentance"—a word (*Son* 3564 *a*) never used by John. "Promise" is mentioned again in Ode xxxi. 11 "my promises to the fathers."

³ [3726 *g*] "Freely." Lit. "without-cause." *Thes.* 2005 *sine causa*, either (1) (of good) without price, or (2) (of evil) without provocation. Here, of good, and therefore "gratuitously," R.H. "freely." H. has "aus Gnaden," which expresses (*Gesen.* 336 *b*) the corresponding Hebrew. It recurs in Ode v. 3.

⁴ [3726 *h*] "From [that which was] in the beginning." *Thes.* 3907 shews that "in the beginning" came to mean "that-which-was in the beginning," and hence "principium" in a theological sense. The Odes

[3727] A comparison of this Ode with the Odes as a whole, so far as they throw light on this one, indicates that the writer is insisting in a general way on the spiritual nature of the true Temple, the true Sacrifice, and the true Promise. We cannot infer that he does this because the actual Temple in Jerusalem had fallen, either recently or in times long past. Nor can we even safely conclude, perhaps, that this author, like Barnabas¹, believes the Land of Milk and Honey to be an incarnate Messiah. Philo, in many passages of his writings, manifests an exultation somewhat similar to that which characterizes this Ode. But Philo, in the midst of his highest ecstasies, never forgets that God is, in some sense, "far off." Our poet ignores it, or does not feel it; he shews us already in these early Odes a sense of membership in the Body of the Beloved, and a passionate assurance about the Purpose of Redemption, as being already, in some sense, fulfilled, which may reasonably prepare us to believe, on a little more evidence, that the author has advanced beyond the utmost limit of mystical Essenism into mystical Christianity².

repeat (vi. 4, vii. 17, xi. 4) "from the beginning to the end," and (xxiii. 2, 3, xxiv. 6, xli. 9) "from the beginning," in various contexts, all indicating emphasis on the continuity and preordination of Redemption.

⁶ "O Lord." R.H. in 2nd and 1st ed. "O God," but the Syr. text has in both editions "O Lord" (H. "O Herr").

¹ Barn. vi. 8—9.

JEWISH VIEWS OF GOD'S "PLACE"

² [3727 *a*] This Ode on the unchangeableness of God's Purpose and Place may be illustrated by the close of Ps. cii. 27—8 "Thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee." Taken by themselves, the Psalmist's words might be written either by a Jew or by a Christian, and either before, or after, the fall of the Temple. The Christian Epistle to the Hebrews cites them, and probably after the fall of the Temple, to shew that, in effect, the Temple of the Lord is a living one, the Son of Man, including the sons of Man. But the context of the Psalm says (cii. 13—4) "It is time to have pity upon her...thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and have pity upon her dust," indicating that the writer either wrote, or poetically imagined himself as writing, in a time

when the Temple had literally fallen and its literal rebuilding was awaited with passionate longing.

In the Ode there is certainly no suggestion of the least desire for the building—or for the preservation—of a material Temple; and this (though Essenism must be kept in view as a possible explanation) may fairly be taken as strengthening the proof that the writer was a Christian.

[3727 *b*] On Jewish, or quasi-Jewish, views of God's "place," and on the "restrainings" mentioned in a later Ode (vi. 9) in connection with the Temple, light may be thrown by an ancient attack on "*those who builded the wall.*" It is in *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* ed. Schechter p. 4, l. 19, and especially p. 8, l. 18 "To them (*i.e.* the forefathers) is the covenant of the fathers, but in His hatred of *them who builded the wall His wrath was kindled*" (sim. p. 19, l. 31). Dr Schechter p. xvii says that this is pointed against the Pharisees, "referring probably to their motto, 'Make a fence to the Torah,'" but that, in some points, "the denunciation must... refer to the Hellenistic party." By these Zadokites (*ib.* p. xv) "one city... seems to have been set apart as the City of the Sanctuary...*perhaps it was in this Sanctuary that the altar was placed in which regular sacrifices were brought, whilst the other settlements were only provided with a house of worship....*" The date of this work (of parts of which there are two versions) is the subject of much discussion, and the Rev. G. Margoliouth (*Expositor*, Dec. 1911, Mar. 1912) gives reasons for thinking that it is Ebionite and of the first century. Co-operation between Greek or Roman conquerors and some of the Jewish upper classes might occur both under Antiochus Epiphanes and under Tiberius Caesar, such as is indicated by Mark's brief mentions of "the Herodians." In any case this work, which all agree to be not later than the first century, shews that other Jews besides Essenes might take what we should now call "very heterodox" views of the Sanctuary built by Ezra and restored by Herod. See 3996 *g*.

[3727 *c*] A mystical view of God's Holy Place might spring naturally from Ps. xxii. 3 "But thou art holy, O thou that *inhabitest* (marg. *art enthroned upon*) the praises of Israel," a passage mistranslated by LXX, and consequently misinterpreted by Origen as well as by Justin Martyr, but connected by many Jewish traditions (*e.g.* *Gen. r.* on Gen. xviii. 1, xxviii. 11, xxxi. 40) with the presence of the Shechinah above the Patriarch Israel at Bethel (the House of God) or above the nation Israel, in their assemblies for worship. See also *From Letter 1022 a* quoting Exod. xv. 2 "I will *beautify* him," R.V. "*praise* him," A.V. "*prepare* him a *habitation*," Onk. "*build* him a *sanctuary*," LXX δοξάσω, and *ib.* 1022 quoting Abba Saul (c. 130 A.D.) who mystically expounded "I will beautify" as "I and [*? even*] HE," meaning that a man will best glorify God by conformity to Him so as to be able to say "I am HE."

CHAPTER V

THE HELP OF GOD*

§ 1. *The Lord our Protector*

[3728] Having already introduced Love and Faith, the poet now introduces "Hope." With Hope he also introduces the thought of "persecution" as the environment that makes men feel the need of hope. The hour of persecution is connected with "darkness," which is here for the first time mentioned. In Luke, Jesus says to His persecutors at the dead of night, "This is your hour and the power of darkness¹." So, here, the hour of persecution might have been called "the hour of darkness"—the enemies of righteousness being like "the beasts of the forest," which are in their element and see most clearly in the night time, when they "seek their prey²." But the poet takes a different view of the matter. The persecutors do *not* see. They are themselves in the dark, a darkness of their own making. Their "counsel" which they have (as they suppose) "planned wisely," becomes "thick darkness," and is to "return on their own heads."

[3729] This will be shewn to refer probably to something more definite than the retributive "darkening of the eyes" in the Psalms (3730). For the rest, the connection resembles that in the Pauline doctrine of Hope, in which the Apostle asks how "persecution," or anything else, can "separate us from the love of Christ," having previously said "by hope

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ Lk. xxii. 53.

² Ps. civ. 21.

are we saved¹." This Ode, too, having begun with "love" as well as "hope" ("I love thee...thou art my hope") ends with the assurance of inseparableness from the Lord:—"I stand firm...because the Lord is with me and I am with Him." This—being only another metaphor to express what was expressed in the third Ode, which described believers as the "members" of the Beloved—needs no explaining. But the retribution of "cloud," "darkness," "no light," "thick-fog," on the "persecutors," seems somewhat strangely detailed.

[3730] It is probably to be explained as one of those allusions to the Deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea which run through all Hebrew and Jewish literature and which are obvious in many of the Psalms. In the first place, the word "persecute" or "pursue"—for the Syriac has both meanings and so has the Hebrew with which it is identical—is repeatedly applied in Exodus to the "pursuing" or "persecuting" Egyptians, both in the third person and in the first, and is referred to by Philo as well as in the Midrash of the Psalms as shewing that God "persecutes" the "persecutors²." In

¹ [3729 a] Rom. viii. 21 foll. "in *hope*; because the creation itself also shall be delivered...by *hope* were we saved, but *hope* that is seen is not hope: for who *hopeth* for that which he seeth? But if we *hope* for that which we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." The Epistle proceeds to emphasize God's "foreknowing" and "foreordaining" in "conforming" the elect "to the image of his Son," very much as this author emphasizes, in Ode iv., the unchangeable continuity of God's Purpose of Redemption. "Hope" is a special kind of faith or belief, the belief, against appearances, in the ultimate predominance of peace and goodness.

² [3730 a] Exod. xiv. 4 foll. "he shall *pursue* (R.V. *follow*) after them... (8) he *pursued* after the children of Israel...(9) The Egyptians *pursued* after them...(23) The Egyptians *pursued* and went in after them into the midst of the sea...(xv. 9) the enemy said, 'I will *pursue*, I will overtake...'" With this comp. 2 Cor. iv. 9 "*pursued* (A.V. *persecuted*) yet not *forsaken*," and the opening of this Ode (v. 2—4) "Thou wilt not *forsake* me...Those who *pursue* me will come and not see me."

Philo (on Exod. xv. 9) says (i. 152) "Everyone that, in this material world, fancies he is *pursuing* (i.e. *persecuting* men) is [really] being

the next place, the same Midrash comments on the "cloud and the darkness" which was "light" to Israel but "dark" to the pursuing Egyptians¹. And many traditions refer to the Egyptians as being caught in their own trap, thinking to drive Israel into the sea, yet perishing in the sea themselves, so that their counsel "returned on their own heads".

But there appear also to be special allusions to Moses as personifying Israel in the Deliverance from Egypt. This Ode twice uses the rare phrase "my hope" about God. In Hebrew, this is mostly expressed by "my refuge," which occurs twice in the 91st Psalm, one of the Psalms attributed to Moses². Jewish tradition describes Moses as delivered from the sword of Pharaoh by miraculous intervention of various kinds, so that either an angel took his place, or the blind were asked where Moses was, and (as the Ode says) they did not "see" him, or the sword rebounded against the executioner³. The "wise planning" of the Egyptians against the infants of Israel resulted in the training of Moses in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians," which prepared him to defeat their wisdom⁴. The words "as a crown is He on my head," though true of every genuine Israelite, were specially true

pursued [by God]. Also the Midr. on Ps. xxvii. 1 "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?" says (Wü. i. 237) that the Egyptian boast "I *will pursue*" ought to be read "I *shall be pursued*."

¹ Exod. xiv. 20 "It was a cloud and darkness [to the Egyptians], but it gave light by night [to the Israelites]."

² See 3731 *q* foll., 3781 *h*₃, *h*₄, and 3819 *l*.

³ [3730 *b*] Ps. xci. 2, 9, R.V. and A.V. "my refuge," see 3731 *g*. On Ps. xc. 1, Rashi says that Psalms xc.—c. were written by Moses. The Heb. "my refuge" (about God) recurs in Ps. xciv. 22 and (Mandelk. 414) only eight times in the Bible altogether.

⁴ [3730 *c*] Comp. Exod. xviii. 4 "And the name of the other [son of Moses] was Eliezer; for [he (*i.e.* Moses) said] The God of my father was my help and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh," on which see *Mechilt.* ad loc., *Tehill.* Wü. i. 39—40, *Cant. r.* (on Cant. vii. 5, Wü. p. 169), *Deut. r.* (on Deut. iv. 41, Wü. p. 35). R.V. marg. adds "Heb. *El*, God, and *ezer*, help."

⁵ Acts vii. 22, see 3731 *q*.

about Moses, who, as the Jerusalem Targum says, received "four goodly crowns," the first being "the crown of the Law ...because he brought it from the heavens above¹." Toward its close the Ode asserts that the speaker will never be "shaken" though everything should be "shaken." This calls attention to Jewish traditions, some of which (but not all) have influenced the Epistle to the Hebrews, which associates the words of Moses "I exceedingly fear and quake" with "the mountain" described in Exodus as "*quaking* (3734 a)." Finally, the words "*the Lord is with me and I am with him*," close the poem with a picture of Moses at his spiritual highest, when God said to him, in reply to a prayer that He would manifest Himself to him, "Behold, there is a place by me...I will put thee in a cleft of the rock and will cover thee with my hand²."

[3731] There is an instructive contrast between this Ode and the Gnostic Targum based on it in the Pistis Sophia. The latter repeatedly personifies light, *e.g.* "I will lift up a song to thee, O Light³, because I desire to come unto thee, I will sing unto thee, O Light, for thou art my Saviour." But the Ode introduces "light"—here for the first time in the Odes—only indirectly and subordinately, placing it after "darkness," and mentioning the loss of it as a retribution on "persecutors" ("they shall have no light to see").

1. I give thanks⁴ unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee⁵.

¹ Deut. xxxiv. 4 (Jer. Targ.).

² Exod. xxxiii. 21—2, see 3734 f.

³ *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Pet.) 113.

⁴ [3731 a] "I give thanks." R.H. "I will give thanks." But the same Syr. occurs in Mt. xi. 25 and Lk. x. 21 meaning "*I give thanks* to thee," and there seems no reason for a future rendering. H. "ich sage dir Dank." Here, as in Mt.-Lk., "thanks" appears to include an acknowledgment of the inscrutable wisdom of God in ordaining a retributive "darkness" (in Mt.-Lk., "hiding"). The word does not recur exc. Ode xxvi. 6, R.H. "is the confession of Him," H. "gebührt ihm Danksagung."

⁵ [3731 b] "I love thee." Comp. Ps. xviii. 1—2 "I will love thee, O Lord, my strength, the Lord is my Rock..." The subject of that

2. Most High¹, thou wilt not forsake me², for thou art my hope³.

Psalm is the same as that of this Ode—God, the Protector and the Rock, although the Ode does not expressly mention the Rock. The title of the Psalm mentions the deliverance of David “from the hand of Saul,” but it passes rapidly (*ib.* 8; see Rashi) to the deliverance of Israel from Pharaoh at the Red Sea. In the Psalm, “I will love” (so LXX, and Aq. &c., and the Targ., and Syr., and A.V., against R.V.) seems to represent the “love” as the effect of the Psalmist’s will:—“I will love thee because thou hast delivered me.” The Ode represents the singer’s “love” as the cause of his praise.

[3731 *c*] In the Psalm, “I will love thee” (Gesen. 933 *b*) is a unique Hebrew use of *râcham* (see 3680 foll.) to mean man’s love to God. Rashi takes pains to explain that it means the same thing as the reg. Heb. “love” used in Lev. xix. 18. Prob. it is an early corruption (the clause is omitted in the Heb. of parall. 2 S. xxii. 2) but our author would almost certainly have it before him and would use the text of the Psalms rather than that of Samuel. If so, the contrast between the tone of the Psalm and the tone of the Ode may be deliberate. In the Psalm, love is a consequence, in the Ode, a cause; in the Psalm, God will help because He is “called upon,” in the Ode, because He is the singer’s “hope”; in the Psalm, it is the Psalmist’s “righteousness,” and “cleanness of hands,” and “perfection” that give him confidence in his appeal to God; in the Ode, it is God’s free gift of grace—“freely have I received thy grace, I shall live thereby.” On “righteousness” s. 3804 *a* foll.

[3731 *d*] *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Pet.) 114 gives Ode v. 1 thus, “Manifestabo me tibi, domine, quod tu es meus deus. Ne sine me...” (but see R.H. p. 23 giving, for “manifestabo me tibi,” another transl. “gratias tibi agam,” as in Syr.). This omits the vocative “O Most High,” and substitutes “thou art my God” for “I love thee.”

¹ [3731 *e*] “Most High.” Out of about 29 instances of “Most High,” this is the only vocative one. Might it be taken appositionally? Comp. Ps. ix. 2 (Targ.) “*nomen tuum altissimum.*” See 3922 *m* foll.

² [3731 *f*] “Thou wilt not forsake me.” The Coptic has “Do not thou forsake me,” and so H. But such a prayer would seem at discord with the prevalent optimistic tone of the Odes. “Verlassen” is not in H.’s Index, but recurs in xi. 9 and xxxiii. 7 of “forsaking” evil.

³ [3731 *g*] The noun “hope” recurs in xxix. 1 “The Lord is my hope; in Him I shall not be confounded,” xl. 3 “...so also is my hope on thee, O my God.” The radical meaning of the Syr. (*sbr*) is (*Theo.* 2509) “putare,” which, when meaning “think [to do],” may imply “expect” or “hope.” But the Syr. may represent “hope” in other aspects—aspects confused in the translations of the Bible. Ἐλπίς (LXX) represents

15 different Heb. words, and A.V. "hope" is also R.V. "confidence," "safety," "trust," or "refuge." When God is called "*my hope*" in Ps. lxxi. 5 (R.V.), the Heb. means "waiting [patiently for]" with some suggestion of what Gesen. 875 *b* calls "tension," LXX ὑπομονή, Sym. προσδοκία. There the Targ. and the Syr. have our word (*sôr*), but they have it also in Ps. lxii. 7, cxlii. 5, where God is called, or connected with, "my refuge"; and ἡ ἐλπίς μου, in LXX, when applied to God, mostly = Heb. "my refuge." "Refuge" (Heb.) is used, 14 times out of 20, to mean (Gesen. 340) "God as the refuge of his people."

It makes a great difference in the picture presented by Ode v. whether the attitude is that of painful "tension," or that of rest in a "refuge." The latter is more consonant with the tone of the Odes as a whole, and with the present context, which represents the redeemed soul as being high up on a hill above the commotion of things below, like Abraham looking down on Sodom, or like Moses or Elijah on Horeb. Comp. Ode xxxv. 4—5 "There came forth from them smoke and judgment, and I was at peace in the order (so R.H., s. 3888 *a*) of the Lord, and more than *shadow* was He to me and more than *foundation*." This is like Ps. xci. 1 foll. "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the *shadow* of the Almighty...He is my *refuge* and my *fortress*...with thine eyes shalt thou...see the reward of the wicked." (As regards the "smoke" comp. Gen. xix. 28, Exod. xix. 18, in both of which passages the Syr. has the same word as here.) The poet probably has in view Jewish traditions explaining why Moses was (Deut. ix. 19) "exceedingly-terrified (ἐκφοβος)" when coming down from Mount Horeb, but not terrified when ascending the mountain, though it was "all on smoke" (see Wü. *Numb. r.* p. 257, *Deut. r.* p. 99, *Cant. r.* p. 95, *Pesikt.* p. 53, *Exod. r.* p. 292, *Tehill.* i. 66; see also Jer. Targ. on Deut. ix. 19, and *Notes* 2998 (xi) foll., quoting "a 3rd century tradition" from *Sabb.* 88 *b*). The reason was (say the Jews, and their view is confirmed by the context of Deut. ix. 19) that, on the second occasion, Israel had sinned. It was not physical fear in Moses, but his fear for Israel. This is a nobler view of Moses than that presented in Heb. xii. 21 "and so fearful was the appearance [of the mountain] [that] Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake." Probably the Jews in the first century attacked such expositions as this. Our poet, without touching on controversy, favours the Jewish view about Moses, but suggests that even Moses is the type of one greater than himself—one to whom the Almighty is "*more than*" shadow, and "*more than*" fortress. [Westcott, on Heb. xii. 21, says "Similar words were used by Moses in connexion with the worshipping of the golden calf Deut. ix. 19; but it is hardly possible that the writer of the Epistle transferred these directly to the scene at the giving of the Law, when the fear was due to circumstances essentially different. It is more likely that he refers to some familiar tradition in which the feelings of Moses were described in

3. Freely¹ have I received thy grace, I shall live² thereby.
4. My persecutors³ will come (3737 *a*) and will not see me.

these terms." But Westcott does not give any specimen of such "tradition." Presumably he knew none. And against his view is the fact that *some* "traditions," as quoted above, expressly distinguish the "circumstances." As regards "exceedingly-afraid," it is worth noting that *ἐκφοβος*, in the whole of the Gk canonical Bible, occurs only in Deut. ix. 19, Heb. xii. 21, and Mk. ix. 6 concerning the disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration (*From Letter 885 a*.)]

Taken by itself, the evidence as to the single word "hope" is insufficient to shew that in the Odes it corresponds to "refuge" in Hebrew. But it ought perhaps rather to be considered as part of a phrase, "the Lord my hope," or some equivalent. When thus regarded, and interpreted in the light of its context, it appears to mean, if not "refuge," at all events something quite different from that kind of "hope" which is associated with the tension of painful expectation.

¹ [3731 *k*] "Freely," H. "umsonst." See note (3726 *g*) on iv. 12, where H. had "aus Gnaden." The author often emphasizes in the second of two Odes a thought that he has introduced in the first. In iv. 7—12, he spoke of the spontaneousness, or living naturalness, of God's "grace"—"grace," "life," and "free-giving" being connected together. Here he emphasizes the connection.

² [3731 *i*] "Shall live." H. "ich lebe (oder : bin gerettet)." The second meaning may be illustr. by Gen. xii. 13 "my soul shall *live* because of thee." In the Odes, as in the Fourth Gospel, the notion of being "spared," or "saved from death," is mostly subordinated to that of being "spiritually living," "abounding in life." Here, perhaps, if anywhere, the context introducing the thought of persecution and peril would justify the rendering "I shall be saved," but see 3819 *j* foll.

³ [3731 *j*] "My persecutors" occurs, as here (and identically in Heb., Aram., and Syr.) in Ps. vii. 1 "Save me from all *them-that-pursue-me* (A.V. *persecute me*)." The Psalm resembles this Ode in beginning (*ib.*) with an expression of "trust," and in declaring that the devices of the persecutor (*ib.* 16) "will return upon his own head." See also 3730 *a*.

[3731 *k*] "Persecute" recurs as follows :—

Ode xxiii. 18 (R.H.) "And all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who *persecuted* and were enraged (but see 3888 *b*) became extinct." Reasons will be given below for thinking that this may refer, in part, to the reaction that followed the death of Domitian, when the persecution of the Christians ceased, and the *delatores*, or informers, were discouraged and punished. See 3936.

[3731 *l*] Ode xxviii. 8 (R.H.) "They who saw me marvelled at me, because I was *persecuted*, and they supposed that I was swallowed up."

Some details here, *e.g.* "marvelled," and especially (xxviii. 7) "kissed" (R.H. "give to drink") (see Pref. pp. xlv—xlix) point to the crucifixion as being referred to by "persecuted."

The context (*ib.* 5) says "*the sword* shall not divide me from Him nor *the scimitar*." "Scimitar" and "sword" are probably, not poetic parallels, but emblems of two different powers. The Syr. for "scimitar" is identical with the Gk *σαμψηρά* used in Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 2, 3 to mean "the sword, recognised as the sign of foreign authority." It is freq. in Syr. (*Thes.* 2702) O.T. and N.T., and is used as the sign of *Roman power* in Rom. xiii. 4 "he (*i.e.* the Roman ruler) beareth not the sword in vain." Levy *Ch.* ii. 181 quotes it thrice from the Targ. on Esther, *e.g.* Esth. viii. 15 (Targ.) where it is *the sign of the regal power of Ahasuerus*, deputed to Mordecai. Now the whole of the 22nd Psalm, which Christians quoted as pointing to Christ's crucifixion, appears to have been interpreted by Jews (s. Rashi on Ps. xxii. 1) as referring to Esther, and Ps. xxii. 20 "deliver my soul from *the sword*, my darling from *the power of the dog*," is explained in *Megill.* 15 *b* as *a prayer to be delivered from the sword of Ahasuerus*, whom she calls "*dog*." Presumably she means it as a contemptuous term for an idolater. The tradition represents her as asking God whether He has "forsaken" her for some sin—"Was it that I called him '*dog*'?"—and then as substituting "*lion*." No explanation of "*the dog*" is given in the Midrash on the Psalm (although it consistently applies the context to Esther, and explains Ps. xxii. 16 "*dogs*" as the sons of Haman) nor have I found any explanation of "*the dog*" in the volumes published by Schwab, Goldschmidt, and Wünsche (except *Megill.* as above). But in this Ode we appear to find a paraphrase of "*from the power of the dog*," on the lines of *Megilla* but adapted to Christian thought:—"Neither the native sword of Herod nor *Pilate's sword of Roman authority* shall divide me from the Lord." Comp. Acts iv. 26—7, quoting Ps. ii. 2 "*the kings of the earth...and the rulers*" and explaining it as "*Herod and Pontius Pilate*." "*Sword*," apart from "*scimitar*," might have been taken generally as in Rom. viii. 35; but the antithesis makes a particular meaning probable here.

[3731 *m*] Ode xlii. 5—7 (R.H.) "All my *persecutors* are dead; and they sought after me who (3731 *n*) hoped in me because I was alive; (6) and I rose up and am with them; and I will speak by their mouths. (7) For they have despised those who *persecuted* them." This, too, points to Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, and to the "despising" of "persecution" by His disciples, who, after His death, "sought after" Him, or "hoped" in Him—or did both—because He was "alive" and helping them.

[3731 *n*] Taken together, these passages about persecution indicate a review of its general futility, beginning with Israel's "persecution" in Egypt and ending with Christ's "persecution" on the Cross. The former resulted in the destruction of the Egyptians, the latter in the discomfiture of Death and Sheol. In the first (Ode v. 4) there may be a

5. A cloud¹ of gloom shall fall on their eyes and an air of thick darkness shall darken them.

blending of the thought of David "pursued" by Saul (1 S. xxiii. 25, xxiv. 14, xxv. 29, xxvi. 18) with that of Israel "pursued" by Egypt—as there is a similar blending, according to Rashi, in Ps. xviii (3731 *b*)—but the latter appears to predominate.

H.'s Index gives "Verfolgungen, Verfolger," as occurring also in Odes xxii. 3, xxv. 10, xxix. 5; but these passages mention "adversaries," or "enemies," not "persecutors."

[In Ode xlii. 5, instead of "*who hoped in me because I was alive*," R.H. 1st ed. has "*who supposed that I was alive*." But H. has "die, welche ihre Hoffnung auf mich setzten weil ich lebe." With this R.H. 2nd ed. (which however has no note) appears to agree.

But the lit. Syr. is "hoped *on*," not "hoped *in*." *Thes.* 2510 says that the regular constr. is with "*in*," and gives no Biblical instance of the constr. with "*on*." Why then does our poet use the latter? Heb., *when desiring to express "trust" reposed "on" God*, uses *bâtach* with prep. "*on*" (Gesen. 105 *a*) in four instances; the Syr. thrice represents this by *thcl*, "trust," with "*on*." But in Ps. xxxvii. 5 where the Syr. represents it by *sbr*, it alters the preposition to "*in*." This confirms the statement in *Thes.* and suggests that the usage in the Ode here is to be explained by some peculiar view of the poet as to the nature of "hope (*sbr*)," which he consistently regards as "resting" *on* a present support. If that is the case, the fact may be illustrated by the various uses of πιστεύω in different books of N.T. (*Joh. Voc.* 1474 foll.).

It cannot be maintained that the author uses *sbr* to do duty for the Syr. *thcl*, for he uses the latter thrice, Odes xxiii. 2 "*trust on it*," xxxiii. 11 "*trust in my name*," xl. 7 "the fear [of the Lord] *trusts in* Him." II. "trauen" or "vertrauen" (but neither is in H.'s Index.)]

¹ [3731 *o*] "Cloud," H. "Wolke," but his Index gives only xxxv. 1 foll. "The dew of the Lord in quietness-and-refreshment He dropped-down upon me; and the *cloud* of peace did He fix above my head, and it was a protection to me at all times. As salvation was it to me. Everything quaked and [they] were dismayed...." The context goes on to speak of "smoke" and "judgment," where the "smoke" is said to have gone forth "from them," *i.e.* from "the dismayed." This, at first sight, might seem to describe Moses, in the cloud on Mount Sinai, unafraid, with Israel below, "dismayed" (Exod. (?) xix. 18, xx. 18). But "the smoke and judgment" did not *go forth "from"* Israel. Can it be that the writer supposes "smoke" and "judgment" to have come forth "from" the Egyptians under the maleficent cloud of fire, that same cloud of fire which was beneficent to Israel? This indeed is not stated in Scripture which merely says that (Exod. xiv. 24) "The Lord looked down (Gesen.

6. And they shall have no light to see—that they may not take me.

7. May their thought become a thick-fog¹, and whatever they have planned-wisely [as they suppose]²—may it return on their own heads (but see 3832 *b*).

1054 *b*) upon the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of cloud." But Jer. Targ. I. adds "*to hurl upon them flakes of fire and hail*" (Jer. II. adds also "*bitumen*") and *Mechilta* (Wü. p. 104) says that the bottom of the sea was *caused to "seethe" with heat* (and so Rashi). Philo also referring to the "cloud" in Exodus (xiv. 19—20) which stood between the Israelites and the Egyptians, says that (i. 501) "it drops soft showers (ἐπιψεκάζει) of wisdom on the virtuous," but "sends *thick snowflakes of vengeance* (ἀβρός κατανίφει τιμωρίας)" on their opposites. Jer. Targ. (on Exod. xv. 19) adds that for Israel "there sprang up sweet fountains and trees yielding food and verdure and ripe fruits, [even] on the ground of the sea."

Origen (Lomm. xi. 359) commenting on Ps. lxxix. 23 "Let their eyes be darkened" says that the whole of the Psalm refers to "Him who for our sakes has *gone down to the depths of the immaterial sea* (τῆς νοουμένης θαλάσσης)," and that it describes "*the rout* (τροπήν) *of those who took-counsel against Him for evil.*" Elsewhere he quotes it about (Mt. xxvii. 45) the "darkness" during the Crucifixion, as emblematic of the darkness that was to fall on the Jewish nation.

[3731 *p*] To picturesque traditions such as these, about the Passage of the Red Sea, Philo and our author may be independently alluding. But it is quite possible that one of them, or both, may be combining with this the thought of the Destruction of Sodom. R. Alexandri (*Exod. r.* on xxxi. 18, Wü. p. 285) called attention to the suggestion of evil sometimes contained in the word "look down," giving, as his instances, Exod. xiv. 24 "The Lord *looked down* [*as through a window*] on the camp of the Egyptians," and Gen. xix. 28 "Abraham *looked down* [*as through a window*] on Sodom." Abraham may be regarded by our poet as standing on the cloudless hill of Truth, "looking down" on the judgment of Sodom. No visible cloud is over him. But there is the invisible Shechinah above his head, protecting him—amid the terrors of these divine judgments which he had sought in vain to avert by mediating prayer—and assuring him that, in spite of appearance, all was well. "Smoke" and "judgment" come up from Sodom, but Abraham remains fearless in the belief that "the Judge of all the earth" will "do right."

¹ "Thought...thick-fog," see 3819 *l* foll. and 3737 *b*.

² [3731 *q*] "Planned-wisely [as they suppose]." Comp. Exod. i. 10 "Let us (*i.e.* the Egyptians) *deal-wisely* with them (*i.e.* the Israelites)," where the Heb. and Syr. have the same word as occurs here—and in a

8. For they have designed a thought, and it hath not come to pass for them; they have prepared themselves with-evil-intent and they were found to be empty¹.

9. For on the Lord is my hope and I shall not fear, and (or? yea) because the Lord is my Salvation² I shall not fear.

§ 2. *The Lord our Rock*

[3732] In his consideration of the deliverances of Israel, the poet now passes from the negative aspect, protection, to the positive aspect, stability. Incidentally, he returns to the thought of the "crown." In the first Ode, the crown was a pledge of "life" and "salvation," but with special emphasis on living "fruits." Here, amid thoughts of enemies and persecutors, it seems to be regarded rather as a pledge of victory or security. The text makes no explicit mention of God as a Rock—so frequent a metaphor in the Bible. But some metaphor of the kind seems to be implied. Israel, or

middle form that occurs (Gesen. 314 *b*) nowhere else except Eccles. vii. 16 "be not wise overmuch." See 3819*f*.

¹ [3731 *r*] "Empty." Comp. Exod. iii. 22, where Onk. and Jer. Targ. have "*ye shall make-empty* the Egyptians" as a paraphrase of Heb. "*ye shall spoil* the Egyptians" (rep. *ib.* xii. 36). "*Empty*" is used of a man defrauded of his wages in Gen. xxxi. 42 (comp. Deut. xv. 13) and so, allusively, in Exod. iii. 21 "*ye shall not go empty*" (*i.e.* defrauded of the wages due from your oppressors). It is with this allusion that the Targ. paraphrases "*ye shall spoil*" as "*ye shall make-empty*." It is an instance of retribution. *Mechilt.* on Exod. xv. 9 "The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil," says that this is an instance of God's overruling. All the verbs are to be interpreted passively, including "divide the spoil." The would-be despoilers were despoiled. Or, the "emptiers" were "made-empty."

² [3731 *s*] "Salvation." The root-verb, in Syr., represents Heb. "save" or "redeem." It occurs frequently throughout the Odes. This is the first instance (the Syr. in Ode i. being non-extant) and it is introduced appropriately with the introduction of "persecuting."

[3731 *t*] "I shall not fear...and...I shall not fear," seems to make tame sense. It would be improved if "yea" could be substituted for "and." *Thes.* 1057 gives a few instances of its meaning "also" or "even," but mostly before nouns or pronouns, "*also* Peter," "*even* thou," &c. (3734 *u*).

its representative, seems to be regarded as lifted up on a Rock, looking down on a sea of destruction, or on a plain that seethes like a sea, everything being shaken¹, while he stands firm. If the poet is thinking of Moses, we may illustrate the thought from the Book of Enoch, which describes him as led straight from the depths of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai, or else to the cleft of the Rock in which he received the manifestation of God².

[3733] Or he may combine with this the thought of Abraham, "looking down³" on the Dead Sea, that had been, only yesterday, the land of Sodom. It is noteworthy that when the Rock is at last mentioned in the Odes, it is as the

¹ [3732 *a*] Comp. Heb. xii. 18—27 for traditions that imply a connection between Mount Sinai, and "fear," and "quaking," and a voice that "shook the earth," and a contrast between "those things that are shaken," and others "which are not shaken." The writer adds, (*ib.* 28) "Wherefore, receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, let us have grace (*or*, thankfulness) (χαρίν)." See 3730 and 3734 *a*.

Ps. xlv. 1—3 "God is *our refuge*...though the earth do *change*... though the mountains *shake*," affords a picturesque contrast between that which can, and that which cannot, be "shaken." Rashi's comment is as follows: "In the time to come, *i.e.* on that day of which it is said, (Ps. cii. 26) 'The earth shall grow old as a garment.' *The sons of Korah had seen the miracle that had befallen them, how all the earth around them had been swallowed up, but they remained suspended in the air. Therefore they said to the Israelites, through the Holy Spirit, that in time to come the same miracle would befall them.*" The italicised words are based on the fact that the Psalm is one of those entitled "of the sons of Korah," and that (Numb. xxvi. 11) "the sons of Korah died not" for the sin of their father. See also Rashi on Ps. xlii. 1 to the same effect. This, and many other illustrations of the Jewish custom of connecting the interpretation of "Psalms of David" with scenes from the national history, help us to realise how naturally the author of "Songs of Solomon" would connect his poetry with scenes from the same source.

² [3732 *b*] *Enoch* lxxxix. 27—9 "all the wolves that pursued those sheep (*i.e.* the Egyptians pursuing the Israelites) perished and were drowned...and that sheep (*i.e.* Moses) *ascended to the summit of that lofty rock* (*i.e.* Sinai) and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them." No "rock" has been previously mentioned.

³ "Looking down," see 3731 *p*.

Rock of Truth, familiar to us, through Bacon's Essays, as the Hill of Truth¹. To Israel this metaphor was commended by many traditions. Moses received his first revelation on Mount Horeb, and afterwards ascended the mountain to bring down the Law from God. In a cleft of the Rock also he was placed by the hand of the Lord in order to receive a manifestation of His attributes. Elijah ascended the same Mount of God to receive knowledge of God's will. In another and more ordinary sense, every Israelite was bound to "go up" to God's "holy hill" thrice a year to offer worship and sacrifice. Thus, although the doctrine of "lifting up" on the Rock is not definitely mentioned in the Odes till much later on, it may be implied here and may be influencing both the thought and the expression².

¹ [3733 a] Ode xi. 5 "I have been firmly-fixed on the rock of the firm-truth, where He hath established me." That Ode is peculiarly appropriate to the experiences of Abraham (*Son* 3596 foll.). Also Ode xxii. 12 "and that the foundation for everything might be *thy rock*," if applied to Abraham, agrees with those Jewish traditions which say that, till Abraham's faith arrived, the Lord found no "rock" (*Son* 3595) on which to build His House. The third and last instance of "Rock" is in a simile, not a metaphor, Ode xxxi. 9 "I stood unshaken *like a firm rock*, which is beaten by the waves and endures." Comp. Bacon's *Essays* i. 53—4.

² [3733 b] The poet's doctrine of "lifting up," which is hardly mentioned in the first half of the Odes, somewhat resembles, but also differs from, that of Philo. A single quasi-parallel will shew what the difference is. Philo (ii. 242) describes "the soul of the lover of God" as "leaping up to heaven, and *winged* (*πτερωθείσα*)" for its aerial voyage on its way to join in the celestial chorus with the sun and moon and stars; but the Odes say (xxviii. 6) "I was placed on *His imperishable wings*." The former suggests the wings assigned to the human soul in Plato's *Phaedrus*. The latter suggests the "wings" of Jehovah (Exod. xix. 4, Deut. xxxii. 11, both of which are non-occurent in the Index to Philo). It is true that Philo now and then speaks of the "attraction" exercised by God on the soul that loves Him, and he occasionally connects the "ascent" of the soul *into the region of truth* with the thought of "illumination"; but he nowhere (as far as I know) uses quite such language as that in Ode xv. 2 "because He is my Sun and *His rays have raised me up*" (and comp. 3786 a). On the other hand, there is no trace in

[3734] With this suggestion of unshakeableness the Ode concludes :—

10. And as a crown is He on my head, and I shall not be shaken; and [even] if everything soever should be shaken¹, I (*emph.*) stand-firm².

11. And [even] if everything soever that is visible³ be destroyed⁴, I (*emph.*) shall not die⁵.

the Odes of the Greek influence apparent in Philonian metaphors about a "winged" soul (which implies quite a different thought from that of the Psalmist's longing for "the wings of a dove" in time of persecution).

¹ [3734 *a*] "Shaken.....shaken." The verb twice repeated here (though in different voices) is also twice used in the Syr. (as well as in the Targums) of Exod. xix. 16—18 "and all the people that were in the camp trembled...and the whole mount trembled greatly" (where LXX varies, but comp. Ezek. xxvi. 18 and Is. xli. 5). It is a "shaking," or "quaking," that implies fear. Comp. Heb. xii. 26—8 "whose voice then shook the earth...wherefore, receiving a kingdom that *cannot be shaken*, let us have grace (*or*, thankfulness)." There, the R.V. marg. refers to Exod. xix. 18. There can be little doubt that the author of the Odes, like the author of the Epistle, had the "shaking" of Sinai in his mind. R.H. has "shall not be moved...shaken," H. "werde nicht beben...erschüttert." The Syr., in both voices, may be (*Theo.* 1105—6) either literal or metaphorical. H.'s Index does not give "beben." But it recurs in Ode xxxv. 3, where, in a similar contrast, the speaker is "in rest," with "the cloud of peace" above his head, while "everything *was shaken* and they were affrighted."

Both here and in the following verse, "and," before "if," appears to have the force of "and even"; and Nöldeke § 339 says (but without giving instances) that the Syr. "and" has taken possession of "nearly the whole compass of the signification of the Greek *καί*." See 3731 *t*.

² [3734 *b*] "Stand-firm." H. "feststehen," not given in his Index. The Syr., in different forms, means "stand up," "stand firm," "be steadfast," "cause to stand," "raise up," "establish," "strengthen," &c. It occurs freq. in the Odes. It occurs in the Heb. of Deut. xxviii. 9 (comp. xxix. 13) "the Lord shall *establish* thee a holy people."

³ [3734 *c*] "Visible." Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 18 "the things that are visible are temporal." There is the same thought in Ps. cii. 26—7 (quoted in Heb. i. 11, 12), about the transience of all visible things as compared with the souls of the faithful whose (*ib.* 28) "seed shall be established" (but the word for "establish" is diff. from that mentioned above). The O.T. nowhere perhaps says generally, "All visible things shall perish," but specifies "the grass," "the flowers," and even "the earth," "the heavens." Wetstein and Schöttgen allege nothing from Heb. or Jewish literature to

12. Because the Lord is with me and I am with Him¹.
Hallelujah.

These last words, "I am *with Him*"—if interpreted in the light of God's saying to Moses, "There is a *place by me*," and of the Jewish traditions about PLACE—connect this Ode both with the previous one beginning with the words "No man, O my God, changeth *thy holy place*," and with the following one which will expressly mention "*the Temple*." "I am *with Him*," if spiritually interpreted as meaning "I am in *the PLACE by Him*," or, in fact, "I am *in Him*," will be in

illustrate 2 Cor. iv. 18, nor is the destruction of things visible assumed as certain here. It is only mentioned with an "if."

⁴ [3734 *d*] "Destroyed." H. "zugrunde gehen." His Index does not give this, but contains a few instances of "Vernichtung," including Ode xxxiii. 2 "and He destroyed Destruction." There "Destruction" is the familiar *Abaddon*, and "destroyed" is (as also here) the corresponding verb. The same verb occurs in vi. 3 "*destroys*" ("tilgt"), and comp. xv. 9.

⁵ [3734 *e*] "Die." H. "sterben," but not in Index exc. as "unsterblich," iii. 10, vii. 13, viii. 26 &c. omitting this passage. The facts shew that the author mostly thinks of "dying" negatively. This is an instance of his thought. Above he said (iii. 10) "He that cleaveth to Him that *dieth not*, he, too, will become one that *dieth not*." Now he consistently repeats, "*I shall not die*."

"Death" however occurs in Odes vi. 14 "drew [back] from *death*," xv. 10 (lit. "not-death"), xviii. 9 "falsehood and *death* are not in thy mouth," xxix. 4 "from the mouth of *death* He drew me (parall. to *Sheol*)," xlii. 16, 23 "*death* (parall. to *Sheol*) cast me up...we see that our *death* hath not touched thee." See 3796 *e* foll.

¹ [3734 *f*] "With Him." To whom does God say in Scripture, "Thou art, or shalt be, *with me*"? He says indeed (Gen. xxvi. 24, xxviii. 15) "I am *with thee*," but not "Thou art *with me*." Yet the writer of the Odes uses both expressions here. To Moses alone does God say, not only (Exod. iii. 12) "Certainly I will be *with thee*," but also (*ib.* xxxiii. 21) "there is a place *with me*, and thou shalt *take thy stand* upon the rock," where many Jewish traditions recognise that the "place" is spiritual and that the passage has a mystical meaning. The Heb. "*take-thy-stand*," is rendered in Syr. by the Syr. word used above (Ode v. 10 "I stand-firm"). God is Himself (*Gen. r.* on Gen. xxviii. 11, quoting Exod. xxxiii. 21) the PLACE of the world.

harmony with the third Ode, which speaks of "hanging" in "the members" of the Lord. Philo frequently mentions ascending toward the vision of God, and on one occasion actually speaks of the mind as "hanging" or "depending" on Him—but without that mention of the "members" which makes the expression far more bold¹. Philo might represent Abraham as saying "I ascend to Him," but hardly "I am *with Him*."

§ 3. "*Persecutions*"

[3735] From the passages quoted above (3731 *j-n*) as illustrating the poet's view of "persecutions," we may infer that it would be unsafe to draw detailed conclusions as to the date of writing. We cannot feel confident that, when he speaks of the triumph over persecution, he speaks historically and materially. He may sometimes be speaking of spiritual triumph and using the past to denote what God has from the beginning decreed to happen in the future. He seems to take persecution as a matter of course. "*My persecutors* will come," he says, in the first mention of the word, not "*persecutors*." So we might speak of "*my trials*," "*my experiences*." This

¹ [3734 *g*] Philo i. 689 says that when the mind is possessed with a divine passion (*i.e.* a passion for the Divine, *ἔρωτος θείου*) it hastens on its progress toward the Temple, forgetting everything else and even itself, and "remembering and *depending on* (*ἐξήρηται*)" nothing but the Supreme King; but then it presently comes back and "becomes man" again, having been previously divine (*ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἄνθρωπος γίνεται*). Since *ἐξαρτῶ* may be used of "depending upon a person," the omission of "members" greatly weakens the force of the verb. "Depend" in Philo's context is not so strong as the Hebrew "cleave [to God]."

[3734 *h*] It is interesting to note how Philo softens down the meaning of the word "cleave" in the phrase "cleave [to God]." "Cleave" is used, first, of the man (Gen. ii. 24) "*cleaving* unto his wife" and, later on, of Israel (Deut. x. 20) "*cleaving*" to the Lord. "What then," says Philo (i. 456), "is the '*cleaving*'? [Do you ask] what? Reverence, of course, and faith." Philo does not adopt here the metaphor of marriage, which is as prominent in the Odes as in the Prophets.

is in conformity with the doctrine of all the Gospels and the Epistles, though sometimes disguised by the use of "tribulation," or other substitutes, instead of "persecution".

[3736] Later Jewish tradition takes much the same tone, and that it follows on ancient lines we may safely infer from the Pauline saying about Isaac and Ishmael: "As then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him [that was born]

¹ [3735 a] The Heb. (also Aram. and Syr.) *rādaph*, "follow after," "pursue," is rendered in LXX frequently by διώκω but more frequently by καταδιώκω. The Vulgate however does not (at all events always) observe the Greek distinction. It would naturally render καταδιώκω by "persecutor" (e.g. Ps. vii. 5 &c.). But it also renders διώκω by "persecutor," e.g. Exod. xv. 9, Lev. xxvi. 7, 8 &c. Some translators of the Heb. or Aramaic might distinguish, as the LXX apparently sometimes distinguishes, between "pursue," διώκω, and "pursue to the end," καταδιώκω, or might render it by ἐκδιώκω, "chase out [of house and home]," "chase out [of the synagogue]" (comp. 1 Thess. ii. 15 and Lk. xi. 49 (Tisch.)).

[3735 b] Others might not see their way to such distinctions. Καταδιώκω, used habitually in the Psalms of "chasing down," occurs only once in N.T. (Mk i. 36) of Peter, tracking Christ to a lonely place and breaking in on His solitary prayer to say "All men seek thee." Some doubts about the meaning of *rādaph* may explain Luke's non-use of διώκω where the parall. uses it, e.g. in Lk. vi. 22 μισήσωσιν κ. ἀφορίσωσιν (parall. to Mt. v. 11), vi. 28 ἐπηρεαζόντων (parall. to Mt. v. 44), viii. 13 πειρασμός (parall. to Mk. iv. 17, Mt. xiii. 21 θλίψις ἢ διωγμός). Parall. to Lk. xi. 49 W.H. διώξουσιν, Tisch. ἐκδιώξουσιν, Mt. xxiii. 34 has διώξετε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν. But note also, in Luke's Discourse on the Last Days, where Mk xiii. 9, Mt. x. 17, Lk. xxi. 12 mention "synagogues," an insertion of διώξουσιν, not found in Mk-Mt. (nor in Mt. xxiv. 9). Mk x. 30, alone of the Synoptists, says that Christ's promised blessings will be "with persecutions (διωγμῶν)." Among the very few sayings of Jesus to which Paul testifies are the words (in the three accounts of his conversion recorded in the Acts) "Saul, Saul, why *persecutest* thou me?" These may have given a stimulus to the use of the word in certain Pauline churches and circles, where Pauline tradition taught that the "persecutor" or "pursuer" was "pursued" and the would-be "apprehender" was "apprehended" (Philipp. iii. 6 "*pursuing* the Church," *ib.* 12 "But I *pursue* (διώκω) in case I may also *apprehend* (or, *catch*) that for which also I was *apprehended* (or, *caught*) by Christ Jesus"). Possibly also some quaint Galilean or Petrine tradition may have contrasted the way in which Peter (Mk i. 36) and Paul severally began by "*pursuing*" Jesus.

after the spirit, even so it is now¹." There is no mention of any such "persecution" in the Hebrew or Greek text of Genesis, which merely describes Ishmael as "mocking" or "playing²." But the tradition, though it is—or rather, *because* it is—forced and exaggerated, admirably illustrates the established Jewish belief that Israel, and every saint of Israel, had to pass through "persecution." Look at the list of the champions of "faith" in the Epistle to the Hebrews³. Almost all of them, at some period of their lives, were tempted or troubled, exiles or outcasts, "hidden" that they might "be manifested⁴," surrounded by darkness that they might conquer darkness, persecuted that they might be purified.

[3737] Nevertheless it will not be unreasonable to infer, from the tone in which these persecutions are spoken of, something as to their contemporary nature, and as to the degree to which, at the time, the powers of light could be discerned already

¹ Gal. iv. 29.

² [3736 a] Gen. xxi. 9. *Gen. r.* and Rashi indicate differences of opinion about Ishmael's "playing" or "mocking." Philo (as extant) is silent about it. Origen explains it of the flesh assailing the spirit with beguiling temptations. But Paul's brief assumption establishes the antiquity of the tradition. Something of the kind might seem to some necessary if there was not to be a great break in the succession of persecuted saints:—Abraham driven out (it was supposed) from the kingdom of Nimrod; Jacob exiled on account of the enmity of Esau; Joseph sold into Egypt; Moses fleeing from Egypt to save his life. It is true that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews probably regards the sacrifice of Isaac as a sufficient trial, but others might differ.

³ [3736 b] See *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xxii. 27, Wü. p. 187) which renders Eccles. iii. 15 "God seeketh *him that is persecuted*," as also do LXX and Aquila (and comp. the Targum). *Lev. r.* takes "seek" as meaning "favour," and instances Abel, Noah, Abraham (persecuted by Nimrod), Isaac (by the Philistines), Jacob, Joseph, Moses and David. This somewhat resembles the list in Heb. xi. 4—32. The belief in Abraham as the first martyr (after Abel) was widely spread in very early times. To other evidence (*Son* 3501 g) add *Gen. r.* (on Gen. viii. 21) explaining the "sweet savour" as the savour (by anticipation) that came from Abraham in the fiery furnace of the Chaldees.

⁴ See *Son* 3407 (ix), quoting Mk iv. 21—2 as referring to martyrdom.

triumphing over the powers of darkness. The Epistle of Peter for example, and that to the Hebrews, seem to speak of persecution as in full force, or at all events as pending¹. The Odes, on the other hand, to some extent here, but still more later on, give the impression of a reaction against persecution. But on that point discussion and inference must be deferred² till we have a larger basis for it³.

¹ 1 Pet. iv. 12 foll., Heb. xii. 4 compared with x. 32—4.

² See 3923—37, on "A provisional Hypothesis as to date."

ADDENDA

³ [3737 a] Ode v. 4 "*My persecutors will come and will not see me*" is quoted by the writer of *Pistis* as "*May my persecutors fall (labuntor, or, cadant, R.H. p. 23) and not see me.*" But his preceding paraphrase has "come," only in a different order and sense (*ib.* p. 24) "*Let them fall (collabuntor, or delabuntor)...who persecute me, and let them not come into the higher places that they may see me* (neve veniunto in τόπους superiores ut videant me)." He failed to realise that our poet meant, "*Though my persecutors will come to me, they will not see me.*" Taking the words as a prayer—which they might be consistently with grammar but not so consistently with the tone of the Odes—he thought it absurd to ask that one's "persecutors" should "*come.*" Hence, "*Let them come to ruin, or, [come only to] fall*" (comp. Ps. xxvii. 2 "*came upon me...stumbled and fell*") might seem a necessary correction. But the preceding paraphrase in *Pistis* shews that there really was a mention of "*coming*" in the Ode and that it perplexed the author of *Pistis*, who did not perceive the allusion to the Egyptians who "*came*" against Israel in the Red Sea but did not "*see*" Israel because of the divine darkness. *Mechilt.* (Wü. pp. 120—1) illustrates Exod. xv. 1 "the horse and his rider" by Zech. xii. 4 "I will smite every horse with *astonishment* and his rider with *madness*...and will smite every horse of the peoples with *blindness*."

[3737 b] In Ode v. 7 "May their thought become a *thick-fog*," the Coptic has "*powerless*," and *Thes.* 2765 gives the meaning "*tumour*," as derived from a word corresponding to עֲבָה "intumuit." But *Thes.* 2824 gives "*fluxus ulcerum*" as one of the meanings of a word corresponding to Chald. עֵיבָה, "a hollow"; and Gesen. 716a says that Exod. xix. 9 is perhaps to be explained as "in the *thickness* of the clouds," reading עֵבִי for עֵב. The poet may mean "an earthborn mist" of pride, "*swelling up*" to obscure the sight of the oppressor. The Coptic perhaps substituted commonplace prose—"ulcerated and therefore] powerless."

CHAPTER VI

THE RIVER OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD*

1. *The Well or Fountain within man's soul*

[3738] Before touching on the connection between this Ode and the last, it will be well to clear our minds of the notion that, because, in the Pistis Sophia, the text happens to use the Greek word *aporroia* (Pistis, "there went forth an *aporroia*," Syr. "there went forth a *stream*") the Ode must consequently bear upon Gnostic *aporroiai*, or "emanations," or must at all events have been written by some one who was aware of the Gnostic imaginations about them.

[3739] Reference to a single Greek grammarian, and a single sentence of Philo, will dispel this inference. "*Aporröé*," says the grammarian Phrynichus, "is a grander word than *aporroia*"—implying that they both mean the same thing, that is, literally, "a forth-flowing stream¹." Secondly, Philo, distinguishing between (1) the Logos in a man's soul and (2) the same Logos going forth from that man's soul to other souls, says "Logos is in one aspect like a well or fountain, but in another like a *forth-flowing stream* (*aporröé*); like a well or fountain, while remaining in the thought, but like a *forth-flowing stream* (*aporröé*) so far as it is the utterance expressed by mouth and tongue²." This distinction, besides exactly

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ See Lobeck's Phrynichus, p. 496, where Lobeck says that the two words alternate in certain authors "nullo observabili discrimine."

² Philo i. 447. I have rendered $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$ "well or fountain" to indicate that it does not necessarily "flow forth." See 3746 a.

agreeing with the view taken in the Ode, also explains the division of the Ode into two parts. The first part deals with "the well"—the Spirit in the believer's own soul, praising God, but without relation to others. The second part deals with "the forth-flowing stream"—that is, the Spirit in the Missionary's soul, going forth to proclaim the goodness of God to others.

[3740] Now passing to the connection between this Ode and the preceding one, we may note in the two a contrast, in which the second thought supplements the first. For just now we were led to think of God as One above the turmoil of change, corruption, and conflict, with whom we can "stand firm." But if we dwelt too much on that thought we might come to regard Him as the unchangeable BEING. That is a Greek thought. But the Hebrew thought appears to be, or to include, I SHALL BE¹. This implies motion, and the first words of this Ode imply motion, "As the hand *goes-its-way* (lit. *walks*) in the harp."

Almost every word here requires attention. "The hand," in the five instances where it is used in the Bible with the Hebrew article, means the hand, *i.e.* work, of God, working directly or through Moses; and Rashi, commenting on an instance in Isaiah, where it is used absolutely, says that "the hand" means "prophecy" or "*the prophetic Spirit*"². That our poet also means this, his next verse indicates, "So speaks in my members *the Spirit of the Lord*." Irenaeus assumes that the Spirit and the Son are the two "hands" of the Father³. Without going so far as to assert this to be assumed here, we are safe in believing that "the hand" does not mean

¹ Exod. iii. 14. So Aq. and Theod. and R.V. marg. (*Son* 3504 *a*).

² Mandelk. 451, Exod. xiv. 31, Deut. vii. 19, xxxiv. 12, Is. viii. 11, xiv. 26; see Rashi on Is. viii. 11 "The Lord spake to me with strength of *the hand*," Targ. "with strength of *prophecy*," Ibn Ezra "when *the prophecy* came with force upon me."

³ Iren. iv. *Pref.* and v. 1. 3.

"the hand of a [human] harper"—partly because in that case Hebrew and Syriac usage would almost require "of the harper" to be inserted—but is intended to suggest "the Hand" in an aspect that may be illustrated from Exodus, 'And Israel *saw the Hand, the Great* [*Hand*] which the Lord wrought...and they believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses. Then sang Moses...¹' Here several Jewish traditions interpret "*saw the Hand*" as meaning that Israel saw God openly, or face to face, and some say that the Song, springing from the fulness of the heart, was caused by "seeing" the "hand"².

[3741] If "hand" is intended to suggest the thought of the Spirit, then "*go*," or "*walk*," may be illustrated from the first Biblical instance of it, "the voice of the Lord God *walking* in the garden," and from descriptions of God as "walking" in Israel³. In that case, too, we must not regard

¹ Exod. xiv. 31—xv. 1.

² [3740 *a*] "Hand." See Wü. in *Cant.* p. 95, *Pesikt.* pp. 3, 57, *Tehill.* i. 49, 261, 355. R.H. 2nd ed. appends to "hand" the note "*or perhaps* plenum." But *Thes.* 1546—7, though shewing that "*hand of*" a wheel, bar, &c. may mean "spoke," "handle" &c., gives no instance of this use with "lyre," and no instance of "*hand*" *absol.* in such technical senses.

[3740 *b*] "Hand" (sing., not "right-hand") applied to God, occurs in Ode xxxviii. 17 (lit.) "and my foundations were laid *upon the hand of* the Lord." *Thes.* 1549 says that when "upon the hand of" means "per," it is "usitatus pl." In sing. it regularly means *by the side of*, and especially *by the bank of* a river &c. The context, "because He had *planted* (H. gepflanzt) me," suggests that two metaphors are mingled, as in Exod. xv. 17 "*plant...established*," and that "upon the hand of" means "[planted] *by the side of* [the living waters of] the Lord." "Hand" (sing.) is not in H.'s Index, but recurs in Ode xxii. 7 "thy right-hand...*thy hand*."

³ [3741 *a*] See Gen. iii. 8, where *Gen. r.* compares Exod. ix. 23 about the fire (*i.e.* lightning) "*going upon the ground*." In both passages, the Syr. has the Heb. vb (but in Gen. iii. 8, the vb is middle, of which *Thes.* 1014 gives no instance). If the particip. here has its regular meaning of "ambulans," then the Syr. prepos. "*in the lyre*" must retain its usual meaning and must not be rendered "with," or paraphrased as "*upon*" (which the Syr. retains in Exod. ix. 23 because the Heb. has "upon"). We may suppose the "harp" personified as a human soul or spirit, and

the Hand as skimming *over* the strings of the lyre, but must regard it as taking spiritual possession of the human instrument and practising its spiritual motions *in* it so as to call forth from it a new Song of Praise as the Hand by the Red Sea called forth the Song of Moses, the first of the songs of Israel¹. The Syriac for "harp" in the Ode is the same as the Syriac for "psaltery" in the Psalms, "Sing praises unto him *with* (Heb. and LXX *in*) the *psaltery* of ten strings"; where Origen says that the "psaltery" means the human "spirit" (as distinct from "body"), so that the meaning would be, in effect, "Let praises in *our spirits* rise up to His Spirit"—which is expressed in the 6th verse of this Ode "*Our spirits* to His Holy Spirit ascribe-glory²."

The other instances of "harp (*kithra*)" in the Odes confirm the inference that the poet has a fixed conception of the "ten-stringed psaltery" of the spiritual Universe as being God's own "harp of many voices." This he calls "the harp" of God's "Holy Spirit." At one time he speaks of its being "opened" to him, as being a source of song and revelation; at another, he ventures to say "it is in my hands," but the reason is given, namely, that he is in God's hands ("I am His...my heart is toward Him³").

the Hand, Power, or Spirit, walks up and down *in* it, as Jehovah "walks" *in* Israel (Lev. xxvi. 12, comp. Deut. xxiii. 14, Rev. ii. 1).

¹ [3741 *b*] R.H. and H. have "*over* the harp." The Syr. prep., like the Heb., means both (1) "*in*," and (2) "*with* [*the instrumentality of*]." Therefore, in such a phrase as Heb. "praise *in*, or, *with*, the harp," it is quite lawful to paraphrase "*in*" by "*upon*," as in Ps. xliii. 4 (R.V.) "*Upon* (Heb. *in*, LXX *ἐν*) the harp will I praise thee." But such a paraphrase is not similarly justified when the verb does not (as "praise" does) prepare the way for the thought of instrumentality.

² [3741 *c*] The Syr. for "harp" in the Ode is formed from the Gk *κιθάρα*. But in Ps. xxxiii. 2 (and cl. 3) where *κιθάρα* and *ψαλτήριον* occur together in LXX, the Syr. *kithra* is used for *ψαλτήριον*, which, according to Origen *ad loc.*, means "the spirit" of man (while the *κιθάρα* means "the body" or "the practical soul").

³ [3741 *d*] See Odes vii. 20 "*harp of many voices*"; xiv. 8 "Open to me the *harp of thy Holy Spirit*, that with *all sounds-of-melody* [R.H.

[3742] This introduces one of the predominant subjects of the Odes, the "praising," or "glorifying," of God. Old Testament and New, Gospels and Epistles, are full of this. All agree that the world should be God's Temple in which "everything saith, 'Glory¹.'" But much depends on the circumstances and motives of the "saying." First, it must be from the heart. Secondly, it must be from a heart that is exultant—singing rather than "saying," admiring² rather than "praising"—not over one's own good, and still less over the evil of others, but over GOOD. The doctrine of the Odes is that the Greatest Good is the Love of the Beloved. Whoever really feels that, must needs say in his heart, "Glory," or, if he is a poet, must needs sing, "Glory."

From the thought of this stream of spiritual song, bursting forth from the lips of Moses and Israel, the poet passes to the thought of Israel itself, flowing, like an irresistible stream, away from the darkness and bondage of Egypt, toward the light and liberty of the Law of the Lord. Then comes a tacit contrast between the first Israel at Sinai, where "bounds" were set about the mountain by Moses that the people might not "break through," and a second Israel, where no such "bounds" are to be set, and where, if they are set, the mighty stream will sweep them away. Lastly comes the thought of

inserts "*its*" (not in Syr.) which does not seem to improve the sense; H. has "allen Tönen"] I may glorify..."; xxvi. 3 "*His harp* is in my hands" (preceded by xxvi. 1 foll. "I poured out a song-of-glorifying to the Lord,... and I will utter His holy psalm, for my heart is toward Him").

¹ Ps. xxix. 9.

² [3742 a] "Admiring." It has been asked in modern times "How can man *praise* God?" The question is a reasonable one, especially if men, in relation to God, are to regard themselves as "little children." For who would think it right, or even decent, that a little child should "praise" his father? "Praise" is too cold-blooded and critical a term. But the Syriac "glorifying" means the melodious and exultant expression of what Wordsworth calls "admiration and delightful awe," mingled with what the author of the Odes calls sometimes "fervent-love" and sometimes "tender-love." See 3742 r—s.

the stream, not as being a flow of Spirit-prompted souls, but of the Spirit itself, which is the Living Water and brings life to all the world.

1. As the hand goes-its-way in (App. III) the harp and the strings speak¹,

2. So speaks in my members² the Spirit of the Lord and I (*emph.*) speak in His fervent-love.

¹ [3742 *b*] "The strings speak." Both the Talmuds and other Jewish traditions say that David's harp used to hang near his bed at night, and when midnight approached, the north wind came and caused it to play (*J. Berach.* ch. i. (Schwab p. 9) and *Berach.* 3 *b*, also Midr. on Ps. lvii. 8, and *Numb. r.* (on *Numb.* x. 2, Wü. p. 404)). *Levy Ch.* (ii. 412 *a*) under "Spirit," does not give an instance where a Targum uses it as equiv. of Heb. "hand" (meaning "God's hand"), but we may compare *Numb.* xi. 23 Heb. "Is the Lord's *hand* waxed short?" with *ib.* Onk. "Is the *Word of the Lord* restrained?" See also 3740.

[3742 *c*] Platonic discussions (comp. *Phaedo* 86 A) about the likeness of the soul to a harp or to a harmony, when combined by Jews with the phrases used in the Psalms about musical instruments, appear to have influenced Philo (i. 374—5) in his statement that a man should be a lyre or harp attuned to God, and in his lengthy illustration (*ib.*) of "perfect-manhood (*ἀνδρεία*)" by "a lyre." This may have been also the case with our author. But the brief simplicity of his expression of the metaphor does not point to any borrowing from the diffuse discourses of Philo on this topic.

[3742 *d*] "Speak" is not alleged (*Theo.* 2110) as applied in scriptural Syriac to an inanimate object except in Is. xvi. 11 "my bowels will *speak* (Heb. *sound*) like a lyre," where the phrase implies intense sympathy. And perhaps that is the meaning of the word thrice repeated here: "The strings beneath the touch of the true musician *speak* as with the musician's voice; so Love, the Musician, *speaks* in all the strings of my being; yea, my whole being, by His love, *speaks* [as He speaks]."

² [3742 *e*] "In my members." Comp. Ode xxvi. 1—4 "I poured out a song-of-glorifying to the Lord.... (3) For His harp is in my *hands*.... (4) I will cry unto Him from my whole *heart*, I will praise and exalt Him with all my *members*," and comp. Midr. on Ps. xviii. tit. Wü. i. 143 "You will find that David *omitted not a single member so as not to praise God therewith*," and then the commentary justifies this in great detail, as to "head," "eyes," "mouth," "ears," "heart" &c.

[3742 *f*] Philo ii. 242 interprets the Levitical division of the "members" of a sacrifice in a way curiously remote from our author as meaning that,

when we offer thanks to God, we should thank Him not only for things as a whole, but for things as *parts*:—*e.g.* not only for Cosmos, but for sky, earth, sun &c. ; not only for Man, but for men, women, Greeks, barbarians &c. Another view given by him is that it means that all things are “from One, and to One” (comp. Rom. xi. 36, Heb. ii. 10).

[3742 *g*] The doctrine of the Odes omits one aspect of the Pauline doctrine about “members.” It accepts the view (Rom. xii. 1) that our “bodies” are to be “a living sacrifice,” “the worship consisting-in-an-offering-of-logos [*i.e.* not an offering of beasts] (τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν).” But it does not lay the Pauline stress on our being “members *one of another*.” Something of this may have been implied by the original of Mk ix. 43—7, Mt. xviii. 8—9—omitted by Lk., partly, perhaps, as being obscure hyperbole. “Maim your own members *rather than maim your fellow-members*,” may have been the original precept (not “maim your body rather than maim your soul”).

[3742 *h*] The Odes, perhaps, assume this precept. At all events, after saying “so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord,” this Ode speaks, first, of the River of the Lord, and then of the “ministers” of the water from that River, saying that they straightened “*members* that had fallen.” The metaphors seem to be confused. But apparently the author assumes that whosoever is a genuine “member” of the Beloved will not only glorify Him with all his “members,” but will also be helpful to his fellow “members.” In this, there are two distinct thoughts. First, the permeating Spirit permeates every part or “member” of the believer. Secondly, it so permeates him as to make him a helpful “member” of a corporate body. In the first sense, a later Ode represents the Beloved as saying (viii. 17) “I framed *their members*; my own breasts I prepared for them.” In the second sense, a still later Ode says (xvii. 14) “They were gathered to me and were delivered, because they were to me *members* and I their head.”

[3742 *i*] In some cases it may be difficult to decide between these two meanings:—whether “members” means (1) the members of the believer, or (2) the members of the Messiah. Comp. Ode xviii. 2 “*My members* were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength,” xxi. 3 “there came-into-being *members* for my soul free from sorrow.”

[3742 *j*] In any case, all this does not sound like the utterance of one consciously accepting, as from a new teacher, the Pauline doctrine of membership. The writer seems to have combined the notion of a City as a Body—common in the West as well as the East, and well known to everybody in the fable of the Belly and the other Members—with Jewish traditions about “members” borrowed partly from the Song of Songs, partly from the thought of Man as a microcosm, and probably with allusion to the praising of the Lord by David “with all his members.”

3. For that¹ destroys whatever is alien [from Him] and [thus] everything soever is (*i.e.* becomes the possession) of the Lord².

4. For thus was it from the beginning and [thus will it be] until the end, that nothing soever should oppose Him, and that nothing soever should stand-up in opposition to Him³.

5. The Lord hath multiplied His knowledge⁴ (*i.e.* His [gift to

¹ [3742 *k*] "For that (*i.e.* the fervent-love) destroys." R.H. 1st ed. "For He destroys." But H. "sie," *i.e.* the "fervent-love," and so R.H. 2nd ed. "it" (without note). It is assumed that the Spirit is the Spirit of fervent-love. Comp. Ode iii. 12 "*This* is the Spirit of the Lord," where the context indicates that "*this*" means "that power which joins the 'members' to one another and to the Beloved—namely, Love."

² [3742 *l*] "Of the Lord." R.H. alters the text to "and everything that is bitter," but adds, in foot-note, "Cod. and everything is of the Lord." H. retains "of the Lord" unaltered, and it seems to make good sense, namely, that the soul becomes wholly possessed by the Spirit of the Lord. This prepares the way for the subsequent description of the River of God flooding the Temple and carrying all before it.

³ [3742 *m*] The same root, "oppose," is repeated in two forms:—"nothing shall *oppose* [*successfully*]," "nothing shall succeed in *opposing*." "Succeeding" is implied, first by the context, and then by "stand-up," which implies success.

⁴ [3742 *n*] "His knowledge." Comp. Is. xi. 9 "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of (lit. to know, or, knowing) the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," a very rare form (Gesen. 395 *b*) twice used of God's knowledge but here in Is. of the knowledge about God (as Rashi explains). The Targ. has "*knowledge of the fear of the Lord*," comp. Prov. ii. 5 "thou shalt understand the fear of the Lord and find the knowledge of God," where the Targ. has "and find knowledge from before God." Apparently the Targumist objects (compare also Gal. iv. 9) to speak about "*knowing*" God, and therefore varies the phrase. So does the Hebrew of Hab. ii. 14 "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." In the Ode before us, "His knowledge," while not excluding the meaning "the knowledge about Himself," includes also (as in the Targum above) "the knowledge from Himself." Paul says that all things are "from" God and "to" God, and so "His knowledge" comes "from" Him and points "to" Him, so that it helps us, in some sense, to "know Him."

In the only two Biblical instances of "*his* knowledge" (Mandelk. 464) Is. liii. 11 (M. by error, xliii. 11), Prov. iii. 20, "his" is possessive, and refers to the knowledge *possessed* by the Suffering Servant or by God.

[3742 *o*] The extreme rarity of the phrase "the knowledge of God," or "His knowledge," meaning God's knowledge, would, of itself, raise

us of the] knowledge [of Himself]) and is zealous¹ that those things should be known which in His grace have been given to us.

6. And His glorifying² (*i.e.* the work of glorifying Him) He

some probability that Ode vi. 5 may contain an allusion to Is. xi. 9; but when we also find that both passages contain in their contexts descriptions of "waters," in a good sense, flooding and filling everything, not as in the Deluge of Noah, but with a flood of spiritual truth—then the probability of such an allusion becomes very great indeed. Ode vi. 6—7 "our spirits ascribe-glory to His Holy *Spirit*, for there came forth a *rill*..." manifestly connects the "Spirit" with the "rill"; and similarly *Mechilt.* (on Exod. xv. 20, Wü. p. 145) connects Is. xi. 9 with "the Holy Spirit" as being the "knowledge" that is to overflow. Again, our Ode (vi. 9) lays stress on the futility of the attempts to "restrain" the "rill" that "became a river"; and so Ibn Ezra says, on Isaiah, "*The water is never stopped*, so knowledge will continually make progress."

[3742 *β*] We may therefore suppose that the thought of the fountain of the Spirit of God in each man's heart is gradually bringing before the poet's mind other kindred thoughts of the Spirit as the Water of Life. The various pictures of it called up by the Scripture are perhaps not kept distinct. He is beginning to see Ezekiel's picture (xliii. 1 foll., xlvii. 1 foll.) of the flood of God's glory, first descending on the Temple and then issuing forth from the Temple, in a rill, a stream, a flood, of living waters; but he will see also Isaiah's vision (ii. 3) of a stream of human souls, Gentiles as well as Jews, drawn irresistibly by the Spirit into the Temple and breaking down all the barriers set up by "restrainings." Just at this point, however, the thought that dominates him is that this stream is "knowledge," and "God's knowledge"; and that all such "knowledge" must be real, and according to man's nature, and fatal to man's unnatural conventions, and to the artificial distinctions by which he would fain raise himself above that image of filial and brotherly humanity which is his highest and noblest self.

¹ [3742 *γ*] "Zealous." The subsequent context indicates that God is "zealous" that all shall have access to His Temple and to the River of Life. This points to Ps. lxxix. 9 "the *zeal* for thine house." It is true that Rashi and *Zebachim* 54 *b* (but not Gesen. 888 *a*) take "zeal" as the *envy* felt by Gentiles against Jews for the glory of the House. But the Fourth Gospel, in connection with the purification of the Temple (ii. 17, see *Joh. Gr.* 2639), apparently regards the "zeal" as that of Jesus contending for the opening of the House to prayer and not to traffic; and Mark (xi. 17), in the same connection, represents Jesus as quoting a saying that the House shall be a House of Prayer for all nations.

² [3742 *ρ*] "His glorifying" (3640, 3742 *α*). No word in the Odes recurs perhaps so frequently as this (in various forms of noun and verb)

hath given to us to (*i.e.* to the glory of, *or*, for the sake of) His name. Our spirits to His Holy Spirit ascribe-glory.

[3743] This twofold mention of the "glorifying," or "praising," of God, and the declaration that God is "zealous" for the publishing of His grace—especially when taken along with the mention of the "river" and the "temple" soon to come before us—recall the words "*Praise* (Syr. *glorifying*) waiteth for thee, O God, in Zion...O thou that hearest prayer, *unto thee shall all flesh come*...As for our transgressions, thou shalt purge them away. Blessed is the man whom thou choosest...that he may dwell in thy courts. We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house...Thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice. Thou visitest the earth and waterest it...*The river of God is full*

and few words are more difficult to translate. In Onkelos, the verb and noun represent (Brederek p. 186) six distinct Hebrew words that imply song, praise, and beatitude. It does not mean "*make* glorious" but "*declare* glorious." Consequently "glorify," since it sometimes means the former, is not quite satisfactory, but it has the advantage of retaining the connection between the noun and the verb which Harnack sometimes retains (by "Lobgesänge" and "lobsingen," or by "Preis" and "preisen").

[3742 s] By this "glorifying," or "ascribing glory," the author does not mean the mere utterance of words of praise. He means a human spontaneous spiritual response to a divine influence, as when the earth, permeated by sunshine and rain, sends up responsively flowers and fruit. Man's response to God may take the most varied forms of thought, word or action; but it must always be from the whole man, permeated by the One Spirit, offering himself as an undivided thank-offering to One God. He must not, for example, "glorify" God with his "lips" but deny Him with his hands. This is expressly stated later on (Ode xxvi. 4 "with all my members"). But it is also implied here by saying that the "glorifying" of God is a gift from God ("He hath given") to Man—a faculty that can never be exercised without the divine Spirit inspiring and possessing the human spirit. Thus, in "*His* glorifying"—as in "*His* faith," "*His* knowledge," and generally "*His* love"—"His" is to be taken as meaning, primarily perhaps, that He is the object of our thought, but also secondarily—or sometimes primarily—that He is the Giver of it.

of water¹." The Psalmist's abrupt introduction of "the river of God" is somewhat obscure. The Targum on this Psalm speaks of a "fountain of God *in heaven*," which may have been supposed to be in mystical connection with the Temple. But the Targum on another Psalm mentioning "a river the streams whereof make glad the city of God, the holy-place of the tabernacles of the Most High" (where Rashi says "Paradise is meant") has this paraphrase "*The peoples, like rivers and their streams*, shall come and shall make glad the City of God, and they shall pray in the House of the Sanctuary of the Lord, in the tabernacles of the Most High²." A similar metaphor is found in Isaiah and Micah about "the mountain of the Lord's house," where the context implies a stream of ascending worshippers—"all nations shall flow unto it³."

[3744] Ezekiel appears to regard as cause and effect (1) a coming of glory into the Temple, and (2) a going forth of the water of life out of the Temple. First, he sees the glory of the God of Israel "coming" to the Temple "from the way

¹ [3743 a] Ps. lxxv. 1—9. Jewish interpretations of the opening words vary greatly, but in *Mechilt.* pp. 126, 138, "all flesh" is taken as meaning "all the inhabitants of the earth."

² Ps. xlv. 4.

³ [3743 b] Is. ii. 2, Mic. iv. 1. Comp. Jerem. xxxi. 10—12 "He that scattered Israel will gather him...as a shepherd...and they shall come and sing in the height of Zion and shall flow together unto the goodness of the Lord, to the corn and to the wine and to the oil...and their soul shall be as a watered garden." "*Flow*" is not applied to persons in O.T. except in these three passages (and Jerem. li. 44 of conquered nations forced to "flow" to Babylon). Jeremiah connects the "flow" of the stream of the returning exiles with the thought of "a watered garden," and the same connection may be latent in Isaiah and Micah. It is clearly and fully expressed in the latter part of this Ode.

Ibn Ezra, on Is. xxxv. 6 "the tongue of the dumb shall sing," says "A figurative expression for, 'They shall find water everywhere'; it is the reverse of 'the tongue of the suckling cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst (Lam. iv. 4).'" In this Ode there seem several allusions to the prophecies about the dumb and the lame in the Return from Captivity.

of the east¹." It is not seen as a river, but "his voice was like the sound of many waters and the earth shined with his glory²." This is seen at "the gate that looketh toward the east." Secondly, after an interval, the prophet says "And he brought me back unto the door of the house, and behold waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward," and the waters, at first only "up to the ankles," grow deeper and deeper till they become "waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed through"; everything "shall live," it is said, "whithersoever the river cometh³."

[3745] This river is clearly referred to in the Johannine Revelation⁴, and it is highly probable that the author of the Odes, after his fashion, combines some of its characteristics with a general conception of his own, which is of a different character. Ben Sira speaks of Wisdom as being like a "*river*" that becomes a river⁵. But on the whole, the picture that the author has before him appears to be, at all events at first, one that emphasizes the influx *into* the Temple rather than the efflux *from* it, though both are depicted. The stream seems to be regarded, not as luminous "glory" with "a sound of many waters," but as a stream of worshippers, at first few, who press in, wave after wave, until they become an overflowing flood, forcing their way into the Temple, taking the Kingdom of God by a righteous "violence," as Matthew and Luke express it⁶—and breaking down the restrictions that prevented "all flesh" from coming to the "Hearer of prayer⁷."

¹ Ezek. xliii. 1—2.

² Ezek. xliii. 2. Several Jewish traditions impress on us that this is to be taken as a popular and inadequate description.

³ Ezek. xlvii. 1—9.

⁴ Rev. xxii. 2.

⁵ Sir. xxiv. 30—32, s. 3746 *a—b*.

⁶ Mt. xi. 12, Lk. xvi. 16.

⁷ Ps. lxxv. 1—2, quoted in 3743.

§ 2. *The River flowing out to the world*

[3746] The influx into the Temple appears to be described in the first three verses, and the efflux from the Temple in the fourth verse, of the following extract. The development of the "rill" into a "river" corresponds to the Synoptic development of the "mustard-seed" into a "great tree," and to the Johannine development of "rivers of living water," described as the result of a mere draught received in faith by a single believer ("He that believeth on me")¹. But the Johannine aspect is not fully dealt with till the verse following this extract, where the poet begins to speak of those who administer the living water.

7. For there came forth [from God] a rill² and became a river great and broad.

¹ Jn vii. 38.

² [3746 a] "Rill." *Thes.* 4476 refers to the use of this word as representing διῶρυξ, *i.e.* rill or runlet, in Sir. xxiv. 30 (Hex.) where LXX has "And I (*i.e.* Wisdom) as a *rill* (διῶρυξ) from a river, and as a runlet (ὑδραγωγός) I came forth into Paradise...and behold my *rill* became a river and my river became a sea. I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning...." In Wisd. vii. 25, although ἀπόρροια is used of Wisdom coming from God, the thought is of exhalation, or of light, rather than of water: "She is an exhalation (ἀτμός) of the power of God, and a transparent effluence (ἀπόρροια) of the glory of the Almighty...." Apparently Ben Sira regards Wisdom as the River that (Gen. ii. 10) came "out of Eden to water the garden" (comp. Sir. xxiv. 31 "I said, I will water my garden"). *Gen. r. ad loc.* says that while Adam was innocent he could direct with a mere ladle the four "heads" into which this river was "parted." See 3738—9.

Origen (*De Orat.* § 9, Lomm. xvii. 119) says that those who lift up the eyes of the mind (Ps. cxxiii. 1, xxv. 1) to God, passing (2 Cor. iii. 18) "from glory to glory," "receive a share in a kind of specially-divine mental emanation then-and-there (ἀπορροῆς...νοητοῦ τινος θειοτέρου μεταλαμβάνουσι τότε), which is shewn from the [words] (Ps. iv. 6, LXX) There was signed upon us the light of thy countenance, O Lord."

[3746 b] Origen (Lomm. i. 252) identifies "the River that makes glad the City of God" with "Jesus Christ," who is also predicted (he says (Lomm. xiv. 173)) by Isaiah (lxvi. 12) "I will extend peace to her like a

8. For it overflowed everything soever and broke-in-pieces¹ [everything] and brought [everything] to the Temple (*lit.* Palace)².

9. And they found not [how] to restrain³ it—they, the restraints

river and the glory of the nations like an overflowing stream." Christians taking this view might say that the "small stream" or "rill" (preceding the "overflowing stream") might be signified by the coming to Jesus of those "Greeks" upon whose arrival Jesus exclaimed (Jn. xii. 23) "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified." The Coptic version of the Ode has ἀπόρροια thus: "Egressa ἀπόρροια facta est magnum flumen latum" (*Pistis S.* 131). On ἀπόρροια see 3738—9.

In Wisdom and Ben Sira, the "coming forth" of Wisdom is "from God," and this supports the rendering, "came forth [from God]."

¹ [3746 c] "Broke-in-pieces." This word, identical (Gesen. 1006) in Heb. and Syr., occurs in O.T. only in Exod. xxx. 36 of incense, 2 S. xxii. 43 (rep. Ps. xviii. 42) of foes, Job xiv. 19 "waters pulverise stones." When Akiba was about 40 years old, these words of Job (*Aboth* of R. Nathan, on *Aboth* i. 4)—quoted to him as a proverb—led him to think, "If the soft has such power over the hard, how much more power will the Torah have over my heart, which is flesh and blood!" So he turned to the study of the Law. If the "pulverising" power of the "waters" of the Law was proverbial among Jews before the time of Akiba, our poet may be reasonably supposed to be alluding to it—applied, as it would certainly be, by Jews to the Law, and by Christians to the Gospel.

² [3746 d] "Temple (*lit.* Palace)." This word (see Gesen. 228 "never in Hex., rarely in S. and pre-exil. proph.") only occurs here in the Odes, and is therefore rendered above so as to distinguish it from "holy-place" or "house." In Heb. it may denote the palace of God (regarded as king), and frequently designates the second temple. Here it may be used to denote the material building, which is inundated by the divine River. But it is not clear whether the inundation is supposed to bring everything into the visible Temple, and simultaneously to sweep it and its restrictions away, leaving the spiritual Temple in its place, or whether the visible Temple is to stand, purified and thrown open for the prayers of "all flesh."

Instead of "to the temple," some suggest "against the temple" or "upon the temple" in the version from the Coptic (R.H. 2nd ed. p. 25). A similar ambiguity might arise in Hebrew.

R.H. *Expos.* July, 1911, p. 32 mentions a conjectural alteration of the text which would give, instead of "brought," "was," so that the meaning would be "and there was no one to hinder," instead of "and it brought to the Temple."

³ [3746 e] "Restrain." *Thes.* 1738 foll. shews that this word is applied actively to "shutting up" of any kind, especially of the heaven so as to

of the sons of man¹—and also the [evil] arts² of those who restrain waters (App. III).

stop rain, Deut. xi. 17, 2 Chr. vii. 13 (also of corn so as to sell it at a dear price, Prov. xi. 26) and hence to interdicting; also, passively (*ib.* 1739), to “shutting up” rain in the heaven, or the heaven from raining (in Gen. viii. 2, 1 K. viii. 35, 2 Chr. vi. 26); and hence “de flumine” and “interceptum est frumentum.” A noun-form is similarly used (*ib.* 1740) “voluit Deus tentare Israelitas *eis* aquas *denegando*” (lit. *in clausura*). Another (*ib.* 1740) means “instrumentum Graecum quo clauditur porta.” By this may be meant (3908 *b*) *κλείς*, “key.” But in any case this “restraining” might signify the act of those who either cut off the supply of the Water of Life, or lock fast the Door of God’s Truth (comp. Mt. xxiii. 14 “ye shut (*κλείετε*) the kingdom of the heavens,” Lk. xi. 52 “ye have taken away the *key* (*κλείδα*) of knowledge”).

[3746 *f*] Considering how often “restrain” is applied to “water,” and how the subsequent context dilates on the ministration of the Water of Life, we are led to regard the poet as seeing in his vision the officials of the Temple as attempting to lock its doors so as to prevent the River of God, first, from flowing into it, to refresh the congregation of Israel, and then from flowing out of it, to refresh all the nations of the earth.

[3746 *g*] Concerning the Well that (Numb. xxi. 18) “the princes digged” for Israel, Jer. Targ. I. says that “it went up with them to the high mountains...and down with them to the hills surrounding all the camp of Israel, and giving them drink, everyone at the door of his tent.” That similar traditions were popularly current about the Water in the Wilderness in the first century is made highly probable by the Pauline mention of (1 Cor. x. 4) “a spiritual rock that followed them.” The writer of the Odes does not appear to copy from any one narrative or tradition now extant. Probably he followed his own imagination—but an imagination fed and stimulated by a mass of literature of which but little survives.

¹ [3746 *h*] “Sons of man.” H. “Menschen.” “Menschensöhne” is given by H.’s Index only in Ode xxxiii. 6 “O ye *sons of man*, turn ye,” apparently alluding to Prov. viii. 4 “Unto you, O men (*virī*), do I call, and my voice is to the sons of man (*hominis*).” But the Syr. in Ode xxxiii. 6 has the same form as here for “*sons of man*” (the same also as in Prov. viii. 4 “*sons of man*”). In Prov. viii. 4, and probably in Ode xxxiii. 6, human weakness or folly appears to be emphasized by the context, and if that is so there, it is probably so here. In that case, attention is called to the folly of “the sons of man” who desire to “restrain” the irresistible River of God (“of the sons of man” being a subjective, not objective, genitive, so that “of” means “proceeding from”).

² [3746 *i*] [“Evil] arts.” *Thes.* 237 shews that the word (though used in a good sense of “workmanship” for the Tabernacle in Exod. xxxi. 4—5)

10. For it came [spreading] over the face of the whole earth and filled everything soever, and [there] drank of it all the thirsty that were on the earth¹.

11. And their (*lit.* the) thirst was [first] loosened² and [then] quenched, for from the Most High was given the drink.

[3747] These last words, if they allude to that "thirst" of which mention is made prophetically in Isaiah, carry us back to a passage where the Epistle to the Hebrews, influenced in part by LXX, gives the impression that the prophet spoke about the *sufferers* whereas the prophet really spoke about

is used in a bad sense about "idols" in Acts xvii. 29, Wisd. xiv. 19, and also about religious "fables" in 2 Pet. i. 16. It might be applied to any self-interested practices, such as Jesus called "hypocrisies." Taken literally, it might allude to those priestly monopolies (connected with the temple sacrifices) against which Jesus actively protested. According to Jn. ii. 15, He symbolized this protest by a "scourge" when He cast out the desecrators, and some Christians might have found in this a warning of the "overflowing scourge" predicted by Isaiah (xxviii. 15). But Origen's extant works do not quote that passage, nor does Jerome's commentary on Isaiah refer there to the Purification of the Temple.

The insertion of "also" (or "even") and the use of "[evil] arts," seem intended to emphasize the impotence of man against the Spirit, "even" when man uses his utmost "art."

¹ [3746_{j1}] "The whole earth...on the earth," repeated to shew that this River of God was sent not for Israel alone but for all the nations of the earth. The first Biblical mention of "the whole earth" is in the promise that Man shall have (Gen. i. 26) "dominion over...*the whole earth.*"

² [3746_j] "Loosened," used of "*breaking fast*" (*Thes.* 4307) but not of thirst. Perhaps a climax is intended, "first appeased and then utterly quenched." A contrast is implied: "Not like the water of the world was this water. The water of the world looses thirst for a time, but only for a time. This water quenches thirst for ever." Comp. Jn iv. 13—14 "Everyone that drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."

[3746_k] *Pistis Sophia* 131 has "Duxerunt eam super terram totam atque prehendit eos omnes. *Biberunt versantes super arenam aridam.* Eorum sitis soluta est et exstincta, quum dedissent eis potum ab excelso." The italicised words look like an allusion to Is. xxxv. 7 (R.V.) "the glowing sand shall become a pool," where the context describes how "the ransomed of the Lord...shall come with singing unto Zion."

the *relievers of suffering*—the Ministers of the Water of Life¹. The word “ministers” will be found actually connected with the Water in the next extract, which, though it seems to shew Christian influence, nevertheless shews Jewish influence as well, that is, Jewish, as opposed to Greek, interpretation of Scripture:—

12. Blessed therefore are the ministers of that drink who have been intrusted² with His water.

¹ [3747 a] Is. xxxv. 3—4 (quoted in Heb. xii. 12) “Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, &c.” Justin Martyr exhibits this error in an unmistakable form, *Tryph.* 69 “Be strong, ye languid hands and enfeebled knees. Be comforted, ye faint in soul...,” omitting “*say to them*,” and thus representing the words as being addressed to the *weak-kneed in Israel*, and not to the prophets who are to strengthen them. That Heb. xii. 12 also takes the words as addressed to the weak is made almost certain by the context, and Chrys. (*ad loc.* Heb.) takes them thus certainly (as also Origen (Lat.) probably). Jerome (on Is. xxxv. 3) regards the words correctly as addressed to ministers (whom he calls “apostles”) but does not refer to the quotation in the Epistle. Aq., Sym., and Theod. duly render “*say to them*.” Rashi explains that the prophets may be said to strengthen the hands, &c. when they comfort and console Israel. H.’s Index does not contain “ministers” (Diener).

[3747 b] Westcott, on Heb. xii. 12—13 “Wherefore lift up the weak hands...and make straight paths *for your feet*,” suggests as interpretations of the italicised words (1) “for the feet of the whole society to tread in”; or (2) “‘with your feet’ as giving a good example to others.” Both seem to me forced interpretations. He continues “Chrysostom says apparently in the latter sense : ὁρθά, φησί, βαδίζετε ὥστε μὴ ἐπιταθῆναι τὴν χολαίαν.” On the contrary, Chrysostom regards this as addressed to the *weak*, i.e. Walk straight that the lameness [from which *you are suffering*] may not be “*intensified* (ἐπιταθῆναι)”—for, he adds, “he that runs when he is lame rubs the mischief into [him] (ἐπιτριβεῖ τὸ κακόν).” The whole of the context indicates that Chrysostom regards the exhortation as addressed, not to ministers, healers, or physicians, but to all Christians as athletes, who must put up with bruises and strains and make the best of them and heal them for themselves: “He talks to them as racers, and boxers, and fighters....Seest thou how *it rests with our own selves to be healed?*”

² [3747 c] “Intrusted.” Comp. Rom. iii. 2 “they were intrusted with the oracles of God,” and sim., of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 17, Gal. ii. 7, 1 Thess. ii. 4, 1 Tim. i. 11, Tit. i. 3. Bruder gives no instance of this use outside the Pauline Epistles.

13. They have refreshed the dry lips, and the will¹ that was paralysed² they have raised up.

14. And the souls that were near departing they drew [back] from death³.

15. And the members that had fallen they straightened and raised up⁴.

16. They gave strength for their coming⁵ and light for their eyes.

¹ [3747 *d*] "Will" is not apparently used elsewhere (*Thes.* 3354) thus for "heart," with such a metaphorical word as "raise up." But it is characteristic of this writer to use original metaphors. "A paralysed *will*" sounds modern, but it is implied in Jn v. 6 "Dost thou desire to be whole?" (*Joh. Gr.* 2206 *a*), *i.e.* "Hast thou the *will*? Or is thy whole being, including thy *will*, paralysed?" We should have expected "paralysed knees" instead of "paralysed will" from an ordinary imitator of Isaiah. But our poet condenses the prophet's "hands," "knees," and "heart," into one word, and a word that goes to the root of the mischief—the "*will*."

² "Paralysed." See *Thes.* 4311, where this word is freq. thus used. The LXX has παραλελυμένα in Is. xxxv. 3 "*paralysed knees*."

³ Comp. Ps. cxvi. 8 "Thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears and my feet from falling."

⁴ [3747 *e*] "And members...raised up." Besides including the "weak hands" and "feeble knees" in Isaiah xxxv. 3, the mention of "members"—by the writer of these Odes—calls up the thought of the "members" of the Messiah (Ode iii. 2) and indicates that these had "fallen" out of their place and needed to be—according to the Pauline phrase (Gal. vi. 1)—"restored" (like a dislocated limb). The word here used for "straightened" is used in the Syr. of Heb. xii. 13 "*make-straight paths for your feet*."

⁵ [3747 *f*] "For their coming." This, at first sight, seems to need some addition. "Come" is used (*Thes.* 418) with "soul," to mean "coming to one's senses," *resipiscencia*. Or it would be intelligible if "*to the Messiah*" were added. Prof. Barnes has suggested a very slight change which would make the word mean (*Thes.* 2058) νέκρωσις, or θανάτωσις, "dying-condition." This, however, would be rather weak in view of the previous mention of "death," unless we could take the meaning to be "strength in the place of their dying" (which seems precluded by the parallelism with "for" in "light for their eyes").

Perhaps, in a work of originality and condensed expression, it is not very strange that we should find "They gave them strength for their coming," *i.e.* "strength to come [to the Messiah] as well as light for their eyes [to see how to come]." Comp. Ps. xvii. 5, A.V. "*my goings*," R.V.

17. Because every human-being¹ knew (*i.e.* acknowledged) them² in the Lord and they lived [for ever] by the living water that [is] for ever³. Hallelujah.

"my *steps*," xl. 2 A.V. and R.V. "my *goings*" (Heb. Gesen. 81 *a* "step" or "going"), (Syr.) "my *goings*."

R.H. 2nd ed. pp. 36—7 alleges this as a passage that "suggests that the Syriac as well as the Coptic has a Greek text behind it," adding, in note, "For a similar confusion between *παρουσία* and *παρρησία* we may compare the words of Valentinus quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 22"—an error for ii. 20 (p. 488—9)—"εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθός· οὗ *παρρησία*" (Klotz—*ία*) "ἡ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ φανέρωσις, where Grabe, *Sphic.* 2 conjectures *παρουσία*." Grabe's emendation is probably correct. But, if the same error has been committed here, the Coptic has followed an erroneous *παρρησία*, substituted for *παρουσία*. In that case *παρουσία* would seem to have been the Greek rendering of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, meaning "for their coming," which is the view taken above.

R.H. suggests "they gave them strength for their paralysis" as the original Greek (reading *παρέσει* or *παράλυσει*). But "paralysis" would be very tame if repeated here after Ode vi. 13 "the will that was *paralysed* they have raised up." The passage may point to "a Greek text behind the Coptic" of the *Pistis Sophia*, but it does not point to a Greek text behind our Syriac. Even in the Coptic the interspersing of Greek words may arise from the hybrid character of the Coptic itself.

¹ [3747 *g*] "Human-being" is used instead of "one" or "man," in order to shew that the Syr. contains the full form of "man," which may be emphatic. The full form occurs in Jn i. 7 (SS), but a contracted form in Walton, as also in Rom. xi. 32 (Walton), Gk *πάντες* in both cases. In Jn i. 7, the Palestinian Syriac has "all" without "men" (see *Thes.* 1738).

² [3747 *h*] "Knew (*i.e.* acknowledged) them." Comp. 1 Thess. v. 12 "*know* them that labour among you and are over you *in the Lord*," 1 Cor. xvi. 18 "they *refreshed* my spirit and yours. *Acknowledge* ye therefore them that are such." The coincidence of expression is remarkable, although this use of "*know*" is familiar to us in O.T. and in the Gospels. In the Ode, as in 1 Cor. xvi. 18, there has been a previous mention of "refreshing" ("they have *refreshed* the dry lips") and the Syr. has the same word both in the Ode and in the Epistle. It does not follow demonstrably from these coincidences that the poet knew the Epistle in question, but it does follow, as a highly probable inference, that he derived the phrase "know in the Lord" from a Christian circle.

³ [3747 *i*] "Lived...water that [is] for ever." "*Lived*" appears to mean "*received-life*," and the context implies that the "*life*" is spiritual,

[3748] It has been observed above that this Ode, although wholly concerned with the River of God, or the Living Water of the Spirit, regards it in different aspects. To these there naturally correspond the following verbal differences. Beginning with the fountain in the soul of the individual the Ode has (vi. 2) "I"; passing to the congregation, it has (*ib.* 5—6) "us"; then, turning to the thought of those who oppose, and those who aid, the progress of the River, it uses the third person. As in the last Ode, so in this, opposition or weakness is recognised in various forms ("alien," "oppose," "restrainings," "thirst," "feebleness," "death"). But the River of God triumphs over all.

i.e. "redemption." Accordingly H. paraphrases as "sind...errettet worden." But there are the following reasons for a literal rendering.

Thes. 1252 indicates that the Aph. or Causative of "*live*" represents distinct things in O.T. and N.T. In O.T., it is almost always used literally: "preserve alive," "recall to life," "nourish," "raise from the dead." But in N.T., besides having some of these meanings, it is regularly used to represent the Greek σώζω, "save." Hence "*make-alive*" or "*save-alive*" is the literal rendering of the Syr. (SS) in Mt. i. 21 "And his name shall be called Jesus [*i.e.* in Hebrew, Deliverer] for he shall *save-alive* the world from its sins." Comp. Jn iii. 16—17 (SS) "God was so loving to the world that...should have *life* eternal. For God sent...his Son...that the world in him should *live*," Jn xii. 47 (SS) "I came...that I should *save* the world *alive*." In passages of this kind the recipient of life may often be regarded as "dead," so that "*make-alive*" or "*restore-to-life*" (rather than "*save-alive*") might be a suitable rendering. "*Saviour*" in the gospels (Lk. i. 47, ii. 11, Jn iv. 42) is, in Syr. (Burk.) "*Life-giver*."

These considerations add force to such phrases in the Odes as i. 3 "Thou *livest* on my head and thou hast blossomed on my head." They mean that the Messiah has "*life*," or "*salvation*," in Himself, which He has been sent to give to the dead world. Thus the "crown of life," in the first Ode, prepares us for the descent into the world of the dead, in the last Ode, where the royal Life-giver bestows His gift.

R.H. omits "that [*is*]" before "for ever," but it is in the Syriac (H. "Wasser das ewig [*währt*]").

CHAPTER VII

THE WAY TO GOD*

§ 1. "*Running*" on the "*Way*" to "*Joy*"

[3749] This Ode describes, first the Soul, and then the Church, on the way toward God. The Soul—perhaps under the figure of Moses, no longer slow of speech and an exile—is filled with the joy of the Holy Spirit through which God has revealed Himself in His aspect of human loving-kindness. Then, passing from "me" to "them," and from the individual to the Church, the poet speaks of this excellent "way" as being revealed through the Son as the appointed "way" for all mankind, to whom His holy ones are to announce it. Moses prepared a song that Israel might sing it at the Red Sea; and now the redeemed of the Lord, too, must prepare their new Song to be sung by the whole of Creation.

The opening sentences about "joy" are a natural sequel to the last Ode; for that described the River of God, or the Living Water, or the Spirit; and all these, in the mind of any Jew, would be connected with "joy." For him, a "pool" suggested a "blessing"¹; the Shechinah was implied where God's gift of water was mentioned; and the "Hall of Drawing Water" in the Temple was so called "because there one received the Holy Spirit"—an allusion to Isaiah's saying

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ [3749 a] Comp. *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xii. 2, Wü. p. 179) "Read, not *blessing*, but *pool*." The two words are from the same root.

about "drawing water with joy from the wells of salvation¹." In the Pauline Epistles "the Spirit" is regularly associated with "joy"; but it is not a peculiarly Pauline, it is also a Jewish association². The last Ode, though it prepared the way for the thought of "joy"—by describing the triumph of the River over the hostile "restrainings," and the healing effects of the Water upon the faint and weak and dying—did not actually mention the word. Now it will be mentioned with reiteration and emphasis³. It will also be connected—as all the fundamental thoughts in these Odes are connected—with a Person.

[3750] That Person, above, was called "the Beloved," who came before us in the first and third Odes as being on the believer's head like a "crown" with "fullgrown fruits," or else as being a collective Body with "members" among which the poet was included. Here He will be designated by a different name and will appear in a different aspect, as the Beloved Deliverer "*drawing*" Israel like a Bride to Himself⁴. The expression of this thought is, for modern

¹ [3749 *b*] See Levy iv. 572 *b* quoting *Succ.* 51 *a, b* on "the Joy at the Waterdrawing," and *ib.* 490 *a* quoting *J. Succ.* V. init., 55 *a* on "the Hall of the Waterdrawing" and the allusion to Is. xii. 3.

² [3749 *c*] Comp. Rom. xiv. 17 "righteousness and peace and *joy* in the Holy Spirit," xv. 13 "Now the God of hope fill you with all *joy* and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, in the power of the Holy Spirit," Gal. v. 22 "the fruit of the Spirit is love, *joy*, peace," 1 Thess. i. 6 "having received the word in much affliction, with *joy* of the Holy Spirit." This is expressed differently in word, but with the same meaning, in 1 Pet. i. 8 "with *joy* unspeakable," *i.e.* joy that comes from the inexpressible comforts of the Spirit.

³ [3749 *d*] "Emphasis." In no other Ode is "joy" so prominent as here, where it is mentioned for the first time. See Appendix V.

⁴ [3750 *a*] Comp. Cant. i. 4 "*Draw me; we will run* after thee: the king hath brought me into his chambers; we will be glad and rejoice in thee." The Targum says (Walton) "When the people of the House of Israel had gone forth from Egypt, the Shechinah of the Lord of the World was their leader in a pillar of cloud by day and in a pillar of fire

readers, obscured by its extreme brevity:—"My joy is the Lord and my *running* is toward Him." How are we to explain this "*running toward the Lord*," followed, as it will be, by a statement that the kindness of the Lord hath "made-small" His "greatness," and that the Lord hath made Himself "to be seen by them that are His," and then by a picture of a procession of singers and seers praising the Lord for His love after hatred and envy have been "drowned"?

[3751] The explanation given below will be that this writer—like the great Martyr and Rabbi of the early decads of the second century, Akiba—was imbued with the conception of the Beloved Deliverer or Saviour which he found in the Song of Songs: and that he, like the rest of his countrymen (Paul being no exception) must have interpreted it as allegorically referring to their Deliverances, chief among which was the one at the Red Sea, when the Nation was, as Paul said, "baptized into Moses." The Song of Songs implied that Israel, on that occasion, was "drawn" to, or "ran after," the Lord. This "running" might be regarded as direct, or else (as suggested by Paul and by another Jewish tradition quoted below) as indirect—Israel "running after"

by night. The righteous of that generation said, '*Lord of the whole world, draw us after thee, and we will run after the way of thy goodness, and bring us near to the roots of the hill of Sinai and grant unto us thy Law from thy treasure-house which is in the firmament....*' The Midr. says (Wü. p. 25) "The Rabbis said, *Because thou dost let thy Shechinah dwell among us* (Exod. xxv. 8) *therefore do we run after thee.*" Exod. r. (Wü. p. 187) represents Moses as "*drawing*" Israel and Israel as "following" after him, when they were delivered out of the Red Sea. Lev. r. (Wü. p. 185) (rep. *Pesikta*, Wü. p. 94) has a tradition quoting Cant. i. 4, and implying that the "running" is "after God" and the "drawing" is "into the garden of Eden." This is said to accord with Ps. xxxvi. 8 "They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy House, and thou shalt make them to drink of the river of thy pleasures"—(*lit.* "the river of thy *Edens* (not, *Eden*)")—where Lev. r. (and sim. *Pesikta*) calls attention to the plural, and says that every righteous man "has a separate Eden for himself."

Moses, their Shepherd, and thus after Jehovah who guided them "by the hand of Moses."

[3752] The thought of this baptism of the newly made Nation at the Red Sea was closely connected with the Song of Moses, which might well be called a Baptismal Hymn. It was then that the Nation, suddenly extemporising its first Procession of Song and Thanksgiving, erected, by spiritual anticipation, a Tabernacle, or Tent of Meeting; where their Lord might live among them, so to speak, as one of themselves, manifesting Himself to all by His Shechinah, and speaking to the Nation collectively face to face through Moses their representative. Thus did the Great Lord cause His "greatness" to be "small," and the Invisible make Himself visible, because He was the Beloved, for the sake of the Nation that He had loved and chosen for Himself. A connection between this Tabernacle and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation is hinted at by a single word in the Fourth Gospel thus, "The Logos became flesh and *tabernacled* among us¹," and other connections of the same kind will be perceived in the present Ode.

[3753] The obscurity of the text of the Ode, indicated by the diversity of translations, will make it necessary to study each important thought separately, as the poet brings it before us. One of the most important is that of the "Way," that is, the Way toward God—which is also the Way appointed for men by God, so that it may be called His Way. But first comes the "running" toward that Presence. By "running," the poet strikes the key-note of emotion, distinguishing the thought from the more ordinary "walking" in the Way of the Lord—though he uses that, too, in its place. "Running" is better than "walking," to denote human motion toward the Beloved. Similarly, in this Ode, he will not speak, as do Jeremiah and the Targums (and

¹ Jn i. 14.

probably Revelation), of "the King of the aeons," but, more emotionally, of "the Father of the aeons¹"; and the whole Ode implies that "knowledge" must not come to us without "joy," and that it must come through One who "becomes like" ourselves, that we "may receive Him²." The connection between the poet's brief and abrupt expressions may be more clearly seen if we perceive (or, for the present, assume as a working hypothesis) that, from the first, the poet has in mind the Song of Joy uttered by Moses, which was also the Song of the Lamb. To this—the Song of the Deliverance of Israel typifying the Song of the Deliverance of "every created thing"—he appears to be leading on his reader from the beginning. Israel after the flesh, "running after" Moses across the sea to Sinai, and toward the Sanctuary, in the wilderness below, is the type of the spiritual Israel "running after" the Messiah across the waters of Sheol, and ascending with Him to the Sanctuary above³.

¹ Ode vii. 13 (s. 3763 *a*, 3781 *i—z*).

² Ode vii. 5—6.

³ [3753 *a*] Ode xlii. 21 foll. "and those who had died ran toward me." Comp. Ps. lxxvii. 13, 19 "Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary...Thy way was in the sea."

This, however, is not the point of view of the whole poem. The Way of God is perhaps first indicated in Gen. i. 2 "the Spirit of God was brooding upon the face of the waters"; and later on (Ode vii. 10—11, which see), when "creating" is mentioned, for the first and only time (3765 *a*), we shall find the poet apparently going back not only to the past but also to the very beginning, as described in a famous passage of Scripture. It is in Proverbs, a book (3769 *c*) rarely quoted by Philo. In it Wisdom says (viii. 22, R.V.) "The Lord possessed (*or*, formed) me in the beginning (*or*, as the beginning) of his way." She also describes herself as being the "delight" of God, and as "delighting" in Man, and as "rejoicing always before him [God], rejoicing in his habitable earth." Thus "Joy" and the "Way" of God and "Wisdom (*or*, *the Word*)" and "Creation" are connected together.

[3753 *b*] But the "joy" is only over the righteous. The Word or Spirit is (Heb. iv. 12) a two-edged sword acting with "joy" over the good for their protection, but with "wrath" over the evil for their chastisement. The latter aspect is implied, according to Jewish tradition,

[3754] The poem begins characteristically with an antithesis, in which "joy"—though it is really a leading conception mentioned here for the first time and to be reiterated later—is introduced along with "wrath," which serves as a foil to it. There is apparently an allusion to the only instance in the Bible where the Psalms describe (3753 *b*) God's "Word" as "running." The Wisdom of Solomon and at least one Jewish tradition interpreted this as meaning that God's Word "ran" like an armed warrior against the Egyptians, as the oppressors of Israel; and Wisdom adds in the context that this was parallel to God's protection of the Israelites. A similar parallelism appears to be implied in the first verse of this Ode: "As God's two-edged sword goes forth in wrath over the iniquity of the fleshly Egypt, so does it go forth in joy over His beloved, the spiritual Israel, and it brings forth in Israel the fruit of loving gratitude." The second verse, speaking in the name of the spiritual Israel, or the Messiah—or in the name of the Wisdom that "delights" in Man even as

by the "running" of the Word of the Lord mentioned along with the phenomena of winter, in the Psalms (cxlvii. 15) "He sendeth out his commandment upon earth; *his Word* runneth very swiftly." *Exod. r.* (on *Exod. xiii. 17*, Wü. p. 155) connects this verse with Pharaoh and with other sinners who desire to oppose the Word of God. Against these, presumably, the Word "*runs*." And that is apparently the view taken in the Book of Wisdom, which describes the Word as slaying the first-born in Egypt (xviii. 15) "Thine Almighty Word *leaped down from heaven* out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war." There the margin refers to the above-quoted Psalm, and to Heb. iv. 12 which mentions a "two-edged sword" in connection with the Word of God. *Comp. Sir. xliii. 13* "by His commandment...He sendeth swiftly the lightnings of His judgment." The preceding context in Wisdom implies the action of this "two-edged sword" toward the Israelites and toward the Egyptians severally on the night of the Passover (xviii. 8) "Wherewith thou didst punish our adversaries, by the same didst thou glorify us whom thou hadst called." Wisdom does not there expressly mention the "Word" as running in "wrath" against the Egyptians, but it implies "wrath" there by mentioning it immediately afterwards as extending in the wilderness, even to Israel (xviii. 20—22 "but the wrath endured not long," because Moses "set himself against the wrath," so "he overcame the destroyer").

God "delights" in Wisdom—says, in effect, "I delight in the Lord, as He delights in me; and as His word runs forth in joy over me for my protection, so does my heart run forth in joy toward Him."

1. As [is] the running [forth]¹ of wrath² over (*i.e.* because of)

¹ [3754 *a*] "The running [forth]..." This difficult passage is rendered thus by R.H. and H.:—

(i) R.H. "As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint: my joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him" (with footnote "*lit.* my running: cf. Cant. i. 3," error for i. 4).

(ii) H. "Wie der (Sturm)lauf des Zornes gegen die Ungerechtigkeit, so ist der (stürmische) Lauf der Freude zu dem Geliebten hin, und er bringt ein von ihren Früchten ohne Hindernis. Meine Freude ist der Herr, und mein Lauf ist zu ihm hin."

Both vary the translation of the Syr. prep., *al*, here twice rendered "over" (R.H. "*against*," "over"; H. "*gegen*," "*zu*"). H. in the second instance assimilates his rendering to that of the prep. in the following verse, where the Syr. has "*toward*."

[3754 *b*] But in Syr. the preposition *al* is used with words denoting wrath, as well as joy, hope, sorrow &c. (without any thought of motion "against" or "towards") as in Mt. xviii. 34 (SS) "his lord was wroth *with him* (*lit. over him*)," *ib.* 26 (Syr.) "be patient *with me* (*lit. over me*)," Lk. xv. 7 (Syr.) "joy *over* one sinner," Mt. xxvii. 43 (Syr.) "he hath trusted *in God* (*lit. over God*)." See *Thes.* 2893 foll. Moreover *Thes.* 3834 gives no instance of "run" with the Syr. "upon" or "over" except 2 S. xxii. 30 (rep. Ps. xviii. 29) (Heb.) "I shall run [*om. prep.*] a troop." It therefore seems best to take the prep. not with "run," but with "wrath" and with "joy" as in "joy *over* a sinner that repenteth." But it must be mentioned that (3887 *a*) Ode xxiii. 6 "Many hands *ran against* (R.H. rushed to, H. stürzten sich auf) the letter," combines "run" with this Syr. preposition. [In Mt. xviii. 34 (Syr.) Walton omits "*over him*."]

Along with swiftness, there may also be a thought of freedom or unrestrictedness. This was negatively suggested in Ode vi. 9 (by the mention of the attempts to "restrain" the Waters of Life). Now, as often happens in these Odes, a thought, put forth at first negatively, is taken up in a subsequent Ode and developed positively. The "running" of this "joy" is said, in a change of metaphor, to issue in "fruits" that are without restraint.

² [3754 *c*] "Wrath," used (*Thes.* 1299) of God's wrath upon Amalek (1 S. xxviii. 18), and in Mk iii. 5 of the anger of Jesus at the hardheartedness of the Pharisees. It is freq. (though not always) used of the "wrath"

iniquity, so is the running [forth] of joy¹ over (*i.e.* because of) the Beloved (*or*, the beloved)² and it brings in of its fruits³ without restraint⁴.

(lit. *heat*) of divine anger, and this favours the view that the poet means God's "wrath" over man's "iniquity." But the Syr. "iniquity" might also be used in connection with man's wrath against it (*Theo.* 2833) as in Gen. i. 17; so that these words, apart from the context, do not make it certain whether the "running" or "course" (so far) is divine or human.

¹ "Joy." This is the first of many mentions of "joy" in the Odes. The question "Whose joy is meant?" will be discussed more advantageously in the notes on the following verse ("my joy is the Lord").

² [3754 *d*] "The Beloved (*or*, the beloved)." The Syr. (*Theo.* 3880) means *dilectus*, and H. has "der Lauf der Freude zu dem Geliebten hin." R.H. renders it "what is lovely." But there is no instance quoted in *Theo.* of this form used absolutely to mean "what is lovely" (without "what is," which is not in the Syr. txt.). In Philipp. iv. 8 "whatsoever things are lovely," the Syr. contains "whatsoever [things are]," and also uses the pl. inflexion. This being the case, and this same form having occurred as masc. in Ode iii. 5 "the Beloved," it seems safest to render it similarly here.

[3754 *e*] But it does not follow that "the beloved" here means God, or the Messiah. It may mean the man whom God called His "beloved." Such a term might be applied to Abraham, the "friend" or rather "lover" of God. Jews might also apply it to Moses. Comp. Sir. xlv. 1 "one beloved by God and men, Moses," and Acts vii. 20 "Moses *fair to* (*i.e.* in the eyes of) God," Syr. "*beloved by God.*" In both passages Syr. has the word used here in the Ode. We have seen above that some Jewish traditions interpreted Cant. i. 4 "we will run after thee," as meaning that Israel would follow, or "run after," Moses, and others that Israel would "run after" God; and it ought not to be matter for surprise if some Jews regarded Moses as so pre-eminent among other sons of God in Israel, that he was entitled to be called "*the beloved son,*" or "*the beloved*" (3750 *a*).

[3754 *f*] "The beloved" does not occur later on in the Odes (Index) as representing this Syriac word. But it occurs in the form "the greatly-beloved" (the stronger form of "love" mentioned above, 3681, comp. 3809 *u*). And one of the two passages where "the greatly-beloved" occurs shews that the word might be applied to Israel, or Israel's representative, as well as to God: Ode viii. 23—4 "and abide ye...*the greatly-beloved*, in the Greatly-Beloved." Another passage is Ode xxxviii. 11 "the Greatly-Beloved and His Bride" (so H.). As, according to Scripture, God sent by His prophet and gave to Solomon the name Beloved (s. 3683) so, and much more, might He seem to Jewish

2. My joy is the Lord and my running is toward Him¹....

poets to give that title to Moses, whose name, in some of their traditions, was—like that of Light and Law—synonymous with “good.”

³ [3754 *g*] “Its fruits.” The “fruits” of “joy” are “brought in,” like wheat into the barn. Beside their own value, they afford a proof that there lies beneath them a *living* source. On moral *life*—as distinct from a dead Law or dead Philosophy—the Odes lay constant stress. In each of the first eleven Odes (exc. iv. and vii.) “life” or “living” is expressly mentioned, and it is implied here (as also in iv. 5 “never... without *fruits*”).

⁴ [3754 *h*] “Without restraint.” H. Index does not give “Hinderniss.” But the threefold occurrence of “restrain,” “restrainings,” &c. in Ode vi. 9, and its recurrence here, are worth noting as characterizing the author’s feeling about the River, or Spirit, of God, namely that, whereas men sometimes “grudge” and “restrain,” God intends that it should be given, “without restraint,” or, as it is often said elsewhere (*e.g.* Ode xi. 6) “without grudging.”

¹ [3754 *i*] “My joy...toward Him.” If the preceding verse meant man’s joy and man’s wrath, then the meaning of the two verses, taken together, would be:—“As men in general feel spontaneous emotions of anger and joy, so do I feel the latter.” But if the “wrath” and the “joy” in the preceding verse are from God, then “my joy,” in this verse, means “my joy responding to His joy.” The Johannine Epistle implies that Man could not love at all if God had not first loved him (1 Jn iv. 19) “We love because he first loved us.” So (according to this view) “we joy in Him because He first rejoiced over us.” The notion that God could “joy” over man might seem absurd to Eliphaz (Job xxii. 3) “Is it any pleasure to the Almighty that thou art righteous?” But the theology of Israel did not agree with Eliphaz (*Son* 3032 *a*). Comp. Zeph. iii. 17 “The Lord thy God is in the midst of thee, a mighty one who will save; he will *rejoice over thee* with *joy*...he will *joy over thee* with singing.” Isaiah also says to Israel (lxii. 5 and comp. lxv. 19) “As the bridegroom *rejoiceth over* the bride, so shall thy God *rejoice over thee*,” and even speaks of her “sons” as God’s representatives “marrying” her. Jeremiah, who says (xxxii. 41) “I will *rejoice over them* to do them good,” makes it clear that this “rejoicing” is conditional on their acceptance of (*ib.* 39) “one heart and one way,” which He will give them. If they are unfaithful to Him, punishment must fall on them as inevitably as blessing if they are faithful. So righteous is this Law of Retribution that in one startling passage of Scripture it is said (Deut. xxviii. 63) “As the Lord *rejoiced over you* to do you *good*...so the Lord will *rejoice over you* to cause you to *perish*.” Not that the Lord “rejoices” in a man’s “perishing,” or has (Ezek. xviii. 23) “any pleasure in the death of the wicked.” But He rejoices in justice, even when justice demands “perishing.” The

§ 2. *The "Way"*

[3755] At this point comes a mention of the "Way" toward the Lord. Unfortunately the text is doubtful¹. But

"perishing" is regarded as being merely for the time. Later on, it is said (Deut. xxx. 9—10) "the Lord will *again rejoice over thee for good*...if thou shalt obey the voice of the Lord thy God."

[3754 *j*] If this explanation is correct, we can somewhat better understand the unexpected and (as it might seem to some readers) unnecessary mention of "wrath" at the opening of an Ode that introduces and emphasizes "joy." It is like the mention of "war" along with "peace" (Odes viii. 8, ix. 6—7) and "darkness" along with "light" (Odes xv. 2, xvi. 16, xviii. 6, xxi. 2). Possibly the poet has in view some weak souls who are too ready to think of God's "wrath" and not ready enough to think of His "joy." The latter, he says, is like the former, it "runs." Then, instead of adding, directly, "And this is an understatement, the joy not only runs but also overruns and predominates," he leads us indirectly to this conclusion by passing into a justification of his own "joy" as a response to the divine joy (3999 (iii) 16).

According to this view, the poet began his poem with the thought in his mind of Jehovah "rejoicing" over Israel and "drawing" the Bride toward Himself ("draw me; we will run after thee...we will rejoice in thee"), and with the feeling "It is because of His rejoicing that I rejoice in Him and He is my joy; and it is because of His 'drawing' me that I run after Him." He seems to suggest that there is a "Joy" in heaven, not only "rejoicing over each sinner that *has* repented," but also "rejoicing," by anticipation, over "each sinner that *shall* repent," and producing that repentance by "drawing" the soul to Itself. We must never forget that, in Hebrew, repentance is expressed by "turning." But the "turning" must be toward God.

[3754 *k*] The first Biblical mention of "running" is in Gen. xviii. 2, where Abraham "ran" to meet the angels (called "three men") from "the tent-door." On this, *Gen. r.* has traditions of R. Abuhu and another, that the tent was like a *race course* (δρόμος Hebraized) with a view to receive proselytes. I have found no other traditions that lay stress on, or allegorize, the "running." See 3848 *h*.

¹ [3755 *a*] Ode vii. 2—3 R.H., 1st ed., "This is my excellent path : for I have a helper, the Lord"; H. "This is my beautiful way, since it is to me a helper to the Lord." H. adds that, if the Syr. text is correct, the meaning must be that "the way" is the "helper." The "way," he says, "would then mean 'the Teaching (die Lehre)' as it so often does." R.H., 2nd ed., has "This path of mine is excellent" (adding in a footnote

from a comparison of the uses of this term in the Odes, it appears that the word is used by the poet in a fluid sense. At the outset of the four gospels, "the way of the Lord" is mentioned as being first predicted by Isaiah, and then proclaimed by John the Baptist¹ in a doctrine taken up and

"so Schulthess") and then, "for I have a helper, the Lord"; and a second footnote says "B.-L. remove to the end of previous verse" the Syr. for "to the Lord."

H. says "Harris übersetzt in Abweichung von dem überlieferten Text...." R.H. 2nd ed. makes no reply to this.

[3755 b] Again in this Ode (vii. 16) R.H. 1st ed. has "He hath appointed to knowledge its way"; H. "Er hat festgesetzt seinen Weg zur Weisheit," and R.H. 2nd ed. "Knowledge He hath appointed as its way." Later on, "the Way" is connected with "truth," thus (xi. 3) "I ran in *the way*...in the way of truth," (xvii. 8) "From thence (*i.e.* from the height of Truth) He gave me *the way of His* (?) *precepts* (lit. *goings*, *Thes.* 1015 gives no Syr. instance of the Aram. and Heb. meaning, "precept" or "law")." It may be called God's "way," or the "way" of His saints, thus (xxii. 7—11) "thy hand made-plain *the way* for those who believe in thee...*thy way* was without corruption," and it is implied that those who turn from the "way" of corruption to the "way" of Truth will find that the Lord will "enter into" them (xxxiii. 7) "forsake the *ways of that corruption* and draw near unto me and I will enter into you." It is also implied that the Lord *is* the Way in xxxix. 6 "The sign in them is the Lord, and the sign is *the Way* of those who cross [the River, *or, rivers* (3959)] in the name of the Lord."

"THE WAY OF THE LORD" AND "THE WAY"

¹ [3755 c] "John the Baptist." Comp. Is. xl. 3, Mal. iii. 1, and Mk i. 2—3, Mt. iii. 3, Lk. iii. 4, vii. 27, Jn i. 23, and especially Acts xviii. 25 (R.V.) "This man (*i.e.* Apollos) had been instructed (*lit.* taught by word of mouth) in *the way of the Lord*...and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John." It is added (*ib.* 26) "Priscilla and Aquila expounded unto him the *way of God* more carefully." "The Way" is used absol. in Acts frequently, *e.g.* ix. 1—2 "Saul asked of him (*i.e.* the high priest) letters...that, if he found any that were of *the Way*...he might bring them bound to Jerusalem," where Schöttgen says that "according to the *way* of the Nazarenes" is a regular Jewish expression (comp. *Megill.* iv. 9 "Whoever says...—this is the *way* of the heretics"). How it might arise is indicated on one side by Levy i. 424 b quoting *R. Hasch.* 17 a about certain *heretics*, who "severed themselves from the *ways* of the Community,"

that is, they took a "way" of their own. This is illustrated by Acts (xxiv. 14) "After the way, which they call heresy, so serve I the God of our fathers." Here we find Paul, now a Christian, and now adopting for himself the very term that he would (apparently, according to Luke) have used disparagingly to the High Priest when he requested to be allowed to arrest any whom he found "of the Way." If Christians originated the term it would be natural for the Jewish rulers to condense it into a term of reproach:—"not 'the way of the Lord' but 'the way of their own,' 'the heresy.'" Some Christians might accept this condensation in their own sense—"the [one true] Way."

[3755 d] As to the Isaiah passage (Is. xl. 3—4, quoted by the four gospels, Mk i. 3, Mt. iii. 3, Lk. iii. 4, Jn. i. 23, but most fully by Lk. and most briefly by Jn.) and as to the difference between the "way (*ὁδόν*)" and the "paths (*τρίβους*)" mentioned in it, Jewish tradition is very silent. But Jn's omission of the *τρίβου*, which all the Synoptists have, deserves notice in view of Philo's remark (i. 316) that *τρίβος* is "*the path of Pleasure*," as distinct from *ὁδός* *the way of Virtue*. About Isaiah's prophecy, Luke and John take opposite courses. Luke adds from Isaiah's context details about the "mountains" and "valleys" (not in Mk-Mt.) apparently to shew that "way" and "paths" here mean the way through the wilderness, and have nothing to do with the Way of the Lord in the sense of doctrine. John, on the other hand, takes "the way" in a spiritual sense; he agrees perhaps with Philo, who says (i. 296) that we must go by "the King's road," which is "Wisdom," and by this we must attain to the Unbegotten (*τὸν ἀγέννητον*); "For it is fit that the traveller travelling freely along the King's road should not rest till he has found the King." That is to say, the essence of the Way is the Person to whom it leads. From that point of view, the addition of "paths" diverts our thoughts when they ought to be concentrated on the One Way, leading to the One Person. Therefore, where Luke amplifies, John curtails, preparing the way for the utterance, later on, "I am the Way."

[3755 e] On Is. xl. 3 "*the way of the Lord*," there is a general Jewish silence. The Targ. paraphrases "the way of the Lord" as "*the way from before the people of the Lord*." Friedländer, commenting on Ibn Ezra's interpretation, says that it is either (1) "*the way which the Lord made*," or (2) "*the way made for the Lord*" (that is, "the way which leads to the place where His name is glorified") and that Ibn Ezra seems to be in favour of the latter. The paucity of evidence as to the origin of the absolute use of "the Way" may be inferred from the silence or inadequacy of Wetstein, *Horae Hebraicae*, and Schöttgen on passages mentioning it. The question is also complicated by possibilities of Greek influence (see Philo ii. 444 on a Pythagorean precept "Go not by high-ways") and by the variety of doctrines about the "ways" of man and

of God. For man may be regarded as making his "way" toward God, or cleansing his "way" (*i.e.* his manner of life); or God may be regarded as making His "way" into the heart of man, or as making His "way" known to man.

[3755 *f*] In Proverbs, there is a remarkable frequency of *ôdôs*, "way," inserted, where not in Heb., to supplement "evil," "good," &c. One reason may be that, both in Heb. and in Gk (*e.g.* in the Lord's Prayer) it is not always easy to distinguish "the evil [one]" from "the evil [thing]," see Gesen. 948 *a* "adj. bad, evil (distinction from n. and vb...not easy, and opinions differ)." This may be illustrated by what we may call a Greek Targum on Prov. iv. 27 "Decline not to right and left, *remove thy foot from evil*," LXX "Decline not to the right nor yet to the left, *but turn away thy foot from [the] way [that is] evil; for [the] ways that [are] on the right God knoweth, but perverted are the [ways that are] on the left. But He Himself will make straight thy runnings* (*τροχιὰς σου*)"—comp. *ib.* 26 "make straight runnings for thine [own] feet"—"*and will lead-forward* (*προάξει*) *thy goings in peace*." The LXX seems an attempt to explain, 1st, that it is the evil *habit*, or *way* (not the evil *companion*) that is to be avoided, 2nd, that if man will straighten his "way" God will help him to straighten it, or rather will Himself straighten it, if only man has the will. A third motive of the Greek Targumist seems to be to define what is meant by Heb. "right"—which he completely misunderstands.

[3755 *g*] In the Acts, the use of "the Way" for "the Christian faith" begins at ix. 2 "any that were of *the Way*." The narrative proceeds to describe Paul's conversion "*in the way*" (ix. 17 "*in the way* that thou wast coming"), and how (ix. 27) "he saw the Lord *in the way*." Later on, it is said that people (xix. 9) "reviled *the Way*," and that there was (xix. 23) "confusion about *the Way*." Then Paul himself says (xxii. 4) "I persecuted *this Way*" and (xxiv. 14) "according to *the Way* which they call heresy," and Agrippa is described as (xxiv. 22) "knowing...the things concerning *the Way*." This limitation of "the Way" to the Pauline part of the Acts raises the question whether there may not have been, in the Pauline Churches, traditions of a play on "conversion to *the Way*" and "conversion *in the way*," and whether this may not have affected other traditions, early but not Pauline.

[3755 *h*] For example, Mark says that Bartimaeus (x. 52) "*recovered his sight* (*ἀνέβλεψεν*) and began to follow him (*i.e.* Jesus) *in the way*." Comp. Acts ix. 17 "Jesus, who appeared to thee *in the way*...that thou mightest *recover thy sight* (*ἀναβλέψης*)."
Why does Mark insert "*in the way*," while the parallel Mt.-Lk. omits it? Possibly because this ancient relic of a poetic narrative implied originally that the blind man "believed," and followed Jesus "in the *Way*," and, when this poetic meaning ceased to be understood, the phrase was dropped as superfluous.

developed, or made new, by Jesus. In that aspect, it might mean the Way to the New Jerusalem, the Way to the future Kingdom of God. It might also be regarded as the Way of "righteousness and judgment" which is called, in Genesis, "the Way of the Lord" in connection with the seed of Abraham¹. Going back still further to times before Abraham, we find that (according to Philo at least, and Origen, and also our own Version) this Way was "corrupted" by "all flesh²." But if we ask for the very first Biblical mention

[3755 *i*] It is remarkable that the Lucan accounts of the conversion (1) of the two disciples at Emmaus (xxiv. 32)—one of whom is said to have been Peter (*Son* 3347 (x) *a*)—(2) of the rest of the apostles (*ib.* 35), (3) of the Eunuch by Philip (Acts viii. 26, 36, 39), (4) of Paul (*ib.* ix. 2, 17, 27, xxvi. 13), (5) of Apollos (*ib.* xviii. 25, 26) all contain in their contexts mention of "*the way*," metaphorically in the case of Apollos, but literally (at all events according to Luke's obvious intention) in all the other instances except the first on the Pauline list.

[3755 *j*] Returning to the author of the Odes, we are led by the foregoing considerations to regard him as writing at a time when the doctrine of "the Way" was still fluid and liable to perversions. On the one hand, there was the danger that, in some Churches, Paul's language about (1 Cor. iv. 17) "*my ways*" and (*ib.* xii. 31) "*I shew [the, or, a] Way*," when taken apart from their contexts, might lead Christians to defer too much to the personal authority of this or that teacher. On the other hand, there was the greater danger that they might regard "the Way" negatively, and so to speak, sideways:—"Do *not* turn *aside*, either to the right or to the left, from the Rule preserved by the Church." Against both of these views the author of the Odes maintains (as also does the Fourth Gospel) that the true Way is a Person—not a mere route traced out, but an attractive Power.

¹ Gen. xviii. 19 "I have known him...that he may command his children...that they may keep *the way of the Lord* to do righteousness and judgment."

² [3755 *k*] Gen. vi. 11—12 "And the earth was corrupt....And God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted *his way* upon the earth." Onk. (and simil. Jer. Targ.), has "had corrupted *each man his [own] way*," apparently inserting "each" so as to shew that "his" does not refer to God. But Philo (followed by Origen

of the Way in such a context as might imply the path of righteousness leading to salvation, it is in connection with the Tree of Life in Paradise, concerning which it is said that "there was the flame of a sword that turned-itself-every-way to keep *the way of the tree of life*¹."

[3756] Concerning this "keeping" of the "way" of the "tree of life" the Talmuds and other Jewish traditions say comparatively little. They regard "the tree" as the Law², but the influence of Ezekiel—who spoke, not of one tree but of "every tree," in his vision of the New Jerusalem—perhaps diverted them from dilating on the part to be played by the single Tree, in the life to come, when the "flame of the

ad loc.) says (i. 293—4) that the Way is "that of the Eternal and Incorruptible, the perfect Way that leads to God"; this Way, he says, is Wisdom, "straight" and a "*royal-high-road* (βασιλική)." Comp. *ib.* ii. 364 "Moses is wont to give the name of *royal-high-road* to that which lies between excess and defect." Jer. Targ. has, in Gen. vi. 11, "the earth was corrupted through the inhabitants thereof *who had declined from the ways of righteousness...*" Apparently the Targumist thinks that men can "decline" from "the way of God" but cannot "*corrupt*" it.

In this Ode, "corrupting" (the first mention of it in the Odes) comes a little later on (vii. 13) "He it is that is not *corruptible*, the fulness of the aeons and the Father of them," where the Syr. has the same word as it has in Gen. vi. 12.

¹ [3755 l] Gen. iii. 24, a remarkable expression, since "*keep the way of Jehovah*" (Gesen. 1037 a) means "keep *to*, or, *in*, the way," not "keep it *free from the approach of others*." Gen. r. *ad loc.* takes "turned-itself-everywhere" as (see Gesen. 246 a on Job xxxviii. 14) "transformed itself," "becoming, now men, now women, now winds, now angels." Origen (Lomm. viii. 59) *ad loc.* says, "The way of the Tree of Life is kept not only by the ministering spirits sent [from time to time] for the sake of those destined to inherit salvation; but also *contrary powers keep it*, hindering those who desire to approach the Tree of Life." Comp. *Exod. r.*, Wü. p. 82 and *Sanhedr.* 67 b.

² [3756 a] *Lev. r.* (on Lev. vii. 11, rep. on Lev. xxvi. 3) (Wü. pp. 55, 249) commenting on Ps. l. 23 "Whoso ordereth [*his*] *way* (*lit.* ponit viam) to him will I shew the salvation of God," says that, in Gen. iii. 24, the Tree is the Law, and that the Way is "the Way of the Earth," *i.e.* Morality, or Natural Religion, which preceded the Revelation of the Law by twenty-six generations. "Law" does not occur in H.'s Index.

sword" should no longer "keep the way" against the souls of the sons of Adam¹.

[3757] With Christians, the single Tree assumed a new significance. In the Tree of Life they saw the Cross of Christ. The Way of the Tree, for them, became the Way of the Cross. The fruit of it is mentioned in Revelation as the first prize given to the Seven Churches:—"To him that overcometh²." It was for those who had washed their robes, so that they had "authority" over the Tree of Life, and might "enter in" boldly by the open "portals" of the City of God³.

[3758] Origen connects the Way to the Tree of Life with the Way across and out of the Red Sea, and with the Way across and out of Jordan, and lastly with the Way across and out of Hades, that is from Death to Life, and all of these with the Lord Jesus, the Messiah, in a manner that admirably illustrates our author's doctrine of the Way: "They (*i.e.* the souls in Hades) were all waiting for the visit of my Lord Jesus Christ—Patriarchs, Prophets, and all—that thus He

¹ [3756 *b*] *Deut. r.* (on Deut. i. 1, Wü. p. 1) quoting Prov. xv. 4 "Healing of the tongue is a (*or*, the) Tree of Life," says that the Tree is the Law and that it "*heals dumbness*," alleging as a proof Ezek. xlvi. 12 "And by the river...on this side and on that shall grow *every tree* for meat, whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall the fruit thereof fail...and the leaf thereof *for healing*." "On this side and on that" is quaintly referred to the writing of the Law (Exod. xxxii. 15) "on this side and on that." "Before Moses attained to the Law, he said (Exod. iv. 10) 'I am no man of words,' but when he attained to the Law, his tongue was healed and he began to speak (Deut. i. 1) 'words.'" These traditions about the "dumbness" of Moses and its "healing" may perhaps illustrate several passages in the Odes; but the special point to be noted is that Ezek. xlvi. 12 might naturally lead many Jewish commentators away from concentrating their attention on one particular Tree of Life. For other traditions s. Midrash on Ps. xxiii. 2—3 (Wü. i. 214).

² Rev. ii. 7.

³ Rev. xxii. 14. R.V. marg. Gk "portals." The context seems to emphasize the publicity and authority of the entry, as being, not through a postern gate but through the gate of public entrance.

might open the way [saying]:—‘I am the Way,’ ‘I am the Door.’”

[3759] So it is in these Odes. The thought of Jesus as at once the Way to Life and also the Life itself, the Living Way, is never absent. The first Ode describes the soul as wearing the fruitful crown of Truth, which the poet assumes to be plucked from the Tree of Life, and which he identifies with the Saviour (“thou livest on my head”)²; the third Ode describes the soul as incorporated in the members of the Messiah and as living because He lives³; the present Ode describes it as “running toward the Lord,” and apparently regards this “running” as the “excellent Way”; and the last Ode of all expressly mentions the “Bridegroom,” and the souls in Sheol as “running” toward Him and crying “Open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee⁴.” This is the climax. But there is hardly one of the later Odes in which we should be surprised to find the Messiah introduced as actually saying in Johannine language that He is—what all of them lead us to suppose that He is—“the Way,” as well as “the Truth and the Life⁵.”

¹ Origen, *Hom. 1 Sam.* (Lomm. xi. 331).

² [3759 a] Ode i. 3—4 “It is *not like a withered* crown which buddeth not, but thou livest upon my head and thou hast blossomed upon my head. Thy *fruits* are full and perfect...” Comp. Ezek. xlvii. 12 “every tree for meat, whose leaf *shall not wither* neither shall the fruit thereof fail...” Comp. Ode xx. 7—8 “Come into Paradise and make thee a crown from His tree, and put it on thy head and be glad” (3664—6).

³ Ode iii. 2 “In them (*i.e.* His members) do I hang,” *ib.* 11 “he that delighteth in Life [eternal]—living shall he be” (3691 d).

⁴ Ode xlii. 9—10 “Like the arm of the *bridegroom* over the bride, so was my yoke over those that know me...,” *ib.* 21—22 “And those who had died *ran* toward me,...and they said, ‘Son of God, have pity on us’...”

⁵ [3759 b] Jn xiv. 6 “I am the way and the truth and the life.” For this, the way is prepared by the words (*ib.* 4) “Where I am going ye know the way.” These are intentionally inconsistent (on the surface) with “I am the way,” and they are intended to provoke the question (*ib.* 5) “How know we the way?” The evangelist desires to force his

§ 3. *The Lord "hath caused me to know Himself"*

[3760] The considerations alleged above may help us to understand at least the general meaning of the difficult passage that now follows:—

2. ...this [is] my way [my] excellent [way]¹.
3. For it is to me a helper² to the Lord³.

readers to reflect that the Way is spiritual. Where Jesus goes—that is the Way; but Jesus Himself is also the Way. And not only the Way to the Truth but also the Truth. And not only the Way to the Life but also the Life. Why does He not say "I am the Tree of Life"? He does say this a little later, in effect. For what is the Tree of Life except the Tree that gives life and "fruit" to all, to every member of the spiritual Israel? And what is this Tree except that which Jesus calls Himself (Jn xv. 1) "I am the true vine"? Outside that tree, He says, every man is "withered"; in that tree, every man "beareth much fruit."

¹ [3760 *a*] "Excellent." The Syr. occurs (*Thes.* 4275) as the rendering of Heb. "good" in Gen. i. 4, ii. 18, iii. 6. On this passage s. 3755—9. It appears to mean that the spiritual "running toward the Lord"—this, and no mere moral or legal code, can constitute the "excellent Way." Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 31 "and a (*or*, the) way shew I unto you...", where the context, however translated, indicates that it is the way of Love.

² [3760 *b*] "Helper." The Syr. (*Thes.* 2815—6) occurs in Gen. ii. 18, 20 concerning Eve as being a "helper" fit for Adam. It is also in 2 S. x. 11 implying *mutual* "help" (s. *Levy Ch.* ii. 205 *a* on its use in Syr. of Prov. xviii. 19 to denote a brother's aid). Here it prepares the way for the thought of the Lord as making Himself, so to speak, the companionable Helper of Man. It is worth noting that the Syr. "excellent" (Heb. "good") and the Syr. "helper" occur together in Gen. ii. 18 "it is not *excellent* that man should be alone, I will make a *helper* suitable for him." The next occurrence of "helper" is in Ode viii. 7, after which it does not recur except in xxi., xxii., xxv. and xxvi. It supplies one of many instances in which the writer dwells on a thought in two consecutive Odes and then drops it for a time.

³ "To the Lord." See 3755 *a* on H.'s statement that R.H.'s translation (for which I await justification from similar grammatical instances) "deviates from the Syr. text." If the text is correct, it would seem to mean, "It is my helper, not in itself, but because it brings me to the Lord."

4. He hath-caused-me-to-know¹ His soul (*i.e.* Himself) (3819 *c*) without grudging, in His singleness [of heart]²; for His gracious-kindness (*or*, sweet-kindness)³ hath-made-small (*i.e.* caused-to-con-descend)⁴ His greatness⁵.

¹ [3760 *c*] "Caused-me-to-know." Comp. Jn xv. 15 "No longer do I call you servants: for the servant *knoweth* not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father *I have made known* unto you," and the saying of God concerning Abraham—mentioned as God's "friend" by Isaiah (3719 *a*)—Gen. xviii. 17—19 "*Shall I hide* from Abraham that which I do?" where "*shall I hide?*" implies "*shall I not make-known?*"

² [3760 *d*] "Singleness [of heart]." R.H. "simplicity," H. "Einfalt." *Thes.* 3321 shews that the Syr. represents ἀπλότης, *i.e.* free, frank, unmixed and undiverted purpose of goodness. The Index gives only one other instance, Ode xxxiv. 1 "No way is rough where there is a *single* *i.e.* *simple* heart," R.H. "simple," H. "einfaches." Both passages imply "single-hearted" devotion to God, like that of Abraham, which makes man's way and God's way one, and therefore, ultimately, full of "joy" (as here) or "not rough" (as in the later Ode). See 3999 *b—d*.

[3760 *e*] Epictetus said something of the same kind, but negatively and with appeal to contempt rather than love, in *Ench.* 19 "The one way to this (*i.e.* to freedom) is to despise things not in our power."

³ [3760 *f*] "Gracious-kindness (*or*, sweet-kindness)." R.H. "kindness," H. "Güte." *Thes.* 551 gives the word as (1) jucunditas, (2) benignitas, (3) suavis odor. Etymologically, the meaning is "sweet smell." Comp. Ode xi. 13, 17 where it occurs (after a previous mention of *ib.* 1 "grace") first as a verb, "sweetly-inhale," and then twice as a noun, "sweetness," *i.e.* gracious-kindness:—"(*lit.*) (13) and my breathing *sweetly-inhaled* [His fragrance, namely] the *gracious-kindness* (R.H. pleasant odour, H. angenehmen Geruch) of the Lord...(17)...and who turn from evil to the *gracious-kindness* that appertains to thee (R.H. the pleasantness that is thine, H. deiner Freundlichkeit)"—where the whole context is influenced by the thought of the sweet fragrance of the blossoms in Paradise (*ib.* 14 "He brought me to His Paradise").

No one word expresses the meaning. Nor is "gracious-kindness" a satisfactory rendering. But "kindness" expresses the practical meaning of the word, as implying fruit in action and not mere flower in talk; and "gracious" is intended to suggest the charm that sets off the kindness, as the sweet scent of fruit sometimes sets off its flavour. See 3881 *i* foll.

⁴ [3760 *g*] "Hath-made-small." *Thes.* 1144 quotes this Syr. word from Sir. iii. 19 (18) "make-thyself-small [in thy claims]," LXX "the greater thou art, *humble thyself* the more." Comp. Ps. cxiii. 5—6 "Who

5. He became like-me in order that I might receive¹ Him.

is like unto the Lord our God, who hath his seat on high, that *humbleth-himself* to behold [the things that are] in heaven and earth?" *Lev. r.* (on *Lev. i. 1*, *Wü. p. 5*, and comp. *Exod. r.* on *Exod. xxxiii. 12*, *Wü. p. 316*) says that R. Akiba used to inculcate the doctrine of "taking a lower place" that people may say to you (comp. *Lk. xiv. 10*) "Come up higher," and that Hillel used to base on Psalm cxiii. the saying "My humbling was my exalting and my exalting was my humbling." The facts indicate that the Lucan doctrine ascribed to Jesus is in accordance with Jewish thought.

[3760 *h*] The Targum on Ps. cxiii. 5—6, perhaps shrinking from saying that God "*humbleth Himself*," has "*casteth down His eyes*." The LXX altogether spoils the sense by taking "*humbleth himself*" as "*humble things*," thus:—"looking on the humble-things in the heaven and the earth." Our author retains the scriptural thought in all its boldness. Comp. also Philipp. ii. 8 "He humbled himself." This thought is connected with "grace" in 2 Cor. viii. 9 "Ye know the grace (*i.e.* kindness) of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor."

⁵ [3760 *i*] "His...His greatness." R.H. 1st ed. has "the greatness of His kindness hath humbled me," but 2nd ed. "His kindness has humbled His greatness," with *n.* "So Flemming: seine Grösse klein erscheinen lassen."

¹ [3760 *j*] "Receive." H. "Empfangen," which is not in H.'s Index, nor is "annehmen." But "receive" occurs in v. 3, vii. 5, 12, viii. 9, ix. 7, xi. 13 &c., of receiving "grace" &c., and is here applied to "receiving" the Lord in a context resembling that of Jn i. 12 "as many as received him." See 3820 *i—j*.

When did God, in Biblical history, most conspicuously "become like" a man, that a man might "receive" Him? In the manifestation to Abraham when (*Gen. xviii. 1* foll. (R.V.)) "the Lord appeared unto him ...as he sat in the tent door...and, lo, three men stood over against him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them...and said, My lord (R.V. marg. O Lord)..." Here Rashi gives, like R.V., two interpretations of "lord," and Jewish tradition comments on the "condescension" of "the Lord" who "stood," while Abraham "sat" (*Gen. r. ad loc.*, quoting Ps. xviii. 35 "thy condescension hath made me great," where see *Tchill. Wü. i. 162* foll.). Westcott, on Heb. xiii. 2 "entertained angels unawares (*ἐλαθον ξενίσαντες*)" rightly calls attention to the idiomatic *ἐλαθον* (not elsewhere in N.T.) used also by Philo (ii. 16—17) who says that the "men" *θειοτέρας ὄντες φύσεως ἐλελήθεισαν*.

It is true that Moses is connected in *Exod. r.* (on *Exod. xxxiii. 12* quoting Ps. cxiii. 5—6 (3760 *g*)) with an instance of God's "humbling"

6. In similitude¹ He was supposed² like-myself in order that I might put Him on [as a robe]³.

Himself, adapting His voice to Moses, "an infant in prophecy," that He might not "terrify" him by His first words at the Bush (3760 *u*). But *Lev. r.* (on *Lev. i. 1*, *Wü. p. 5*) quotes *Ps. cxiii. 5—6* before *Exod. iii. 6*, in such a way as to suggest that it was Moses who "humbled himself" before God. And, in any case, the human "similitude" in the revelation to Abraham is so much more definite, and so much more referred to (being noted by Irenaeus and Justin as well as by Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews) that our poet would almost certainly have that in his mind if he thought of any event in O.T. as a type of the manifestation of the Son in the "similitude" of Man (3760 *u*).

¹ [3760 *k*] "In similitude." This word (*Theo.* 914) occurs in Heb. and Syr. of *Gen. i. 26* "Let us make man in our image, like (*or*, as) (R.V. after) our *similitude*," a passage much discussed by Philo and Origen. *Comp. Dan. x. 16* "One like the *similitude* of the sons of man touched my lips." On *Gen. i. 26*, *Pesikt. sut.* (quoted by Altschüler, vol. i. 394) says that while "image" means external resemblance, "similitude" means "the expression of the countenance," quoting *Ezek. i. 10* "the *similitude* of their countenance was as the countenance of a man." *Levy i. 413 a* shews that Jews spoke of "depreciating THE SIMILITUDE" when a man wronged mankind—as being "like God's similitude." Paul (*Philipp. ii. 7*) describes Jesus as "taking the [essential] form (*μορφήν*) (*Son 3269 a*) of a servant, becoming in the *similitude* (*ὁμοιώματι*) of men, and, being found in *fashion* (*σχήματι*) as a man..." This, and Philo, shew that the phrasing of *Gen. i. 26* would exercise the minds of Jews in the first century (as it did Aq., Sym. and Theod. in the second). Our author, in a very striking way, suggests a converse to the story of Genesis, as though the Similitude were to be regarded primarily as Man's (not God's)—the Lord, in the Incarnation, taking Man's similitude.

Instead of "similitude" R.V. rightly prefers "likeness" in *Jas. iii. 9* (A.V.) "after the *similitude* of God," and elsewhere. But "similitude" has been adopted by me here in view of the Jewish technical use of the term.

² [3760 *l*] "He was supposed." This seems to refer to an *erroneous* "supposition." The Syr. is the same (*Theo.* 2510) as that in *Lk. iii. 23* "being the son (as *was supposed*) of Joseph." But we cannot infer that the author thought that the Lord *was not* "like" human nature. For he has just said "He *became* like myself." The meaning seems to be "He *became like-us* that we might love Him, and even in that higher *similitude* of which the Scripture speaks as divine and to which Man will hereafter attain—even in that, *He was supposed to be like us* (though He was far above us) that we might be led by love to clothe

ourselves with His Spirit." If that is the meaning, the writer is speaking in behalf of the disciples of Christ: "We [wrongly] supposed Him to be *fully* like ourselves." And this may be the meaning of H. "Er wurde mir völlig gleich geachtet."

³ [3760 *m*] "Put Him on [as a robe]." Comp. Ode xxxiii. 10 "they that have *put me on* [as a robe] shall not be wronged." "Put on [as a robe] a person" is a bolder metaphor than "put on [as a robe] a thing," *e.g.* "holiness," "incorruption," "grace," "light," "joy," "love," "the Name of the Most High" (Odes xiii. 2, xv. 8, xx. 7, xxi. 2, xxiii. 1, xxiii. 3, xxxix. 7). All these belong to Jewish thought. But "put on (*i.e.* clothe oneself with) *the Lord*" has no parall. in O.T., nor in the passages quoted by Schöttg. on Rom. xiii. 14 (to whom ref. is made by Lightf. on Gal. iii. 27). Moreover the passages quoted by Schöttg. on 2 Cor. v. 2 are from Sohar and other late sources. But the origin of the Christian use of the phrase may be explained as follows.

[3760 *n*] First, on the Jewish side, one could regard the High Priest as *bearing on his head* a crown with the Name of the Most High inscribed thereon; and hence as "*wearing the Crown with the Name*" (since it was a part of his priestly attire); and hence as "*wearing, or clothed in, the Name*." Similar phrases to these have been quoted above (3722 *i—j*). Schöttg. on Rom. quotes from *Jalkut* "He that lives in the land of Israel deserves that his soul should be clothed with its *clothing, which is the letters of the Name of God*." This illustrates the much earlier expression in our Odes (xxxix. 7) "*clothe yourselves with* (not, *put on as a crown*; but *put on as clothing*) *the Name of the Most High, and know Him*." It must be noted that the Syr. (representing H. "anziehen," R.H. sometimes "put on" but sometimes "clothe oneself with") is literally "*clothe oneself with*," and is distinct, both in Heb. and in Syr., from "*put*" or "*place*"—which is the word applied to "putting" a crown on one's head in 1 Chr. xx. 2 (Syr.).

[3760 *o*] Next, on the Greek side, "put on" is used by Dion. Hal. xi. 5 "*putting on Tarquin*" (see Fritzsche on Rom. xiii. 14) to mean "assuming the character of the tyrant Tarquin," and by Euseb. *Vit. Constant. proem.* "*putting [Caesar] on in his entirety*," *i.e.* assuming full imperial title. Hence, an apostle, teaching Greeks to "put on" the "armour of light," might say just what Origen says (on Rom. xiii. 12—13) "We have often said that Christ is (1 Cor. i. 30) 'wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification,' and truth, and all virtues at once; so that whosoever has taken these to himself is said to have '*put on Christ*.' For if Christ is all these, it follows that whosoever has these has also Christ." Or again (*ib. Hom. Exod. ix. 3*) starting from the thought of the High Priest's clothing, he might say that whereas the Psalms (cxxxii. 9) have said that the priests are to be "clothed with righteousness," a "nobler clothing (*indumenta nobiliora*)" is implied in "*putting on the Lord Jesus Christ*."

7. And I trembled not when I saw Him because He it is that is compassionate to me¹.

[3760 *p*] Chrys. on Rom. *ad loc.* says "We say about friends, 'So-and-so has *put-on* (*ἐνεδύσατο*) so-and-so,' to express great love and close companionship (*συνουσίαν*)," but Fritzsche adds that he has found no instance of this meaning. Nor is one given in Stephen's Thesaurus. [Perhaps such a use might be illustrated by "wear," in the Elizabethan phrase "win and *wear*," but more prob. the latter means "wear as an ornament."] In Lucian *Gall.* ch. 19 (ii. 730), "*stripping off* Pythagoras" and "*clothing oneself with* Aspasia" are jocose allusions to reincarnation—"becoming incarnate as Aspasia after ceasing to be incarnate as Pythagoras." More to the point are Tacitean phrases like "*induere proditorem*," shewing how the "*putting on*" of the "*persona*" (i.e. actor's mask, or character) could be condensed into "*putting on*" the "*person*."

[3760 *q*] The conclusion is that our author does not appear to be borrowing from Paul. More probably, like Paul, he is passing from Jewish thought in general into Jewish thought in particular, and he is influenced, though probably not writing in it, by the language predominant in the Roman Empire—that is, Greek with an occasional touch of official Latin.

¹ [3760 *r*] "Compassionate to me." H. "mein Erbarmen," with note suggesting that, although the exact rendering is "Erbarmen," it is perh. better to insert a rel. pr. in the txt., "he that hath had compassion on me." For "he it is that" see *Thes.* 980.

R.H. has in 1st ed. "my salvation" (with note "*lit.* mercy: cf. Lk. ii. 30 (Pesh.)"). But *Thes.* 1315 gives no other instance of the meaning "salvation," and Burkitt renders Lk. ii. 30 Syr. "*mercy*" (Gk τὸ σωτήριόν σου). R.H. 2nd ed. has, instead of "He is my salvation," "He was gracious unto me," without note.

Since writing the above, I have been informed by the Rev. G. Margoliouth that the facsimile of R.H. in the British Museum so points the word that it can only mean "He who is compassionate to me," and I find that this pointing is adopted in the Syr. of R.H. 2nd ed., but without note in Syr. or Engl. to indicate the change.

[3760 *s*] The noun and verb occur again in vii. 12 "Because of this, He hath *compassionated* me in His great *compassion*." R.H. "He pitied me in His abundant grace," H. "darum hat er sich meiner erbarmt in seiner grossen Barmherzigkeit." By rendering the word "*compassion*" throughout, we perceive the author's characteristic insistence on the term here introduced. In Ode iii. 7 H. "Barmherzig," Syr. has a different word, meaning "tender love" and hence occasionally "compassion" (the root of the name "Rehum"). The word used in Ode vii. 7, 12 means, in Hebrew, "grace," "favour" (the root of the name

8. Like my nature He became that I might learn Him¹, and like my form that I might not turn away from Him².

9. The Father of knowledge.....

[3761] In the foregoing extract we seem to see the poet meditating on the Way by which the Lord has been, from the beginning, leading man to know not only His "ways," as was said in the third Ode, but also Himself—and this by

"*Han-nah*") and hence, sometimes, the favour shewn to one distressed person out of many—hence "pity," "compassion." But in Syriac it regularly means "compassion." See 3781 *a*.

¹ [3760 *t*] "Learn Him." Comp. Eph. iv. 20 "But ye did not so *learn Christ*." The phrase is unique in N.T., and perhaps "learn" with a personal object is non-occurrent in O.T. But it can be explained, like "put-on" (3760 *m* foll.), as a new and deeper use of an old term, meaning "learn," not *by heart*, but *in the heart*, "be imbued with." Euripides represents Bacchus as a god, saying to those whom he is chastising for their irreverent ignorance of his divine nature (*Bacch.* 1345) "Late did ye learn Us (ὅψ' ἐμάθεθ' ἡμᾶς)." The context in Eph. explains that this is the meaning of "learn Christ." Our author, with characteristic brevity, assumes that it is the meaning, but does not explain it.

² [3760 *u*] "That I might not turn away from Him." Comp. Lk. v. 8 "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." The author seems to imagine a Messiah who had come down to save man but had not "become like" man. Such a Messiah he contrasts with his own. Very probably he was influenced by traditions about God making Himself "like" man, in order to reveal Himself to Abraham, concerning whom, after the revelation, He said (Gen. xviii. 19) "I have known him...." See 3762 *a*.

In a minor degree he might think of Moses on the occasion when God said to him (Exod. iii. 8) "I am come down to deliver it (*i.e.* Israel)." On this, a quaint tradition says (*Son* 3499 (xi) *c*) that God at first spoke to Moses in his father's voice so as not to terrify him (*Exod. r.* on Exod. iii. 6). This is repeated in *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xxxiii. 12) in connection with the saying that God (Ps. cxiii. 6) "*humbleth himself*." In a somewhat different sense *Sota* 48 *a* connects "the *humbling*," so to speak, of God and "the *humbling*" of Israel. God appeared to Moses, says *Exod. r.* (on Exod. iii. 2, Wü. p. 34) in a "thorn-bush," which is the "most humble (niedrigste)" of all the trees in the world; even so were the Israelites "humbled (niedrig) and oppressed" in Egypt. The apparition might be interpreted as signifying that God "humbled" Himself in the humble thorn-bush when He "came down" to deliver His people, making Himself "like" humiliated Israel (3760 *j*).

lowering Himself, so to speak, to the level of Man ; at one time by conversing with Abraham as His "friend," at another time by making Himself the Companion of Moses with whom He spoke "face to face." Thus, in His dealings with individuals whom He has loved in the past, the Lord has been preparing the way for a people whom He will love in the future, with a still higher manifestation of the fellowship between His "nature" and Man's "nature," such as (according to the Fourth Gospel) Abraham anticipated and "was glad."

§ 4. "*The Father*" of this "*Knowledge*" is "*the Word of Knowledge*"

[3762] At this point the writer recurs to what he said in the earlier Odes, that this Way must be the Way of the Spirit of Love. Not that he at this point mentions either Spirit or Love. But he suggests both. He tells us that we cannot push ourselves into this Way by our own mental effort. We must have "knowledge," but of a peculiar kind. We must be led up to the knowledge of God by His knowledge of us, that is to say, by His knowing us, as He "knew" Abraham and Abraham's seed, and as He "knew" Moses "by name," and as He "knew" Israel "alone of all the families of the earth¹." This "knowledge" of ours, then,

¹ [3762 a] Gen. xviii. 19 "I have *known him* (i.e. Abraham) to the end that he may command his children...that they may keep the way of the Lord," where Onk. has "*it is manifest before me* that he will instruct (quod praecipiet) his sons," and Jer. Targ. "His *piety is manifest before me*, that he may instruct (ut praecipiat) his sons"; Exod. ii. 25 "And God saw the children of Israel, and God *knew*," where R.V. has "*took knowledge [of them]*," Onk. "*said in His Word that He would deliver them*," Jer. Targ. (Eth.) "*and the repentance was revealed before Him, which they exercised in concealment, so as that no man knew that of his companion*" (and sim. *Mechilt.* Wü. p. 193), LXX "God was *known to them*"; Exod. xxxiii. 12 "I *know* thee (Onk. and Jer. Targ. (Eth.) *ordained thee*) by name"; Amos iii. 2 "You only have I *known* of all the families of the earth," where Rashi has "*amavi*" and the Targ. "*elegi*." Comp. also 2 S. vii. 20, parall. to 1 Chr. xvii. 18, "thou *knowest* thy servant

is not to be a merely contemplative knowledge about a do-nothing God. It is to pass actively as from a father to children and to return from the children to the father. And the children of this Father are not to be confined to the literal limits of any one country or people. It is all one piece of work, this Plan of Redemption, foreknown, fore-ordained, and all-inclusive, including the universe of spiritual place, and also of spiritual time, which is called the "ages," or "aeons."

[3763] It is in connection with "knowledge" that the poet here for the first time makes mention of "the Father¹"—

(i.e. David)," and Nah. i. 7 "he *knoweth* them (Targ. those are *manifest* before Him) that put their trust in him." As Abraham is the type of "faith" or "trust," so he is appropriately the first of those whom God is said to "know." The Targum paraphrases 2 S. vii. 20 "thou *knowest*" as "thou *hast performed the petition of*," and Rashi actually accepts this. This indicates that later Jewish thought found a difficulty in this use of "*know*"; but our author, in contrast, accepted it (as also it is accepted in the Gospels and Epistles). See 3742 *n* foll.

¹ [3763 *a*] The earliest mentions of "the Father" are these:—

vii. 9 "The *Father* of Knowledge is the Word of Knowledge."

vii. 13 "He is...the fulness of the aeons and the *Father* of them."

viii. 26 "Ye shall be found incorruptible in all the aeons to the Name of your *Father*."

ix. 4 "Be rich in God the *Father* and receive the Thought of the Most High."

All these are in "the you-Odes" (s. 3793 *g*) exhorting us to regard the Father as actively carrying out His Thought of Redemption, by the Word, through the aeons, and not as the mere object of a contemplative Gnosis or knowledge, nor as Himself being a God of self-contemplation.

[3763 *b*] The following are somewhat different, mostly leading us on to the thought of the Father from the Son:—

x. 5 "And it became for me to the glorifying of the Most High, even (H. *und*, but see 3734 *a*) of God my *Father*."

xix. 2 "The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the *Father*."

xix. 4 "...the milk from the two breasts of the *Father*."

xxiii. 16—20 "There was seen at its head the Head which was revealed, even (H. *und*, but see 3734 *a*) the Son of Truth, from the *Father* the Most High...written by the finger of God, and the name of the *Father* was on it, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit...."

xxx. 5 "...for thus His holy *Father* had given to Him."

xli. 9—14 "The *Father* of Truth remembered me, He that possessed

strangely late, it would seem, since he has already mentioned the Son. Strange, too, is the phrase of introduction—"the Father of Knowledge." The relation of this expression to other expressions of Jewish thought on the same subject must be discussed later on. Here we can merely point out its apparent relation to other expressions of the writer himself. His object is, throughout the Odes, to shew that Love of God, not Knowledge of God as conceived by many, is the regenerating force of Redemption. Solitary knowledge, barren knowledge, thought without expression, cold knowledge of the Universe as of a chess-board, and cold foreknowledge (which is really present knowledge) of the issue of the game—not this is the Knowledge of which God is the Creator, and of which He may be fitly called the Father.

[3764] The Thought is to be regarded as Father (not Maker) of the Word. It is incomplete without the Word,

(? or, acquired) me from the beginning, for His riches (3820 *a*) begat me... (14) the Son of the Most High appeared in the fulness-of-perfection of His *Father*."

[3763 *c*] It will be observed that in two passages, Odes x. 5 and xxiii. 16, H. has "*und*" connecting (1) "the Most High" and "God," (2) "the Head" and "the Son of Truth." On (1), H. says "Mindestens die letzten Worte sind wohl christlich," and, on (2), "Das (*i.e.* "and the Son of Truth") sieht wie ein Zusatz aus." But, if the two clauses had been Christian insertions, would the inserter have added "*and*," so as apparently) to make nonsense? Does it not seem that the Syr. *vaw* must here mean "*even*"? Yet *Thes.* 1057—8 gives no exact instance of such a meaning (s. 3731 *t*, 3734 *a*). In 1 S. xxviii. 3 "in Ramah *even* in his city," LXX omits *καί*: and Syr., and Targ. (as Rashi notes) avoid *vaw explicativum* by altering the text. In 1 S. xvii. 40 "in the bag...*even* in his scrip," Targ. retains *vaw*, but Syr. omits it.

Contrast Col. i. 3 τῷ θεῷ [*καί*, Lightf.] πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου, iii. 17 τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ (where see Lightf.) with Rom. xv. 6, 2 Cor. i. 3 ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου, where Syr. omits "and" but Vulg. inserts it. Perhaps these differences are to be explained from two uses of ὁ θεός, (1) "[He who is] the [one] God," (2) "the God [of]..." (as in "the God of Abraham"). But in any case the Syriac "*and*," meaning "*that is to say*," in phrases of this kind, seems to point to a Hebrew original. On "*Most High God*" s. *Son* 3492 *d*, comp. 3922 *a* foll.

just as the Father would be incomplete, and indeed could not be a father, without the Son. Again, the Word, or Logos, is incomplete unless it expresses itself in an utterance that is something more than a mere sound. A mere sound we should call non-rational, and the Greeks *a-logon*. The Logos, or Word—if it is to deserve its name—must be (like the Thought its Father) of a non-solitary disposition. It must go forth to make others sharers of itself and with itself, in the knowledge that it possesses. The Word must therefore be a Word conveying Knowledge. All this might have been expressed without any collision with orthodox Christian terminology by saying, in two distinct propositions, that the Father has “brought forth knowledge,” and that through the Son, or Word, “this knowledge is imparted to men.” But this would have savoured of prose rather than of poetry. Instead of doing this the poet compresses the two propositions into one, using an expression, “the Father of Knowledge,” that is extremely rare, if not unexampled. He also speaks of “the Father” as being, in some sense, “the Word”—a statement that would probably have jarred against the feelings of most Christians in the second century and would seem strange to many even in the first:—

9. The Father of Knowledge¹ is the Word of Knowledge².

¹ [3764 *a*] “The Father of Knowledge.” See Mayor on Jas. i. 17 “Father of lights,” comparing Eph. i. 17 “Father of glory,” and 2 Cor. i. 3 “Father of mercies,” which however Wetst. illustrates by a Heb. phrase with adj. not with genitive. Though “Father of knowledge” may be regarded as analogous to (Jn viii. 44) “father of it (*i.e.* falsehood),” it seems to be a phrase that a Jew would not naturally use; but it seems used in this Ode as a preparation for “the Father of the aeons,” and for higher and more personal conceptions of the Father.

By “knowledge” the author appears to mean, first, “human knowledge”; and then divine knowledge, or divine knowledge that passes through the Word into Man, so as to become human knowledge. By “father” he means “spiritual originator”—not a mere mechanical maker or aesthetic artist. He assumes, but does not say, that the divine

Thought is the Father of the divine Word. What he says, is, that the divine Word originates, or "is the Father of," human knowledge.

Eph. i. 17 "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory," is interpreted by Jerome as meaning, in effect, "The God [and Father] of our Lord Jesus Christ, [who, being the Father of Him who is the Lord of Glory, may be rightly called] the Father of Glory." That passage, whatever may be its precise meaning, is less abrupt than the one before us because the phrase "God of our Lord Jesus" prepares the way for the mention of "Father."

² [3764 *b*] "The Word of Knowledge." To call "the Father," in this way, "the Word," is different verbally from anything in N.T., though it may be illustrated, variously, by Jas. i. 18 "He brought us forth [as might a mother from the womb] by the Logos of Truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures," by 1 Cor. iv. 15 "in Christ Jesus I begat you through the gospel," by Philem. 10 "whom I have begotten in my bonds," and by Heb. ii. 13 "behold I (*i.e.* the Lord Jesus) and the children whom God hath given me."

The expression indicates a bold originality and freedom from conventional Christian metaphor. Philo says about Wisdom (i. 553) "We assert (? let us assert, λέγωμεν for λέγομεν) therefore, disregarding the difference [of gender] in the nouns (μηδὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφορᾶς φροντισάντες) that *the Daughter of God, Wisdom, is not only male but also Father*, sowing, and generating in souls, learning, education (παιδείαν), scientific-knowledge (ἐπιστήμην), intuitive knowledge (φρόνησιν)—[in a word, all] good and laudable habits-of-action (πράξεις)." Our author might be supposed here to be saying the same thing about Logos that Philo says about Sophia, "Logos is a Father." But in fact he says more than this. His main thought is about "the Father," here introduced for the first time. Him the Greeks—though recognising as "the Father of Gods and Men"—often practically ignored, and even the Jew Philo converted into a Solitary Being about whom he might declare (i. 66) "It is good for the Alone to be Alone." Our poet says, in effect, to those who might consider such a God to be the object of the highest revelation of the highest Gnosis, or Knowledge, "Not so have we learned the Logos or Word. Not such is our Gnosis, or Knowledge. Say rather that the Father Himself, the Father of what you call Knowledge, condescends to become 'the Word of Knowledge' in order to bring men to the Knowledge of Himself." On the Syr. for "Word" (or "word") in the Odes, s. 3819 *d* foll.

[3764 *c*] Hermes Trismegistus may perhaps illustrate the poet's application of titles to God, partly in agreement, partly in disagreement. According to Lactantius (*Inst.* i. 6) Hermes largely agreed with Christians "Majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat quibus nos, Deum et Patrem." But in a subsequent quotation Hermes says (*ib.* iv. 6) ὁ Κύριος καὶ τῶν πάντων ποιητῆς ὃν Θεὸν καλεῖν

νενομίκαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δεύτερον ἐποίησε Θεὸν ὁρατὸν κ. αἰσθητὸν...ἐπεὶ τοῦτον ἐποίησε Πρῶτον, καὶ Μόνον, καὶ ἓνα, καλὸς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐφάνη, καὶ πληρέστατος πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡγιάσέ τε καὶ πάνν ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τόκον, "The Lord and Maker of all, whom [primarily] we call 'God' in our habitual worship, since He made the Second [to be] God visible and perceptible...since [I say] He made this [Being] *First* and Only, and One [in the region of perception], and [since this Being] appeared to Him both good-and-beautiful (καλός) (comp. Gen. i. 4, 10 &c.) and also *filled-to-the-utmost* with all things good-and-right (ἀγαθῶν), He *sanctified* [Him] and loved [Him] exceedingly [even] as *His own offspring* (ἴδιον τόκον)."

Verbally this resembles Johannine language. Jesus says to the Jews (Jn x. 36) "Say ye of him whom the Father *sanctified* and sent into the world, 'Thou blasphemest': because I said 'I am God's son'?" This was after Jesus had said (*ib.* 30) "I and the Father are one." But on a previous occasion the Jews had said that He declared God to be (*ib.* v. 18) "*His own* (ἴδιον) Father." Moreover the Johannine expressions (*ib.* i. 14 foll.) "we *beheld* his glory" (corresponding to the Trismegistian doctrine that the First God "made the Second visible"), and "*full of grace and truth*," "we received of his *fulness*," and the reiteration (in the mouth of the Baptist) of "*First*" (*ib.* i. 15, 30 "He was First [and] before me") in the same context (*Joh. Gr.* 2665—7) make up a similarity of words that deserves attention. But in spirit, there is a great difference. In John, the Word is (i. 18) "Only-begotten"; in Hermes, the "Second [God]" was not "begotten" but "made." He was indeed "loved exceedingly," but, so to speak, on His merits, because He "appeared" to the Maker "good"—not because He *really was* the only-begotten Son, but "[*even*] as His own offspring," which might mean "*as much as if He had been* the real offspring of the Father."

[3764 d] This, in feeling, is a very different theology from that of John—who implies the thought of a family, as if the Word was *at home* with God and "*in the bosom*" of the Father from the beginning. Hermes appears to teach that the Supreme God—the Maker as distinct from the Master-Workman—always remains in the background, or behind a veil. Popularly, He may be called Father; but He is really rather of the nature of a Purpose of Divine Good. Hence, perhaps, we may explain those words of Hermes, quoted by Lactantius (*Iust.* vii. 18) from *The Perfect Word*, which speak of "the Lord, and Father, and God, and Demiurgus of the First and One God," as coming to destroy evil. If the First God is practically unrevealed, it is explicable that the Second God may be regarded as being sent by the First into the region of divine thought, that He, the Second, may send down into the region of human sense the revelation of the Lordship and Fatherhood of the First God, and that He (the Second) may destroy evil. Lactantius himself (*ib.*) has previously spoken of "the Son of God" as thus destroying evil, and now

§ 5. *The Lord the "Creator"*

[3765] From the Lord as Father the poet leads us to the thought of the Lord as Creator, but again in an unexpected and original way. As he introduced the former attribute under the title "the Father of Knowledge," so he introduces the latter with the phrase "He that created Wisdom." This is all the more remarkable as the verb "create" (I believe) occurs nowhere in the Odes except in this context¹.

[3766] It may well seem characteristic of this author that, whereas most readers of the Bible would think of the Creator as "creating the heaven and earth," he gives this singular prominence to His creation of Wisdom. This, some may say, is explained by his mystical or fanciful turn of mind which leads him to avoid the trite paths of conventional expression. But is this the sole explanation? Had no one else, before our author, and known by our author, thought of God as being, specially and primevally, the Creator of Wisdom? The answer must be that he could not but have known—and, when writing about the relation of God to Wisdom he could not but have pondered—the "crying aloud"

adduces Hermes as supporting this view. Clearly therefore Lactantius understands Hermes as affirming that "the Son of God" is also "the Second," and yet may be called "Father." If a fairly orthodox Christian theologian could write thus, under the influence of Hermes, in the fourth century, we ought not to be surprised that the author of the much earlier Odes of Solomon writes with an apparently similar looseness. It is not really similar. Lactantius, who is probably much more akin to Hermes than is the author of the Odes, says so much about God that the name fills nearly two columns of Le Brun's Index; but in all that space there is no mention of God as "loving," and the words "amor" and "caritas" are absent altogether. Doubtless they occur—we have seen above that the First God "loved exceedingly" the Second God—but contrast this with our poet's little volume, which, in its forty-one short poems, mentions "love," in some form, some forty or fifty times!

¹ [3765 *a*] "Create." H. "*Weisheit geschaffen hat...der mich geschaffen hat.*" But "schaffen" is not in H.'s Index (nor is "erschaffen").

of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs (R.V. txt) "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old¹." It is true that the Hebrew does not here use *bâra*, "create." But it uses *kânah*, meaning "purchase"—in the old English use of the word—that is, "acquire," and applied to God in the words "Is he not thy (*i.e.* Israel's) Father that *purchased* (R.V. txt *bought*) thee" and "God, Most High, *purchaser* (R.V. txt *possessor*) of heaven and earth²." Moreover, in this passage in Proverbs, the Aramaic and the Syriac both render the Hebrew "purchase" by the word *bâra*, "create"—used in the Hebrew, the Aramaic, and the Syriac, of "In the beginning God *created*." In effect, then, Wisdom, in the Book of Proverbs, cries "The Lord *created me*." It appears certain that our poet must have had this before his mind when he wrote the words "He that *created Wisdom*," followed, in the next verse, by "He that *created me*."

[3767] But here arises a question of more than verbal interest. Why did not our author use the scriptural word, "purchase," about Wisdom, "The Lord *purchased* (or, *possessed*) me"? For he himself seems to use it elsewhere of spiritual generation, and apparently, in one place to describe the birth of the Messiah³. The word *kânah*, "purchase," being Syriac as well as Hebrew, why should not the poet use it here in alluding to, or in quoting from, a scriptural passage that uses it?

[3768] This we cannot confidently explain, because we do not know the date of the Syriac version of Proverbs, nor the extent to which the composer of the Odes may have been influenced by early Syriac or Targumistic versions of the Scriptures. But we can point out that this use of

¹ Prov. viii. 22.

² See *Son* 3501 *b—c*, quoting Gen. xiv. 19, 22 and Deut. xxxii. 6.

³ See note on Ode xi. 10 giving the instances of "*possess* (or, *acquire*)" in the Odes (3858 *h—n*).

bâra, "create," applied as it is in these Odes to the creation of Wisdom first of all, may have been intended to place "created" Wisdom below the level of the uncreated Son. The Odes remind us elsewhere that "the Lord's heart is superior to all wisdom," that "those who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in [true] wisdom," and that "a perfect virgin" will enter into us and make us "wise in the ways of truth"; the deceived, says the Odist, "vomit up their wisdom and knowledge...I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver," and his first mention of "wise" is in the precept "Be ye wise and take knowledge¹." The poet leaves us under the impression that the knowledge of God is the basis of all true wisdom. Like Paul, perhaps, he has in view the saying "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise," and he feels that, though "the Greeks seek after wisdom," the Son is, to him, "the power of God and the wisdom of God²."

[3769] Jewish traditions connected the "*acquiring*" (or "*purchasing*") of Wisdom with the first verse of Genesis describing the "*creating*" of "heaven and earth." *Pesachim* uses the two words interchangeably, taking Proverbs as meaning, "The Lord *created me* [as] the beginning of His Ways," and understanding Wisdom ("me") to signify "Torah³" *i.e.* Instruction, technically called "Law." But the Targum on Proverbs has "*created me in the beginning...*" Thus even among Jews there might arise differences about what was "*the beginning*" or "*in the beginning*." Also, instead of "*before his works of old*," the LXX has "*with a view to his works*⁴." These differences of rendering would combine with

¹ Odes xxviii. 18, xxiv. 9, xxxiii. 5—8, xxxviii. 13—15, iii. 13.

² 1 Cor. i. 19—24.

³ *Pesachim* 54 a, also *Mechilt.* (on Exod. xv. 16 "purchased," Wü. 143). Various inferences were drawn in these and other passages as to the number of God's "possessions" (which Plato might perhaps have called "Ideas") before the material Creation.

⁴ [3769 a] Prov. viii. 22 is given by Field thus "*Jova me creavit primitias viae suae, ante opera sua inde a longo tempore.* LXX κύριος

the Christian Messianic application of the words to make them the subject of frequent discussion in the first century. Philo quotes them in a free version of his own, "God *acquired me first-and-before His works*, and established me before the aeon¹." In his introductory comment, he represents God as

ἐκτισέ με (Ἑβρ. ἀδωναὶ κανανὶ) ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Aq. κύριος ἐκτήσατό με κεφάλαιον [ὁδοῦ] αὐτοῦ, ἀρχῆθεν κατεργασμάτων αὐτοῦ [ἀπὸ τότε]. Sym. κύριος ἐκτήσατό με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τότε. Theod. κύριος ἐκτήσατό με ἀρχὴν ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τότε. E'...[πρὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τότε]."

It will be observed that Aquila, who renders *dāra* in Gen. i. 1 by κτίζω, renders *kānah* by κτάμαι.

¹ [3769 b] Philo i. 362 quotes Prov. viii. 22 foll. thus 'Ο θεὸς ἐκτίσαστό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἔργων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, where πρωτίστην—being more emphatic than προτέρην—seems to mean "[not former but] foremost," "[not only first but] much the first." Comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2666 quoting Nonnus as paraphrasing Jn i. 15 πρῶτός μου ἦν by πρῶτιστος.

[3769 c] The only other quotations from Proverbs in Mangey's Index to Philo are Prov. iii. 4, 11 foll., iv. 3 foll. Of these, iii. 11—12 is quoted (i. 544—5) to shew that through the "training (παιδεία) of the Lord" a man becomes a "son whom he receiveth." The rest, to which add i. 8, occur in one passage (i. 369). It treats of divine Law, and human Law (or Custom), declaring that both of these are observed by virtuous men: "They were taught both by [the] upright Logos, [the] Father (ὑπὸ μὲν ὀρθοῦ λόγου, πατρός) to honour the Father of the Universe, and also by Training (παιδείας), the Mother, not to despise the things that are held just by convention and universal custom." Jacob (he says), having received training as an athlete, prevailed *both with God and with man* (Gen. xxxii. 28) and saw God, and received as a prize the name "Israel," i.e. Seeing God. Such a one is "confessedly reputable in the sight of *both the Parents*...Proverbs, too, seems to me to say well (iii. 4) Providing things right before *the Lord and men*....For, having been taught (*ib.* i. 8) to *observe the laws (νόμους) of the Father and not to set at naught the ordinances (θεσμούς) of the Mother*, you will have confidence and pride in saying (*ib.* iv. 3) I also was born a son *obedient to [the] Father, and beloved before (ἐν) the face of [the] Mother*."

Clement of Alexandria (3810, 3817 a foll.) will be found to connect with the thought of a "babe" the revelation made to Jacob in the course of which he received a new name. Both he and Philo recognise, in some sense, that the secret of God is bestowed on those who obey "both the Parents," that is, those who duly fulfil the part of Child.

being at once "Demiurgus and Father of that which has come into being," and the "Knowledge of the Maker" as being the "Mother," who "gave birth to Her only and beloved Son in-the-world-of-sense, this Cosmos¹."

On the other hand Ben Sira—far from personifying so as to suggest a Mother—uses language, about the origin of Wisdom, that appears deliberately intended to militate against the thought of such a personification: "Wisdom shall praise herself...*I came out of the mouth of the Most High*²."

[3770] The commentary of Jerome on this passage in Proverbs, though very lengthy, deserves close attention because it carefully distinguishes the Hebrew from the Greek version, and recognises the latter as having been the basis of a very early Christian doctrine ("the Fathers understand it thus") about the Incarnation:—"Another translation conceives of this passage thus: *The Lord created me, the Beginning of His ways* [with a view] *to His works*. This the Fathers understand as being said about the Lord's Incarnation, saying that [Wisdom] said, for the sake of a certain mystery (*certi gratia mysterii*), *The Lord created me*, and not, *The Father created me*. And 'the Lord,' they say, is recognised by the flesh [of the Incarnate One] [whereas] 'Father' is signified by glory; 'the Lord' is confessed by [the term] 'creation' [whereas] 'Father' is acknowledged (*novit*) by the term love...³." Then

¹ [3769 *d*] Philo i. 361—2 Τὸν γοῦν τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐργασάμενον δημιουργὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ γεγονότος...μητέρα δὲ τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμην...Ἡ δὲ...τὸν μόνον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν αἰσθητὸν υἱὸν ἀπεκύησε, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

² Sir. xxiv. 1, 3. The Vulgate continues, "the firstborn before all creatures...that there should rise light that never faileth." But the Syriac omits that, and continues, with the Vulgate, "and covered the earth as a cloud."

³ [3770 *a*] "Et caro, inquit, Dominum agnoscit; gloria Patrem signat. Creatura Dominum confitetur; caritas Patrem novit"—appears to be the right punctuation. The present tense, implied by "signat" and "novit," appears to mean that "Pater" (not "Dominus") is the right term to use when one is speaking of the relation between the

he explains the LXX ["*With a view*] to *His works*" thus:—"because, in order to redeem the works of the Father, He was *created* from the Virgin, taking on Himself flesh." Finally, after thus laying stress on "created" and "flesh" and "incarnation," he comments on the words "rejoicing always before Him" as referring to the pre-incarnate state, thus:—"These things are said, lest anyone should assert that He began [to be] simultaneously with *creation* and times¹."

[3771] On the translation of the Hebrew Jerome speaks in his own name, referring it to the pre-incarnate Son, thus: "*The Lord possessed (possedit) me in the beginning of His ways.* [This is] the voice of Christ, who is the true Wisdom of God the Father, [that Wisdom] which was born (genita) ineffably from the Father before all the creation of the world, because He Himself (*i.e.* the pre-incarnate Christ) created potentially and set-in-order wonderfully the universal substance of the heaven and the earth. By '*the ways*' of the Lord are meant His works, by the consideration of which the human race attains to faith or recognition [of Him]. For [as Paul says, Rom. i. 20] *the invisible things of Him from the creation (a creatura) of the world, being understood through the things that are made, are clearly-seen.*" But another explanation of "*His ways*" is immediately added:—" '*His ways*' are those very illuminations through which He has shewn (ostendit) Himself both to angelic spirits and also to human minds. '*In the beginning*' of these '*ways*,' He '*possessed*' Wisdom, because, in the origination of created-existence [then] coming to its birth, He had the Son who, with Him, was to set all things in order²."

pre-incarnate or post-incarnate Son and the Father, but not the right term to use here, about the incarnate Son.

¹ On Prov. viii. 30, "Haec ideo ne quis eum cum creatura et temporibus coepisse perhiberet."

² "In primordio creaturae nascentis, Filium, qui cum eo cuncta disponderet, habuit."

[3772] This long comment is quoted, not in order to suggest that our poet could reason, or feel, in the same way as Jerome. Such a suggestion, besides being an anachronism, would exhibit ignorance of the difference between a poet and a controversial commentator. But Jerome saves us the trouble of quoting Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and the Clementine Homilies, not to speak of Origen's copious references, to shew how early and how deeply the Christian Church was interested in the question, "What was *created* in the beginning, and who precisely *created* it?" The reader will also be helped by Jerome to realise the complexity of the reasons that may have induced the latest of the evangelists to choose, as the first words of his gospel, "*In the beginning was the Word.*" And he will not be surprised to find that some of the Jewish plays upon these words affected even Christian fathers writing in Greek on this subject, as when Irenaeus quotes the first Hebrew words of Genesis thus, "*Baresit bara...*" from which he extracts the rendering "*Son in the beginning...*"¹

[3773] Our poet's purpose is spiritual—perhaps we may also add "and poetic"—rather than dogmatic. He seems to have desired, while speaking of the Way of the Lord and connecting it with Joy, and with the Father, to shew that the name of Creator (which men have commonly applied to God) did not imply the detached unemotional act of an artisan, but rather that of the artist, who is said sometimes to "put himself into his work." God "puts Himself," so to speak, into such creations as proceed from Himself through His Son in such a way as to be in His own image and capable of being conformed to His likeness. Rashi's comment on the Psalmist's phrase "a people that shall be *created*"² shews how

¹ Iren. *Apostolic Preaching* (§ 43 ed. Harnack (3699 b)). Comp. Gen. i. 1 (Jer. II) "In Wisdom the Lord created. And the earth was vacancy and desolation...."

² Ps. cii. 18.

seldom "create" is used in the Scriptures concerning God's making of man, except in Genesis and references to it. He explains it as "the people that *shall become a new creature*, so that they may go forth from servitude into liberty and from darkness into a great light"; and no doubt he would thus explain Isaiah's words "your Holy One, the *Creator of Israel*¹." Rashi seems to say, "'*Bara*' must not here be taken in its strict sense of *create* as in Genesis; it means rather 'create over again'."

[3774] Our author seems to say on the contrary, "*Not* 'create over again,' but 'realise the original creation,'" assigning to the Word such a position as is indicated in Revelation, "Thus saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God²." If our author knew of such words, he would probably refer them, not to the risen Saviour, but to the pre-incarnate Word. He seems to assume here as an axiom that what God "*creates*" as a Father is superior to what He "*makes*" or "*works*"—as perhaps Isaiah assumes, or might lead readers to assume, in God's saying "Ask me...concerning my *sons*, and concerning the *work of my hands*...I have *made* the earth and *created* man upon it³." Thus we may understand our poet's condensed and obscure statement that God is "wiser than His works." No doubt there is wisdom in the material works of God's hands, in the material heaven and the material earth, and in the material frame of man. But God, who created Wisdom itself, is wiser than any wisdom that can be inferred

¹ [3773 a] Is. xliii. 15. A.V. has "creator," R.V. "Creator," perhaps intending by the capital letter to mean spiritual or special "creation." Gesen. 135 a says that *bâru* means "*shape, fashion, create*, always of divine activity, with acc. rei, seldom except in P. and Is. 2." In the active, its applications to the individual man are few. These include (*ib.*) "Israel as a nation Is. xliii. 15, Jacob Is. xliii. 1, the seed of Israel Is. xliii. 7."

² Rev. iii. 14.

³ Is. xlv. 11—12.

from these. The storm and the earthquake are His works and have their several purposes, and sometimes shew, and always proceed from, God's wisdom; but they do not contain it, and cannot be called "wise" after the manner of the supreme Wisdom of the Creator, when He creates as the Father, through the Son, imparting to His creatures a portion of Himself.

[3775] In the next Ode, we shall find God—or the Logos (*or*, Son)—saying, concerning men, "My *work* are they...who, then, shall rise up against my *work*¹?" But here, in introducing God as the Creator, the poet appears to desire to subordinate the "work" to that Wisdom of God the Father which the Christians of the first century identified with Christ². And perhaps he desired to guard against the supposition that "*the-things-that-are-made*³," even though they might reveal God's "everlasting power and divinity," could reveal that infinitely greater attribute, His Fatherhood—in the shape in which Christ revealed it, not through a phrase such as "Father of Gods and men," but through His life of incarnate Wisdom, bequeathing to men a Spirit of Wisdom not in the Greek but in the Hebrew sense. Among the Greeks, Wisdom—at all events generally and popularly—was regarded as being of the mind. Among the Jews—so far as they followed their best Scriptures—human Wisdom was the concentration of all the human faculties on the love of God and man. In Proverbs, divine Wisdom is God's own creative Spirit, "sporting"⁴ like a "young child" before the Father

¹ Ode viii. 19—20, where see the context, indicating that the "work" consisted in the fashioning not merely of "members" but also of "mind" and "heart."

² 1 Cor. i. 24 "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."

³ Rom. i. 20 "the things that are made (*τοῖς ποιήμασιν*)."

⁴ [3775 *a*] Prov. viii. 30 R.V. marg. "sporting," and so LXX. See also *Son* 3583 (iv) *a* on Prov. *ib.* R.V. "master-workman," but Aquila, "nursling," and sim. Targum and Midrash. The parallel in Sir. xxiv.

in heaven, and "having its delight" with "the sons of Man" on earth. It is partly in this aspect that our author regards Wisdom here, but (seemingly) not as equivalent to the uncreated Son, and not as fully expressing the Creator:—

10. He that created Wisdom is wiser than His works¹.

7 foll. drops the thought of the "child sporting" and repeatedly describes Wisdom as seeking and as finding spiritual "rest," in Jacob, Jerusalem &c.

¹ [3775 *b*] "He that created...*works*." For "works" the Syr. is ambiguous, since it may mean "servants." H. has "*servants*." But "*servant*"—not "labourer" (3877 *c*)—does not occur except (sing.) xxix. 11 "His servant and the son of His handmaid," whereas the redeemed are called the "work" of God in the next Ode, viii. 19—20 "my *work* are they...who therefore will rise up against my *work*?" and it is characteristic of this author to express a thought in two consecutive Odes in similar words (comp. also Ps. viii. 3 and xxxiii. 4 where the Syr. (*Thes.* 2773—4) is used of the "works" of God).

[3775 *c*] The thought appears to be the same as that in Exod. iv. 11—12 "Who hath made man's mouth?...Is it not I the Lord? Now, therefore, go, and I will be with thy mouth," and in Ps. xciv. 9—10 "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that traineth the nations, shall not he convict [of error]—namely, he that teacheth man *knowledge*?" The Psalmist's last words imply, "He that *giveth knowledge* to nations and men by painful training or chastisement—shall not He Himself *first know*? Shall not the Supreme (Sir. xi. 7) '*understand first* and then rebuke'?" Exodus and the Psalm together lead to the thought, "He that formed the mouth, shall He not speak?" In other words, "Is He not as well the Word of Knowledge as the Father of Knowledge? And shall He not teach the mouth of Man, His handiwork, to speak the words of Knowledge and Wisdom?" Of course, all "works" of God may be, and would be by Jews, regarded as God's "servants"; but the author's mind appears to be set on the thought of God's "works," presently to be called *aeons*, as setting forth God's glory with or without the consciousness of being "servants."

[3775 *d*] The same ambiguous word occurs in Ode xii. 4 (R.H.) "the chasteners of His *servants*" (n. "or, *works*"), where H. has "*Werke*," and *ib.* 7 (R.H.) "as its *work* is," H. "*Werk*." Both in viii. 26, and in xii. 4—8, as here, the context mentions "*aeons*."

Perhaps the poet used the word with a consciousness of its double sense implying that all God's works are His servants. Comp. Heb. iii. 3 "He (*i.e.* the Son) hath been counted worthy of more glory than Moses, by so much as *he that built the house hath more honour than the house*,"

11. And He that created me knew, [even] when yet I was not, what I should do when I came-into-being¹.

which seems to modern readers to assume that Moses was a part of "the house." But in fact the words are probably derived from a play (3691 *a*) on the Heb. "*son of the house*" meaning "*one of the household* (or, *servants*)."

¹ [3775 *e*] "Knew...being." The author, while meditating on God's knowledge of Man, as originating Man's knowledge of God, turns to the Psalm beginning (cxxxix. 1 foll.) "O Lord, thou hast *searched* me and *known*...Thou *knowest*...thou *understandest* my thought afar off...thou *searchest* out my path...there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou *knowest* it altogether...[Such] *knowledge* is too wonderful for me." On this, Rashi's opening words are "Thou understandest from afar off, *that thou mayest draw me into thy companionship, and into the love of thee.*" This resembles the Pauline view (Rom. viii. 29) "whom he *fore-knew*, he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son"—that is, as Rashi says, to a "companionship" with God. This "fore-ordaining," Paul adds, is to be followed by "calling," "justifying," and "glorifying." Origen, in his comment on the Psalm, warns us not to suppose that God "attains knowledge of us by proving us"; on the contrary, "He proves us that He may make us more approved."

[3775 *f*] The Psalmist proceeds to say (*ib.* 15—16) that God saw his "frame" and "unperfect substance," which were written in His "book" "when as yet there was none of them." This would seem to correspond to our poet's "When yet I was not." But the rendering is doubtful. It is however certain that many Jewish interpretations regarded the "book" as (Gen. v. 1) the "book of the generations of Adam," describing the development of man from Adam onward. This was supposed to have been revealed to Adam by the Creator at the beginning. See the Midrash on Ps. cxxxix. 5 (Wü. ii. 233), and Rashi on Ps. cxxxix. 16, also R. Nathan on *Aboth* v. 1, and especially *Gen. r.* (on Gen. v. 1, Wü. p. 110) "R. Jehuda bar Simon said, 'When Man lay before the Creator—as yet mere raw material (noch als blosser Stoff)—He shewed him all the generations to come...'" It should be noted that where R.V. has "and in thy book were all [my members] written, which day by day were fashioned..." the lit. Heb. has "And in thy book they-all were written *days were shaped* and not one in them." One rendering given by Rashi is "days were shaped." The Greek translators, the LXX, and the Targum all vary.

§ 6. *The Lord, "the Fulness of the Aeons and their Father"*

[3776] Continuing his thought about the Way of the Lord from the Beginning and in the Beginning, and having in view the ancient picture of Wisdom as that Beginning—Wisdom in the form of a playful child, a "nursling" as Aquila renders it, "sporting" before the Creator and at the same time "delighting" in the sons of Man—the poet passes to the tender love of the Father for those in whom His Daughter took "delight." Speaking in their name, as the spokesman of humanity, he says, concerning the Lord, "He compassionated me in His great compassion." "Compassionate" hardly represents the original. It is here as in the Psalms where it is said, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." A father does *not* "pity" his children. No one English word can describe the blending of love and sympathetic pain with a sense of superior knowledge—but without any touch of contempt or condescension—with which a father regards the trials and troubles of his child when he knows that they are for the child's good but knows also that the child cannot as yet be made to know it.

[3777] It is difficult and perhaps impossible in some passages of the Odes, and perhaps here, to say whether "He," meaning "the Lord," is used to mean God as the Father, or God as the Son and the Word; nor is the distinction vital in the present passage. The poet may be using "He," or "the Lord," first in the former sense and then in the latter. In any case he seems to see a vision of the Way as being Love and Self-giving from the beginning to the end, from the first to the last of the aeons. As the Father loved the Son from the first, so did the Son love the human soul in whose name the poet speaks, and "having loved his own that were in the world he loved them *to the uttermost and*

to the end¹." As the Father imparted from Himself to the Son, so did the Son to the sons of Man.

[3778] And why did He do this? Because "He is the [Being] that is [alone] not corrupt," *i.e.* not liable to decay. This is the same thought as one expressed in much more familiar language, "Charity never faileth." And as Paul contrasts with this "charity" (or Love) "knowledge" which "shall be done away," so, in this Ode, but without a trace of imitation, the poet assumes that the right kind of "knowledge" implies Self-giving or Fatherhood², and he passes naturally from fatherly knowledge to "compassionating in great compassion" and thence to "the Being that is," in effect, "above all power of corruption."

[3779] What is this Being that is the summit and source of spiritual existence? The Ode calls Him "the fulness of the aeons and their Father." Now Irenaeus, in the opening sentence of his *Treatise against Heresies*, says concerning the Valentinians, "They say that there exists high up in invisible and ineffable regions a perfect Aeon, pre-existent [to all]...and this they call Propator (*i.e.* Pre-existent-Father) and Bythos (*i.e.* Abyss)..." The context in Irenaeus, with its list of thirty aeons, exhibits an entirely different sphere of thought from that of the Odes, so that we can derive little from it, for our purpose, except the conviction that our poet, if Valentinianism had been within his view, or even rising on the horizon, would not have used any language that might encourage its fanciful, idle, and non-moral speculations. But still the subsequent personification of the aeons by the Valentinians forces us to realise the probability that such phrases as "the Father of

¹ Jn xiii. 1 *εἰς τέλος*, R.V. txt "unto the end," marg. "to the uttermost." *Joh. Gr.* 2319—23 aims at shewing that John "desires to suggest to his readers *both* the meanings given by R.V."

² See *Son* (Index) on the Rabbinical interpretation of El-Shaddai, and on the doctrine of the Nursing Father. The Greeks themselves might agree that the Supreme Righteousness or Justice consists in giving to all what is best for all.

the aeons " would do mischief, and that, if current during the last decads of the first century, they would be dropped by orthodox Christians at the beginning of the second. We are also led to ask what there is in any writings of the first century or earlier that may have led our author to use such language.

[3780] This question will be found discussed in the footnote attached to the word "aeons" in the following extract. Here it will suffice to refer the reader to the illustrations there given of Philo's use of the term. Philo speaks of "*aeon*" as being in the life of God what "*time*" is in the life of Man. *Time* is measured by material motion, but *aeon* by immaterial or spiritual motion. Spiritual motion can only be conceived of, by us men, as *thought*. It is God's Thought. God's Thought—as is reiterated throughout the Odes—is a Thought, Plan, or Design, of Redemption for Man. This Thought was revealed by God's Word or Son moving and expressing Himself in the sons of Man, more especially in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. These three Philo calls "measures of aeon," that is to say, phases of God's Thought of Redemption as it was developed through Faith, Joy, and Righteousness.

[3781] Other saints and heroes of Israel would play their several parts and contribute their "divers portions¹" as "measures of aeon." But the Lord alone would be their inspiring source, filling them with His Spirit, and through them, as it were, spelling out in all its letters, from first to last, that divine NAME which is the full expression of the Truth. Thus it might be said that the Lord Himself, as revealed through all human history, is the fullest expression that we can receive of the phases of divine thoughts, and that these His thoughts are so bound up and identified with His

¹ Heb. i. 1 "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by *divers portions and in divers manners*," where "prophets" includes Abraham and all others through whom God has revealed Himself.

human children that He is more than their "fulness"; He is also "their Father."

These considerations may help us to understand the transition, in the following extract, from the thought of the Compassionate to the thought of the Father of the aeons:—

12. Because of that, He compassionated me in His great compassion¹, and He gave me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice².

¹ [3781 a] "Compassionated me in His great compassion." See 3760 r—s. The writer is prob. alluding to Ps. ciii. 13 "Even as a father (Heb.) *hath-tender-love* for his children, so the Lord *hath-tender-love* for them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame..." The Heb. verb, *râcham*, which is connected with the noun "womb" or "bowels," means "yearning" caused mostly by love (less freq. by compunctions in the "bowels" of a conqueror for the afflictions of the conquered, and then mostly with a negative, comp. Is. xlix. 15 "can a woman forget her sucking child that she should *not have-compassion* on the son of her womb?"). "Pity" is not a good word to render the Heb. *râcham*. For "pity" is often allied to contempt, but "compassion" (the word given by Gesen. 933 b) is not. But, in Syr., *rechem* has come to be used in the general sense of "love," so that Syr. mostly resorts to a Syriac form of the same root as the Heb. *chânân*, "favour," "be gracious" &c., when it desires to express "compassion." And the Syr. equiv. of *chânân* is the word used here and in vii. 7. Gesen. 933 b indicates that the only Heb. instance of *râcham* Qal. "love" is in Ps. xviii. 1, and adds "perhaps gloss; v. not in || 2 S. xxii. 2."

[3781 b] These variations of Syr. from Heb. tend to obscure the connection between this Ode and Ps. ciii. But that there is a connection is indicated partly by the drift of thought in both, and partly by details of expression. The thought in both is that God "knew" Man from the beginning and what Man would do, and yet, spite of the "knowledge" of their future sins, He was full of compassion, and, in some sense, a Father to them. The Psalms only twice describe God as Father (here and Ps. lxxviii. 5 "a father of the fatherless," but comp. xxvii. 10, lxxxix. 26). This Psalm agrees with our Ode in dwelling on the loving or compassionate aspect of the divine Nature as being predominant and eternal: "the loving-kindness of the Lord is *from aeon to aeon*," says the Psalm (ciii. 17); and the Ode speaks of the Fatherhood as similarly predominant:—"He it is that is above corruption, *the fulness of the aeons and the Father of them.*" See 3781 i foll.

[3781 c] The similarity of tone in both is also indicated by the conclusion of both. The Psalm begins from "my soul" and ends with

a repetition that includes all creation, "Bless the Lord, O my soul... Bless the Lord, all ye his works, in all places of his dominion. Bless the Lord, O my soul." The Ode, almost at once, assumes the first person "My joy is the Lord," and ends with a similarly wide appeal, "He hath given a mouth to His creation...to glorify Him in praise. Acknowledge ye with praise His power and shew forth His grace."

"RECEIVING" FROM THE LORD'S "SACRIFICE"

² [3781 *d*] "To receive from His sacrifice." Both H. and R.H. mention, with apparent approval, Nestle's conjecture that "sacrifice," ΘΥCΙΑ, is an error springing from an original OYCΙΑ. The latter occurs but twice in LXX and twice in Luke, always meaning "goods" or "property." R.H. (2nd ed.) says "cf. Clem. *Ep.* ii. *ad Cor.* i. ἡθέλησεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς : and the verse of the Ode that precedes, 'when I came into being.' Also Ode viii. 16. For an opposite error see Cod. k in Mk ix. 49." The last passage certainly illustrates the possibility of confusion between *θυσία* and *οὐσία*. But the others have no bearing at all on *οὐσία* as used in the Bible. H. says that the conjecture *οὐσία* has "much to say for itself," since "sacrifice" is "quite meaningless."

Against *οὐσία*, however, is, 1st, its rarity in the Bible, 2nd, the fact that it is not there used of that which belongs to God, 3rd, the fact that the Bible frequently mentions God's "*riches*," and H.'s Index gives "*riches*" as at least thrice (R.H. "abundance," "bounty" &c.) occurring in the Odes ; so that the poet would probably have preferred "receive from His *riches*," to "receive from His *goods*"—if such "receiving" had been in his mind.

It is hardly necessary to add that the author of the Odes was not likely to use *οὐσία* to mean "essence," like a Greek philosopher—and that concerning Jehovah. Philo, it is true, does speak of the *οὐσία* of God ; but he speaks negatively, insisting that it could not be revealed to man, not even to Abraham (i. 258 οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὴν δὲ ὑπαρξιν, ii. 442 οὐχὶ τῆς οὐσίας, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπάρξεως).

[3781 *e*] "To receive from His sacrifice" would undoubtedly present difficulty to those who assume that the words would convey no meaning except to a Christian, and in this sense alone: "to receive benefit from His sacrifice on the cross." But we have no right to assume this. It must mean this to a Christian. But may it not also mean something else to a Jew? And may it not combine the two meanings for a Christian Jew? We must first ask whether there was any special sacrifice as to which Jehovah said, in effect, "It is *mine*," so that Israel could say "It is *His*." The answer is in Exod. xxiii. 18 "Thou shalt not (*lit.*) sacrifice the blood of *my sacrifice* with leavened bread," repeated in Exod. xxxiv. 25. In both passages the Syr. has the same word as here. But Onk. and Jer. Targ.

have "*my Passover*." Note the first mention of Passover, Exod. xii. 11 "It is *the Lord's Passover*," Jer. Targ. "*pity from before the Lord*."

"To receive from *His sacrifice*," thus interpreted as "To receive from *His Passover*," would be a natural subject for thanksgiving on the part of Gentiles, in the first century. Paul says that this sacrifice is the Lord Himself, and yet also *ours* (1 Cor. v. 7—8) "Our passover also hath been sacrificed, [even] Christ: wherefore let us keep the feast...with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." The Epistle to the Hebrews is still closer to the picture that our poet has in view—the new and redeemed Israel going forth from Egypt, the "city" of this world, in order to pass, by a new Exodus, to the new City, where they will sing a new Hallel of Praise for the new Passover (Heb. xiii. 10—15) "*We have an altar... Jesus...suffered without the gate. Let us therefore go forth unto him.... Through him let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name.*" This mention of "fruit," in connection with "sacrifice of praise," may be illustrated by a passage in the next Ode to this, describing how the loving gratitude for the deliverance of the Passover issues (viii. 2—3) "from the heart *to the lips*," so as "to bring forth *fruit unto the Lord*." There the poet probably has in view Is. lvii. 19 (Heb.) "the fruit of the lips," and the preaching of (*ib.*) "peace to him that is far off," the Gentiles, "and peace to him that is near," the Jews (comp. Eph. ii. 17—18).

[3781 *f*] Hermes Trismegistus appears to have made a distinction between "gift (*donum*)" and "sacrifice (*sacrificium*)"—if we may judge from Lactantius (*Inst.* vi. 25) "*Donum in perpetuum, sacrificium ad tempus...Donum est integritas animi; sacrificium, laus et hymnus.*" This he supports from two sayings of Hermes: "*Hoc autem duplex sacrificii genus, quam sit verissimum, Trismegistus Hermes idoneus testis est, qui nobiscum, id est, cum Prophetis (? Mic. vi. 8)...congruit, sicque de justitia locutus est, 'Hoc verbum, O fili, adora et cole.' Cultus autem Dei unus est malum non esse.*" A second saying is introduced (*ib.*) with the words "Item in illo Sermone Perfecto (i.e. "*The [treatise] known [as the] Perfect Word*," not, as Clark, "that perfect discourse")...." Then follows a reproof from Hermes to Asclepius for suggesting that incense should be added to thanksgiving, "*Nos vero gratias agentes adoremus; Hujus enim sacrificium sola benedictio*," i.e. man's sacrifice to God is simply thanksgiving and blessing. [N.B. Every other direct quotation from Hermes by Lactantius is in Greek. Why are these in Latin? The editors remark that the passage is extant in a Latin translation attributed by them to Apuleius, very differently expressed and ending thus, "Sed nos, agentes gratias, adoremus. Haec enim sunt summae incensationes Dei cum aguntur grates a mortalibus. Deinde sequitur gratiarum actio." The editors say that this is "at the end of [the treatise entitled] Asclepius," but do not explain why Lactantius here uniquely quotes in Latin, nor

why, quoting in Latin, he does not quote from the translation that they attribute to Apuleius. See 3637 *a*.]

The desirableness of distinguishing, in translating from Syriac, between "*sacrifice*" and "*offering*" (or "gift" in the sense of "offering") is indicated by *Thes.* 3725, which shews that the Syr. equiv. of *Corban* is used for seven different Heb. words implying some kind of offering or sacrifice, but never for that particular word (a form of Heb. *zbch*, Syr. and Aram. *dbch*) which implies "*sacrifice (of a victim)*" and which is used in Ode vii. 12 "receive from *His sacrifice*."

[3781 *f*₁] R.H. represents "*sacrifice*" as occurring again twice in Ode xx. 1—3... "to Him I offer the *sacrifice* of His thought..." The *sacrifice* of the Lord is righteousness." But the Syr. word there used is the familiar *corban*, "*offering*," quite distinct from the one used here, which means "slaughtered-for-sacrifice." The *corban* passage teaches us that whatever we "*offer*" to God comes previously to us from God; but, though instructive, that is not the lesson taught in the present passage about "receiving from His *sacrifice*." The latter appears to mean "the *Lord's appointed sacrifice*" (see *Pesach.* 64 *a* which includes this in the meaning of Exod. xxiii. 18) with special reference to the Lord's Passover. The Syriac Thesaurus 807 says that "sacrifice" in post-scriptural Syriac came to mean "the *Eucharist*."

An expert, who has kindly inspected the proof of this passage, raises the objection that *Pesach.* 64 *a* interprets "my sacrifice" in Exod. xxiii. 18 as the "continual" holocaust of a lamb. But this does not appear to be the case. First the Mishna says (*ib.* 63 *a*) "whosoever kills the *Passover* over leavened bread commits a transgression," and then it is added (*ib.* 63 *b*) "R. Jehuda said 'This should *also* hold good of the continual holocaust.' Why? He might reply (Exod. xxiii. 18) '*My offering*'—i.e. the one that is appointed for me, namely, the continual holocaust." That is to say, R. Jehuda did not deny that the words "My offering" applied *primarily* to the Passover, but he asserted that they ought *also* to be extended to the daily holocaust (apparently because he regarded it as specially appointed for the Lord). That "my sacrifice" in Exod. xxiii. 18 applied historically to the Passover alone is assumed by Rashi ("Non mactabis agnum paschalem...") and is proved by the context there and still more clearly by the repetition of the precept in Exod. xxxiv. 25 "Thou shalt not offer the blood of *my sacrifice* with leavened bread, neither shall the sacrifice of the *feast of the passover* (Exod. xxiii. 18 simply *my feast*) be left unto the morning."

But, though "my sacrifice" in Exodus applies historically to the Passover alone, R. Jehuda's extension of the term to the "lamb" of the "continual" offering may prove instructive. It enables us to realise how much more reason Jewish Christians in the first century would have for extending the term in the same way. Applying it to Jesus, they would

say that He not only was (Heb. ix. 28) "*once* offered to bear the sins of many," that is, as the Passover lamb, but also (*ib.* vii. 3) "abideth a priest *continually*," "through" whom we (*ib.* xiii. 15) "offer up a sacrifice of praise *continually*." These considerations may help us to understand some aspects of the meaning intended to be conveyed by "the Lamb of God" in Revelation, and also Jn i. 29 "Behold, *the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world!*" and (*ib.* i. 36) "Behold, *the Lamb of God!*" In any modern historian, it would be absurd to suppose that the second Johannine announcement was anything but an abridgment of the first. But if we accept "twofold meaning" (*Joh. Gr. Index*, "Twofold") as a mystical characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, then we must not hastily reject the suggestion that we have here two announcements corresponding to two "lambs of God":—the first, to the lamb of the Passover offered "once"; the second, to the lamb of the holocaust. In connection with the latter, it is worth noting that the first instance where a "lamb" is mentioned in the Bible is in Gen. xxii. 7 "Where is the *lamb for a burnt offering?*" The Revelation describes "the Lamb of God" in both aspects.

[3781 *f*₂] Between the Jewish thought, about "the Lord's *sacrifice*" as being the Passover, and the Christian thought about it as being the Eucharist, the phrase in this Ode ("receive from His *sacrifice*") comes as a sort of half-way house. It shews the transition by which a Gentile-loving Christian Jew, Pauline in some aspects of his thought though not in language, might pass, in meditation, from the Old Passover to the New, through a link that unites them—namely, the sense of a great Deliverance or Redemption, and a consequent "glorifying," "thanksgiving," or (to use the Greek term) "eucharist." We have seen that, in the Law, God calls the Passover "*my sacrifice*"; and to some special sacrifice of His own He seems to be referring in one of the Psalms (l. 5) "Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice." Yet that same Psalm, rejecting the sacrifice of bulls and goats—as long as they represented no sacrifice from the heart—says (*ib.* 14) "sacrifice unto God *thanksgiving*," where Aquila has "eucharist (ευχαρισταν)." This thought pervades the Odes, the thought of Man's "sacrifice" responding to God's "sacrifice"—a human "fruit of the lips," or "thanksgiving," or "eucharist," going up from Israel to the Lord in heartfelt devotion for "the Lord's Passover," from which Gentiles as well as Jews "receive" through the Son, while, through the Son also, they send up their responsive eucharist.

[3781 *f*₃] The Syr. (*Thes.* 3468) here used for "receive," occurs in Gen. iv. 11 (Onk., Jer., and Syr.) "*receive* blood from thy hand," Job xxii. 22 "*receive* from his (*i.e.* God's) mouth the law," Ps. xxiv. 5 "*receive* a blessing from the Lord." As New Heb., it occurs in the opening words of *Aboth*, "Moses *received* the Law from Sinai." In N.T. (Syr.) it occurs

in Heb. xi. 33 "*received* promises," and Acts xxvii. 36 "*received* food" (after Paul had "broken bread"). It might be appropriately used of "*receiving* from the Lord's Passover," with allusion to the Christian Eucharist. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth kindly refers me to *Acts of Thomas* (old hymn) ed. Bedjan iii. 9 "of whose provision they have *received*." See Ode viii. 9, and comp. ix. 7, where however a different word is used (3820 *i* foll.).

[3781 *f*₄] Indirectly, the accuracy of the textual "sacrifice" is of very great importance as bearing on the question of a Greek original of the Odes. If "His sacrifice" is a mistake for "His property," the mistake originated in Greek. But if "sacrifice" is not a mistake, it points to a writer saturated with Jewish expression, as well as with Jewish thought, and familiar with the phrase "my sacrifice" as meaning "the Lord's Passover." Such a writer would also know, when he appended "*Hallelujah*" to every one of his songs, that (Hastings *Dict.* ii. 287 *a*) during the continuance of the Temple, the Hallel was recited on eighteen days in the year, *but on one night alone, that of the Passover*. It ought not to surprise us if such a writer, before describing Israel as at the Red Sea (Ode vii. 20) "going forth to meet the Lord" and to "sing-psalms to Him with joy," makes a brief reference to the gift of the Passover, which prepared the way for that Song.

[3781 *f*₅] If it could be shewn that "from His sacrifice" is erroneous, it would be worth considering whether the error arose from a Hebrew original "*from His life*." Comp. Eph. iv. 18 "estranged *from the life of God*." There "life," presumably because of the difficulty of the thought, has been variously altered by Jerome into "way," by others into "glory" or "faith." The Syr. there used for "*from the life*," is almost identical with the Heb. *minchâh*, rendered by the LXX about 130 times *θυσία*, "sacrifice." For the sense, comp. 1's. xxxvi. 9 "With thee is the fountain of life," and Jn v. 26, x. 10, which imply that the Son has "received life in himself," in order that His disciples "might have life." The precise expression "*from His life*" does not occur in the Odes, but we have x. 1 "He hath caused to abide in me *His life*," and xxviii. 7 "*From that life* is the Spirit within me," ix. 3 "*His thought is the life* that is for ever," viii. 17 "that they might drink *my holy milk*, that they might *live thereby*." All these imply that we "receive *from His life*."

According to this view, the explanation of the text would be as follows. (1) The Syrian translator mistook the Heb. "*from His life*" for some form of the Heb. *minchâh*, "*sacrifice*"; (2) then, since *minchâh* does not exist in Syriac, he rendered it by the word meaning "sacrifice [by slaughter]." But, against this, there would be the need to suppose that *min*, meaning "*from*," was corruptly repeated as a part of "*minchâh*." There is also the fact that in O.T. the Syr. renders Heb. *minchâh* not (*The*s. 806—7) by "sacrifice [by slaughter]," but (*The*s. 2656) most freq. by a word meaning

13. Because He it is that is [alone] above the power of corruption¹

"meal offering" or else (Exod. xxix. 41, Numb. xxviii. 8) by a form of *Corban*, i.e. "offering."

Another conjecture might be derived from 2 S. xiv. 17 R.V. marg. "for *rest*," but LXX *εἰς θουσίας*, v.r. *-lav*, an error arising (Gesen. 585, 630) from the identity of the Heb. consonants for "*rest*" and "*sacrifice*." "He granted me to receive from *His rest*" might be illustrated by Odes iii. 6 "where *His rest* is, there also am I," xx. 7—8 "make thee a crown from His tree (3664—6)...and *set-thyself-firmly* (*Thes.* 2560—1) on *His rest*."

But the facts above alleged, and the general accuracy of the Syriac text of the Odes—which is corroborated by its general agreement with the older Codex N, recently (Dec. 1911) discovered by Prof. Burkitt—and the appropriateness of "*from His sacrifice*," meaning "from the Passover," are strongly against the hypothesis of error, even through translation from Hebrew, though that is very much less improbable than error through translation from Greek.

¹ [3781 *g*] "Corruption." This is the first mention of "corrupt" in the Odes. The Syr. corresponds to the Heb. rep. 4 times in Gen. vi. 11—13 "The earth was *corrupt* (*ἐφθάρη*)...the earth, and it was *utterly-corrupt* (*κατεφθαρμένη*) because all flesh had utterly-corrupted (*κατέφθειρεν*) his (*i.e.* God's, 3755 *k*) way...I *utterly-corrupt* (*i.e.* *destroy*) them." Here the LXX and Heb. shew, what R.V. does not, that God "*destroyed*" man because man had first "*destroyed*." In the Odes, the next mention of "not corrupt" is again connected with "aeons" (Ode viii. 26) "ye shall be found *not corrupt* in all the *aeons* to the Name of your Father," *i.e.* incorruptible—because you will not corrupt God's Way—[and ever living] to the glory of God's Name. In the next instance, it is connected with the unalterable Plan of Redemption (Ode ix. 3) "In the good-pleasure of the Lord your life exists, and His Thought is the life that is for ever, and *not corrupt* is your fulness-of-perfection," *i.e.* your salvation will be brought to a full and incorruptible completion. It recurs in xi. 10 and subsequently. It occurs without a negative in xv. 8 "I have put on incorruption...and have cast off *corruption*." In xxiv. 6 "for they were corrupt from the beginning, and the end of their corruption was life," there appears to be an allusion, in the context, to the Deluge. It "*destroyed*" the life of those who had "*destroyed*" God's ways, so that a new life might begin upon the earth. Comp. also Ode xxii. 11—12 "Thy way was *without corruption*, and thy face [too pure to look on corruption. And therefore] thou didst bring thy world to *corruption*, that everything might be dissolved and then renewed and that the foundation of everything might be thy rock." On Ode xxxviii. 9

(*lit.*) "the *Corrupter* of corruption," i.e. "the *Destroying Angel* (*Thest.* 1180) [the *destroyer*] of corruption," see 3990.

[3781 *h*] The negative phrase "not-corrupt(ion)" occurs (ten times at least) in the Odes—almost as often as in the whole of N.T. ("incorruptible," "incorruption" &c.)—besides positive uses of the word. The silence of Wetstein, Levy &c. indicates that it is not derived from Jewish sources, where such a phrase as Eccles. vii. 28 Targ. "a saint *without corruption*" is very rare indeed (Levy *Ch.* i. 235 *a*). Our poet writes in the name of "Solomon." Therefore, even though not writing in Greek, he may have had in view such passages as Wisd. ii. 23 (comp. vi. 19, xii. 1, xviii. 4) "God created man with a view to *incorruptibility* (ἐπὶ ἀφθαρσία)." On the author of Wisdom—as on Paul and on Philo (who wrote a treatise *On the World's Incorruptibility*)—Greek influences may have operated, and a desire to emphasize the antithesis between visible "*corruptible*" idols and the invisible "*incorruptible*" God. These influences may have favoured the use of the negative phrase by Jews in writings addressed to Greeks.

After the death of Jesus, the preachers of His resurrection (Acts ii. 24, 27, 31) would naturally appeal to the Psalm (xvi. 10) that spoke of God's saint as "*not seeing corruption*"; and this, among Christians, would give a new stimulus to the use of "*not corrupt*," as meaning freedom both from physical and from moral corruption. It is in the latter sense that our author almost always uses it, but in such a way as to suggest that the moral implies also the physical. He often introduces the term "not-corrupt," as well as "not-dying," as if to say "Incorruption, in my sense, is something more than absence of death, and more than endlessness; it implies, as well, what the Greeks call virtue." See Wetst. on 1 Tim. i. 17 "To the King of the aeons, *incorruptible*, invisible,..." and Wetstein's quotations.

REFERENCES TO THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

[3781 *h*₁] R.H. 2nd ed. p. 47 refers to the Syr. "without corruption" as a proof of translation from Greek: "The constantly recurring... 'without corruption' stands for ἀφθαρτος and ἀφθαρσία," and (*ib.*) "we can frequently detect Greek compounds in their awkward Syriac substitutes."

But this, though plausible, is not a sound argument in the case of a poet writing in the name of Solomon and likely to be influenced by the book called *The Wisdom of Solomon*, which uses these Greek words. That book is placed by none later than A.D. 40, and by most earlier (Hastings iv. 931). H. gives nearly a page (p. 121) to parallelisms from *Wisdom*, and these, as he thinks, but a small part of the total. R.H. does not mention *Wisdom* in contents or page headings, but has at least four references to it in footnotes. Now if our poet wished to express, in Syriac or Aramaic, forms of the Solomonian words "*incorruptible*" &c., he could

hardly do otherwise than use the "awkward Syriac substitute," *without*, to express the Greek *alpha* privative. The Syr. "without" actually occurs in Wisd. ii. 23, vi. 19, and xviii. 4, to express *in-* in "*incorruptible*" &c. and in the Syr., and Targum, of Jer. ii. 32 "without number," *i.e.* "*innumerable*," as also in Exod. xxi. 11 (Targ. and Syr.) "without payment." The same thing holds for (R.H. p. 47) "the Greek *ἄφθονος*," *i.e.* "without grudging," comp. Wisd. vii. 13 *ἀδόλως...ἀφθόνως*, where the Syr. has "without" twice. Taken by itself, then, the use of the Syriac "without," in the Odes, even though it corresponds in meaning to the Greek *α-*, does not prove that they were originally written in Greek. And this applies, with special emphasis, to words found in the Wisdom of Solomon.

[3781 *h*₂] As regards allusions to The Wisdom of Solomon, they appear to me fewer and less striking than those to Solomon's Song. Out of the four footnotes in R.H. alleging allusion to the former, one (on Ode xi. 2 "revealed my reins") mentions Wisd. i. 6 "witness of the reins," along with three other Biblical passages. But H. omits Wisd. and gives only "Ps. vii. 10 und sonst. Apok. Joh. ii. 23." It seems very doubtful whether Wisd. was in the poet's mind.

On Ode xii. 5, about the "swiftness" of "the Word," a footnote in R.H. compares Wisd. vii. 24. But a corresponding footnote in H. compares merely Ps. xix. 6 foll. (though H. p. 121 gives Wisd. vii. 24 among parallelisms); and this is probably the basis of the poet's utterance, although tinged by allusion to Wisdom.

On Ode xiii. 1 "our *mirror* is the Lord," R.H. and H. quote a Pseudocyprian tract which refers to The Wisdom of Solomon as calling the Saviour "the unspotted mirror of the Father." This is an allusion to Wisd. vii. 26, which says that "Wisdom" is "the unspotted mirror of the energy of God." This passage of Wisdom was probably in our poet's mind. But with a difference. For Wisdom says that *the Mirror* is "without spot." The poet bids *the Bride* make herself "without spot." Does he assume the spotlessness of the Mirror? Or does he remember that, although the Mirror may be "spotless" *in itself*, yet *we* may see dimly in it (1 Cor. xiii. 12 "through a mirror; in enigma") owing to the defect of our eyesight? The answer is doubtful, but the difference is certain (see 3884 *p* foll.).

[3781 *h*₃] Much more important is the question as to parallelism in Ode xxv. 5 "I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many, and I was in their eyes *as lead*," where R.H. says "Cf. *Sap. Sol.* ii. 16 *εἰς κίβδηλον ἐλογίσθημεν αὐτῷ*." H., though omitting this reference here, places it among parallelisms on p. 121. But it appears unlikely for the following reasons.

(1) The words in Wisdom, "we were esteemed by him (*i.e.* the Righteous man) as counterfeits," being uttered by "*the ungodly*" about the *Righteous*, are not suitable here where the Righteous is speaking about the ungodly; (2) the Syr. in Wisdom has, for *εἰς κίβδηλον*, "defiled"; (3) probably

in Sir. xxii. 14 "What is heavier than lead? And what is the name thereof but a fool?"—and certainly in Jewish comments on "lead" in Zech. v. 7—8 (s. also Jerome)—the emphasis is *not on its being base metal but on its being "heavy,"* and Rashi implies that Zechariah's vision represents "measure for measure" in the "*heavy*" punishment of the wicked for their "*heavy*" offences; (4) in the *Pistis Sophia*, the Gnostic Targum on this passage has (p. 148) "iniecerunt me in orcos (chaos Plur.) nullum lumen habentem. Fui sicut ὀλη *gravis* coram iis"—where "*gravis*" indicates that the emphasis is laid on the *heaviness*, not on the baseness, of the "lead"; (5) in the passage just quoted, the mention of "*casting into depths of Orcus (orcos),*" along with a paraphrase of "lead," suggests allusion to the fate of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, Exod. xv. 10 "*they sank as lead in the mighty waters*"; (6) Nehem. ix. 11 "their pursuers thou didst *cast into the depths, as a stone into the mighty waters,*" blends Exod. xv. 4, 5 (about "stone") with *ib.* 10 (about "lead"), and similarly *Mechilt.*, on Exod. xv. 5 "*as a stone,*" says "*With the measure with which a man measures, one measures again to him,*" and regards "*as a stone,*" and "*as lead,*" as implying two grades of retribution, perhaps playing on "stone," which, as in English, means (Ges. 6 b) a "stone-weight" (comp. Zech. v. 8 lit. "*a stone of lead,*" and see *Mechilt.* on Exod. xv. 10, where it is again implied that the punishment is an instance of like-for-like retribution, though the nature of the likeness is not made clear); (7) the retributive casting into the depths, in the case of Babylon, which (Is. xlvii. 6) "*heavily*" oppressed Israel, is typified (Jerem. li. 63—4) by "*a stone cast into...Euphrates,*" and again in Rev. xviii. 21 by "*a great millstone... cast into the sea,*" and the same retribution is mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels as awaiting those who "*cause little ones to fall.*" These (it is implied) are caused-to-fall, themselves, not in a brief stumbling, but permanently and fatally: καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης, says Matthew (xviii. 6) perhaps having in view the unique use of καταποντίζω in the Pentateuch, Exod. xv. 4 (A.F.) κατεπόντισεν ἐν ἔρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, which Matthew combines with "the immensity of the open sea," as an attempt to express the various words in Exodus meaning "deeps," "depths," "mighty waters" (Origen *ad loc.*, Lomm. iii. 243 ἐν τῇ ἀβύσσῳ λεγομένῃ πελάγει θαλασσίῳ). The Egyptians (Exod. i. 22) attempting to drown the little ones of Israel, are drowned themselves. It is measure for measure.

The reader may like to see Rashi's comment on Zech. v. 6—8 in Breithaupt's version of it: "Postquam illam [Epham] vidi, dixit ipse: Haec est mensura per quam puniuntur illi quorum oculus est in universa terra ut rapiant et efficiant quo (Amos viii. 5) 'minor reddatur Ephā et majus fiat pondus'; sed rependetur eis *mensura pro mensura*...in medio Ephāe, haec est *mensura* viae improbitatis quam exercuerunt improbi, nunc autem illi projiciuntur in eam [*mensuram*] ut *puniantur in ipsa mensura per quam mensurarunt, mensura pro mensura.*" The reference

is to Amos viii. 5 "making the *ephah* small and the *shekel* (or, *weight* [of money]) great," *i.e.* (Rashi) "*vendentes mensura parva et pecuniam accipientes pondere magno.*" There is a play on "ephah" or "*measure*," and on "shekel" or "*weight*." These sinners give small "*measure*" and exact *heavy* "*weight*." Then they shall have what they exact, says the vision in Zechariah, and accordingly a great "*talent*" of "*lead*" crushes them down into the small "ephah" or "*measure*." Comp. *Joma* 69 *b*, *Sanhedr.* 64 *a*, both of which, though worded differently, agree in representing the "*lead*" as absorbing or suppressing the voice of the spirit of idolatry. Kimchi, too, though differing in some points, emphasizes the "*heaviness*" of the lead, and the "*thrusting down* [of Israel] deep into the lowest pit of bondage (in *imū servitutis barathrum quam altissime detruderentur*)" implied by the vision. He adds that it is a case of "*measure for measure*" ("*ut mensura mensurae responderet*"). "*Lead*," in special contexts implying smelting, or comparison with precious metals, might mean "*alloy*" or "*base metal*," but not otherwise apparently even in Greek (see Steph. *Thes.* μόλυβδος). As to its early connection with "*sinking*" see Hastings iii. 88 *b* "it was common enough by B.C. 1200 to be used in Egypt for the sinkers of fishing-nets."

[3781 *h*₄] See also Hillel's saying in *Aboth* ii. 7 "Because thou drownedst they drowned thee," *Mechilt.* on Exod. xv. 8 and Jer. Targ. on Exod. xviii. 11. All these facts indicate wide-spread Jewish traditions, from Nehemiah down to the first century and later, about the retributive "*drowning*" or "*casting into the depths as a stone, or, as lead*." And that our poet has this in view is confirmed by the context in his Ode and in Exodus. Moses in Exodus said to Israel about their Egyptian pursuers (xiv. 13) "*Ye shall see them no more for ever.*" Now there is no passage in the Bible where the changes are so rung on "*seeing no more*." Previously, by a dramatic irony, Pharaoh says to Moses (Exod. x. 28) "*take heed to thyself, see my face no more,*" unconsciously predicting his own destruction. Then Moses retorts, consciously predicting it, (*ib.* 29) "*Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face no more.*" Then comes this "*Ye shall see them no more,*" meaning "*They will perish.*" And lastly there comes, in Deuteronomy, a threat that this promise will be cancelled if Israel rebels, for then (Deut. xxviii. 68) "*The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I said..., Thou shalt see it no more again.*"

In the face of all this reiteration of a phrase ("*see no more*") rare, if recurrent, in O.T., it is hardly possible to deny that the poet is alluding to it when he says (Ode xxv. 3—4) "*Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me. I shall see him (i.e. Egypt, or Pharaoh) no more*" (where R.H. (2nd ed., note) and H. accept "*them*" [*i.e.* the Egyptians] (from *Pistis*) for "*him*"). And then come the words under consideration, meaning, in effect, "*Just when my persecutors were saying concerning me, 'He hath gone down to Sheol as lead and God hath forsaken him,'*"

(*lit.* that is not corrupt, *i.e.* not liable to decay)—the Fulness of the aeons and their Father¹.

just in that moment 'thy face was with me' guiding me across the Sea, in which my persecutors were themselves to sink *as lead* in the mighty waters." "Like lead" (Mandelk. 906) occurs nowhere in the Bible except Exod. xv. 10, and the Syr. for it there is the same as it is here.

If this explanation is correct, it is a noteworthy instance of the subtle and pervading influence of Jewish tradition in general, and the Exodus and the Song of Moses in particular, upon the writer of the Odes, and of the reasonableness of attempting to explain his obscurities first of all from these sources.

AEONS

¹ [3781 *i*] "The Fulness of the aeons and their Father." In Scripture, the Heb. word rendered by LXX *aeon* is perhaps best explained as meaning originally (Gesen. 761 *b*) "hidden," and hence (1) the hidden and infinite past, (2) the hidden and infinite future. In such a scriptural phrase as "from *aeon* to *aeon*" (R.V. "from everlasting to everlasting"), present time appears to be regarded as a mere border line dividing the two hidden and infinite regions of time past and time future. But when people began to lay stress on the corrupt present ("this") as destined to give way to a better future ("the coming"), some might drop the past out of thought, concentrating their minds on the contrast between the present and the future. Accordingly, Rabbinical doctrine mostly speaks of two aeons, (1) the present (2) the future, and of these as opposed to one another. The Gospels and Epistles also recognise "*this aeon*" as opposed to "*the aeon that is to come*"; but they do not deny, or imply the denial of, *more aeons beside the one that is to come immediately*. The use of the plural *aeons* in some passages of the *Test. XII Patr.* (e.g. *Jos.* xviii. 1 (no v.r.) and several others where Prof. Charles has the pl. in his text) combines with the Pauline use (Rom. i. 25, ix. 5 &c.) to shew that, *in certain phrases* ("for ever" &c.) the Jews retained the thought of a plurality of *aeons*, which is manifest in Ps. cxlv. 13 "a kingdom of *all aeons*." Even outside these phrases we find Eph. ii. 7 "that he might shew forth in the *aeons that are coming*," and Heb. ix. 26 "but now, once for all, at the *consummation of the aeons*" (and comp. *Test. XII Patr. Lev.* x. 2 ἐπὶ τῇ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, with ε τοῦ αἰῶνος) where we can hardly suppose that *two* aeons are meant. Under these circumstances, the supposition that in Heb. i. 2 "through whom also he made *the aeons*," "two" is to be supplied, or assumed as intended, is—though possible—very improbable.

[3781 *j*] As the Ephesian Epistle lays stress on the future *aeons*,

so does the Acts (iii. 21, xv. 18 ἀπ' αἰῶνος, the only mentions of the word) on the past *aeon* (sing.), and the Colossian Epistle on the past *aeons* (pl.) (i. 26) "the mystery that hath been hidden from the *aeons*." Coloss. adds "and from the *generations*," where Lightf. says "an αἰὼν is made up of many *γενεαί*, comp. Eph. iii. 21 εἰς πᾶσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων..." Comp. also Is. li. 9 "as in the days of old, the *generations* of [past] *aeons*," where the Targ. paraphrases *aeons* by a variation of "of old," LXX mistranslates, and Rashi, Ibn Ezra, the Talmuds, and the Midrash, are silent as to "the generations of aeons."

[3781 *k*] This leads us to regard *aeon* as denoting something more than time that can be measured by clocks or stars or visible moving objects. In New Hebrew (Levy iii. 656 *b*, and Wagens. *Sota* pp. 76—7) the word is used in the pl. to denote the *Ages* of Man from birth to death. There are (Ps. ciii. 1—2, 22, civ. 1, 35) five passages in Scripture where the Psalmist calls on his "soul" to "bless the Lord," and Rashi comments on the first of them as though the Psalmist called on all the Ages of Man to bless God ("intuitu quinque seculorum in quibus homo versatur prout dixerunt Rabbini nostri..."). Also the Midr. on Ps. ciii. (Wü. ii. 106) describes David as seeing five *aeons*, at different stages of human existence. On Exod. xxviii. 30 Jer. Targ. speaks of "the NAME by which were created the 310 *aeons*," where 310 refers to the words of Wisdom in Prov. viii. 21 "that I may cause them that love me to inherit SUBSTANCE (lit. 'that which IS')," the word "substance" being interpreted numerically as "310" (see *Sanhedr.* 100 *a* and *Tehill.* i. 52) and meaning "310 worlds, or *aeons*."

[3781 *l*] Those who used *aeons* in this mystical way would seem to have meant that the lovers of Wisdom inherited "the *fulness* of Wisdom," "the totality of the *thoughts* of Wisdom." And Philo seems to have taken this view. He (i. 277) regards *aeon*, "age," as the archetype, or spiritual equivalent, of *chronos*, "time." Time, *chronos*, is measured by the motions of the visible Cosmos, who is "the younger son" of the Father, whence it follows that Time (i. 277) "has the rank of grandson in relation to God"; not Time, he says, but "Age, *aeon*, is the name that must be given to their life (βίος)"—by "their" apparently meaning that of God and the Elder Son, the Logos. Age, *aeon* (he implies) is measured by the motions of the invisible Logos, who is the Elder Son of the Father. Hence, though he does not use the expression, he would apparently agree with the statement, that the Logos, or Word, is "the Father of the aeons," and would interpret in this sense the expression in the present Ode.

This expression would also accord with the Jewish title "The Leader of the Age (or, World)," applied to a great Rabbi. The Midrash on Ps. lxxvii. 5 "the years of the *aeons*" (where Rashi has "compassions to our fathers," *i.e.* to the Patriarchs) says that it means "the days

of the *Fathers of the Age* (or, *World*).” Hillel and Shammai (Levy i. 3 a) were called “*Fathers of the Age*.” Much more might a Jewish poet in the first century describe the Lord as “the Father of the Ages.”

[3781 m] That the Lord is also “the Fulness of the Ages,” that is to say, the Being that gives to time (as well as to space) its meaning, purpose, and spiritual activity, not only including it in Himself (being Himself the PLACE and TIME of all that is) but also filling it with Himself, is in accordance with Philonian doctrine, as well as with that in the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles. For Philo has said that *aeon* must be the name given to the “life,” *βίος*, of God—if we are to speak of God as having a *βίος*—and it is essential that He should fill His own life with Himself and give it “fulness,” as he says with regard to place (i. 52) “God is Himself His own Place and is filled by Himself.” The Philonian doctrine of the *aeons* presupposes measurement, not by the motions of the stars, but by the fruitful motions of God’s Revelation of Himself, in His due season.

[3781 n] Hence, like our author, Philo emphasizes the connection of the *aeons* with “fruit” and “season.” “In *aeon*,” he says (i. 277) “nothing has passed away, nothing is future, but everything simply subsists (ὑφέστηκεν).” As the pillar to a house, and as the mind to the soul, so (i. 455) is the Saint to the generation in which he lives. Such a one was Noah. And from Noah’s roots there sprang “a race that brought forth the three *fruits* of ‘him that seeth,’ namely, Israel. [These are] *measures of aeon*—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.” By these he means three faculties, developed in three phases—faith, joy, and insight. It is God’s “season (*καιρός*)” that brings forth these virtues, as in the case of the birth of Isaac from Sarah (Gen. xviii. 10) (LXX) “according to this *season*.” Elsewhere (i. 619) referring to the birth of Isaac which was to be “in the *next* (lit. *other*) *year*” (Gen. xvii. 21 ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἑτέρῳ), he says that the “*other year*” does not mean measurable time, but *aeon*, “that extraordinary, strange, and really new thing...whose lot it is to be the pattern and archetype of *chronos*.”

[3781 o] Origen also speaks of “a single year (*ἐνιαυτός*) of *aeons*,” though he does not mention Isaac. In *Orat. Lib.* § 27, Lomm. xvii. 226—7, and also in *Comm. Matth.* xv. 31, he grapples with the “difficulty that has often presented itself” to him (πολλάκις δέ μοι ἐπῆλθεν ἀπορεῖν) in the “two apostolic sayings” of Heb. ix. 26 and Eph. ii. 7, and suggests that “the consummation of the *aeons*” means the “end of a *single-year* (*ἐνιαυτὸν*) of *aeons*, so to speak” of which the last month is the last *aeon*, preparing the way for a new year of *aeons*. The *aeons*, he says, “*fill-up* (*συνμπληρούντων*) a kind of *year*”—i.e. the old year, the pre-messianic year. No doubt that would be true. But that pre-messianic limitation would apply rather to Gal. iv. 4 τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου than to Eph. i. 10 εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν. The latter would

seem to include all God's *καίροι*, from the alpha to the omega, the whole scale of His harmonious thoughts. And this is what our author probably means by the *aeons* of which the Lord is, at once, "the Fulness and the Father."

[3781 ρ] We pass to the consideration of the earliest use of the phrase "Father of the aeons."

R.H. 2nd ed. adds n. "For the expression 'Father of the Ages' cf. 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxxv. 2, lv. 6, lxi. 2, and Is. xi. 6 (Heb.)." This might give the impression that the phrase was used in *all these passages* and was a common one in the first century.

[3781 ρ] (1) But "Father" is not used in Clem. lv. 6 τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, Θεὸν τῶν αἰώνων (which Lightf. renders "*the God of all the ages*," comparing Ps. cxlv. 13) nor in lxi. 2 δέσποτα ἐπουράνιε, βασιλεὺ τῶν αἰώνων. In the *single passage* where it is used xxxv. 2 ὁ δημιουργὸς κ. πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ πανάγιος (C. ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν αἰώνων κ. πατὴρ πανάγιος) αὐτὸς γινώσκει..., the writer, after mentioning the gifts of God that are, as Lightfoot renders, "already within our cognisance," argues, "What then are the joys in store for those who remain steadfast to the end?" These, he says, "the Artificer and *Father of the aeons* Himself [alone] knoweth." The expression, though not so remarkable as the one in the Ode (because, in Clement, the way for "Father" is prepared by "Artificer") still deserves notice, as indicating that Clement uses this rare phrase in a special sense to denote the aeons to come, in which God will manifest His blessings, not only as their Artificer, or Creator, but also as their Father.

[3781 ρ] (2) In "Is. xi. 6 (Heb.)," which should be Is. ix. 5 (Heb.) (R.V. ix. 6) the text does not mention "aeons." It has, not *oulām* but 'ad. R.V. has "everlasting Father," and Field renders the Heb. "pater perpetuus," Aq. "the Father still (πατὴρ ἔτι)," and the Targum omits "Father," so that the Heb. cannot be adduced as illustrating "Father of the aeons." The LXX is confused, some MSS. conflating πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος with ἐξουσιαστής. Theod. has "Father," but omits "aeons." Sym. is the only Greek interpreter that uses the word "aeon," and he has only the sing. πατὴρ αἰῶνος.

[3781 ς] (3) It is important to distinguish "*Father of the aeons*" from the comparatively commonplace "*King of the aeons*." For the latter is comparatively common. It is found in Tobit xiii. 6, 10 and 1 Tim. i. 17. (Comp. Is. vi. 5 (Targ.) "mine eyes have seen the glory of the majesty of the *king of the aeon[s]*, the Lord of hosts," Jerem. x. 10 (Targ.) "The Lord is the true God, He is the living God and the *king of the aeons*."") On *Enoch* ix. 4 see 3781 t.

[3781 t] (4) On Rev. xv. 3 "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying...righteous and true are thy ways, thou *King of the aeons* (v.r. *nations*)," Prof. Swete, who

adopts *ἐθνῶν*, says that it is difficult to choose between the readings *ἐθνῶν* and *αἰώνων*, in view of the allusion in Rev. xv. 4 "*Who would not fear, O Lord...?*" to Jerem. x. 7 "*Who would not fear thee, O King of the nations?*" But the context in Jerem. mentions (x. 10) "*King of the æon[s]*" as well as "*King of the nations*," and the latter is obviously an inferior title (comp. Gen. xiv. 1, 9 "*Tidal king of nations*"). Moreover the reading *ἐθνῶν* might as easily arise from *ἐθνῶν*, the ordinary illiterate spelling of *αἰώνων*, as (according to Alford) *αἰώνων* from *αἰθῶν*. Prof. Swete also quotes *Enoch* ix. 4 *σὺ εἶ ὁ...βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων· ὁ θρόνος...*, but *Enoch* ed. Charles ix. 4 gives *σὺ εἶ...βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ θρόνος...*

[3781 *u*] (5) In Rev. xv. 3 "*King of the æons*" with its contextual mention of God's "*ways*" and of "*the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb*"—which appears (see 3781 *v-w*) to be another aspect of the praise uttered to the Lamb (Rev. v. 13) by "*every created thing...*"—we cannot but find a bearing on our Ode, as will be seen more clearly when we come to its conclusion (vii. 28) "*He hath given a mouth to His creation...to glorify Him in praise*," and when we compare the Ode's mention of (vii. 20) those who "*go forth to meet Him...with the harp of many voices*," with Revelation's mention of (xv. 2) those that "*come victorious*" from their conflict, "*standing on [the brink of] the (ἐπὶ τὴν) glassy sea...mingled with fire*" through which they have passed, having "*harps of God*" (see *Joh. Gr.* 2307 *a* on *ἔσται ἐπὶ*, and Cramer, pp. 403—4, 547, as to the probationary nature of the "*sea*"). The thought of this Song of Moses and the Lamb, arising from the united nation, or family, of the spiritual Israel, Gentiles as well as Jews—extolling what the Seer in Revelation calls God's "*Ways*," but our author God's "*Way*"—was probably in the mind of the Seer very much more often than appears on the surface of his text. How long must he have meditated before it flashed on him that "*the Song of Moses*" might almost be called an overture to "*the Song of the Lamb*"!

[3781 *v*] (6) At this point a question arises as to the precise force of the parallelism in Rev. xv. 3 "*the song of Moses...and the song of the Lamb*." Does it necessitate our taking "*of*," in both cases, as "*uttered by*"? Steph. *Thes.* (under *ᾠδῇ*) denies this, and takes "*of the Lamb*," as "*to the Messiah*," but gives no instance of *ᾠδῇ* thus used with obj. genit. (except, from a Grammarian, [*ᾠδῇ*] *ἐγκωμιστικὴ ὡς ἡ ῥηθεῖσα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως...*). We may adduce the obj. genit. in Ps. cxxxvii. 4 *τὴν ᾠδὴν Κυρίου* which Origen (Lomm. xiii. 163) paraphrases as "*the praising of God*"; but still the parallelism in Rev. is an objection. On the other hand, the song here mentioned seems decidedly intended to be a repetition of the (Rev. v. 9) "*new song*" which is uttered, first *to* the Lamb, then (*ib.* 12) *about* the Lamb, and lastly (*ib.* 13) "*to him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb*."

[3781 *w*] A commentary (Cramer, pp. 405—6) on Rev. xv. 3 obscurely suggests a compromise. The Song of the Lamb, it says, is “*composed* (συντεθειμένη) *by* Him who Himself (?) bears the name [of the Lamb] ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρηματίζοντος)” but it will be sung by “those who tell forth to the Lamb the Great [Deliverance] (τὸ μεγαλεῖον ἐξαγγέλλοντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ).” Similarly, in the *Acts of John* § 11, the Song of Jesus might be described as “the Song of the Word.” But the meaning would be that it was uttered to the Word (“Glory to thee, O Word (3698 *a*)”) and about the Word, as well as by the Word. On the whole, the expression in Rev. xv. 3 seems a brief way of saying that the Song uttered by Moses was, as it were, sung again to a nobler harmony, in a new Song, not only uttered by the Lamb, but also expressed by the Lamb’s life, embodied in the Lamb’s Sacrifice, and imparted to the Church as “the Lamb’s Song, which all Creation is to sing to His honour.”

[3781 *x*] (7) If the Seer in Revelation discerned a close correspondence between the Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb, we might naturally expect to find in his work many allusions to the former. Yet as a fact the long list of allusive quotations from Scripture in Revelation exhibits only two from the fifteenth chapter of Exodus. Of these, one is from the beginning, stating (Rev. xv. 3, Exod. xv. 1) that Moses “sang”; the other consists of the Song’s last clause (Exod. xv. 18, also Ps. x. 16) “the Lord shall *reign for ever and ever*,” or (Rev. xi. 15) “the Lord shall *reign for the aeons of the aeons*.” This appears to increase the probability that the Seer would choose, in the quotation given above, as a climax to God’s titles, not “King of the nations,” but “King of the aeons.”

[3781 *y*] Our author cannot have borrowed this thought from Philo. For though Philo uses (Drummond ii. 63) titles or paraphrases of God more than 240 times—the number of such separate titles being about 70—yet he never uses “Father of the aeons.” Nor does any one of his titles include “aeons.” His favourite appellation of God is some form of “Being” (ὁ ὢν or τὸ ὂν) which—with or without an adverb—occurs at least 80 times. But he uses ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὄλων 11 times, and other phrases with πατήρ more rarely—a usage making it all the more noteworthy that he does *not* use ὁ πατήρ τῶν αἰώνων.

[3781 *z*] (8) Two important conclusions follow from these facts. First, our author would seem to have deliberately discarded the commonplace “King of the aeons” in favour of “Father of the aeons.” This accords with his avoidance (3846 *a*), throughout the whole of the Odes, of the term “King.” To “kingdom” as representing order and law he does not object. But he will not have “King,” as representing the Supreme Person. Secondly, he to some extent personifies the “aeons,” which indeed he elsewhere (Ode xii. 4, 8) represents as, some of them, “speaking” while others are “silent.” In this personification, he never

verges on Gnostic follies, but he uses language that he would hardly have used had Gnosticism appeared distinctly above the horizon. As to the time of utterance, then, we may infer from the term "Father" applied to the "aeons," a first-century or almost first-century, date. As to the nature of the utterer, we may infer a highly original and concrete mind, a poet for whom abstractions were absorbed in personalities. See 3939.

[3781_{z1}] As regards aeons "speaking," or "silent," compare Lactantius on "silent spirits" whom he differentiates thus from the Word (*Inst.* iv. 8) "They proceeded from God as *silent spirits* because they were not created to deliver (tradendam) the teaching of God (doctrinam Dei), but for His service. But though He (*i.e.* the Word or Son) is Himself also a spirit, yet *He proceeded from the mouth of God with voice and sound....*" It is very doubtful whether Lactantius had the Odes here in view; for he repeatedly quotes Hermes [Trismegistus] in the preceding context as teaching about the unutterable NAME of the Son (*ib.* 7). It is true that he differs (*ib.* 8) from Hermes apparently (3814 *z*) as to the use of the title *αὐτομήτωρ*. But he passes on to explain that "the interval between the Son of God and the angels is very great," and that it is of the nature above described. A little later (*ib.* 9) he says "Trismegistus...searched into almost all truth." But if Lactantius borrowed from Hermes this doctrine, which certainly has a verbal resemblance to the language of the Odes, it raises the question whether our poet, too, may not have been influenced by what were called, in Plutarch's time, "the books of Hermes." They must have been well known to him, and some of them treated of subjects akin to the subjects of the Odes. "They report," says Plutarch (*De Iside* § 61) "that in *what are called the books of Hermes* it has been written about the sacred names that...Horus...was called Apollo by the Greeks." Clement of Alexandria (757) enumerating the "forty-two books of Hermes," places first "the one that contains the *hymns of the Gods*, and secondly the one that contains the *plan* (ἐκλογισμὸν) of the royal life." Such books could hardly fail to influence—though often negatively or in a reactionary manner—a poet in the first century singing "songs of Solomon," in a spiritual sense, that is to say, songs in some sense "royal," and accordant with some "*plan of the royal life*."

[3781_{z2}] The Book of the King seems identical with the book entitled "*The Perfect Word* (Λόγος τέλειος)." It is called in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* ii. 926 "*discourse of initiation*." But the following passage (in which T. and T. Clark's transl. renders it "*that finished discourse*") shews that Lactantius rendered it "Sermo Perfectus." The passage also explains why it was sometimes called "Asclepius," from the name of a disciple, who played the part of interlocutor in the treatise, and who is perhaps regarded as having written it (*Lact. Inst.* ii. 16) "Denique affirmat *Hermes...Μία, inquit, φυλακή εὐσέβεια...Quid sit autem εὐσέβεια alio loco his verbis testatur, dicens: ἡ γὰρ εὐσέβεια γνῶσις ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. Asclepius*

§ 7. *The "Way" is the "Son"*

[3782] Having, in the last section, declared that the Lord is "the Father" of the "aeons," the poet will now turn to speak of "the Son," through whom, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, God "made the aeons¹." This will be the more natural because he has spoken of our "receiving" the Lord, thus raising the question *whom* precisely we are to "receive," whether it is the Lord as Father, or the Lord as Son. The Fourth Gospel says, concerning the Logos, "As many as received him, to them gave he (the Logos) authority to become children of God"; but it adds that these "were begotten," not from man, but "from God²." This appears to shew that, in describing this "receiving," one writer might mention the Father, while another might mention the Son, as giving men this "authority" to become His children. For it is given by the Father through the Son. But again, a third writer might describe the Father as giving to the Son the power of revealing Himself—that is, the Son—to men, so that through knowing and loving the Son, they may arrive at the knowledge and love of the Father. And this is one line of thought apparent in the following section of the Ode.

[3783] But there is also another thought, latent, but perceptible and of great importance—traceable in the introduction and repetition of the word "see" to express this "reception" of

quoque, auditor ejus, eandem sententiam latius explicavit in illo Sermone Perfecto, quem scripsit ad regem. Uterque vero daemones esse affirmat ...quos ideo Trismegistus ἀγγέλους πονηροὺς appellat" (in Lact. Inst. iv. 6 [δ] λόγος τέλειος is correctly transl. by Clark "The Perfect Word," but in ib. vi. 25 the Latin is rendered "that perfect discourse").

Clement, in the Prayer and Poem that conclude his *Instructor*, says not only that God's aeons are (311) "His glory," but also that the All-subduing Word is (ib. 312) στήριγμα πόνων αἰωνοχαρές, apparently meaning that while the aeons glorify Him He also rejoices in them.

¹ Heb. i. 2.

² Jn i. 12—13.

divine truth. Above, the poet has said, "I trembled not when I *saw* Him¹." In the opening of the forthcoming section he will speak of those to whom the Son has power to make Himself "*seen*."² At the end of it, he will describe a procession of worship and praise in which "*the seers* shall come before Him (*i.e.* the Father) and *shall be seen* before Him³." This antithesis between "seeing" God and "being seen" by Him can be almost demonstrated to come straight out of Jewish tradition. The Hebrew passive "*to be seen*" (rendered by R.V. "to appear") is used in the Bible not only of the "appearances" of God to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, but also of the "appearances" of the Israelites before the Lord at the three great feasts: "Three times in a year shall all thy males *be seen* before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose... and they shall not *be seen* before the Lord empty⁴." Now this word "*being-seen*" was so closely connected with an offering to God that the noun was used to mean "offering⁵." But, further, it happens that the word in Scripture might be pointed so as to mean "*shall see*" as well as "*shall be seen*." Hence the Rabbis discussed which reading was to be adopted, and even asked whether a blind man, or a man blind with one eye, was exempt from this command⁶. Obviously it was

¹ Ode vii. 7, H. "sah."

² Ode vii. 14, H. "erscheinen."

³ [3783 a] Ode vii. 21, H. "sich zeigen." Comp. Gen. xlv. 29 "he (*i.e.* Joseph) *presented himself* unto him," where this Syr. word occurs (*Thes.* 1234). H.'s variations in vii. 7, 14, 21—(1) "sah," (2) "erscheinen," (3) "sich zeigen"—may disguise the fact that the Syr. has only one verb in two forms (1) "*see*," (2) "*cause-oneself-to-be-seen*."

⁴ Deut. xvi. 16, comp. Exod. xxiii. 17.

⁵ [3783 b] Levy iv. 406 a "das Erscheinen im Tempel; da aber hierzu Opfer erforderlich waren (vgl. Dt. xvi. 16 'Alle deine Männlichen sollen sehen'—[act. *shall see*, but massoret. pass. *shall be seen*]—'das Angesicht Gottes, und sein Angesicht soll nicht leer, ohne Opfer gesehen werden'...) dah. bedeutet auch *das Darbringen der Opfer*."

⁶ [3783 c] *Chag.* 2 a (Streane) quotes Jochanan ben Dahabai, "a second-century teacher," as saying, in the name of Rabbi Jehudah, "He who is blind in one eye is exempt from the holocaust, as it is said, '*He*

possible to adopt both readings. "Those who came in the right spirit to *be seen* by God would also *see* Him." And this view our author seems to have taken. Of course all this play on the word "*seeing*" would be greatly stimulated by traditions—such as those adopted by Philo and Origen, sometimes from Jewish as well as from Greek sources—that "Israel" meant "*seeing* God¹."

[3784] 14. He hath given to Him to be seen by² (*or*, to shew Himself to) His own (*lit.* those who are His)³.

shall be seen, or '*He shall see.*' As he went *to see*, so he went *to be seen*; as *to see with both his eyes*, so *to be seen with both His* (i.e. God's) eyes"; *ib.* 4 *b* "R. Hunna, when he came upon this passage '*he shall be seen,*' '*he shall see,*' wept"; *ib.* 7 *a* "R. Jochanan put this difficulty to Resh Lakish; '*he shall be seen,*' '*He shall see.*' As *I* (i.e. God) *am seen* freely, so *shall ye see me* freely" (Goldschm. "wie ich unentgeltlich, ebenso auch ihr unentgeltlich").

¹ [3783 *d*] See *Son* 3140 *a—b*. Also on Exod. xv. 2 "*This is my God,*" Rashi says "God *appeared* to them in His glory and they *pointed to Him with the finger*. A [mere] maidservant [in that hour] at the [Red] Sea, saw that which Prophets did not see." In this dictum he agrees with a great number of traditions, quoted by Breithaupt, to which add *Mechilt.* ad loc. Also Jer. Targ. I. and II. say that even the children *pointed out God to their fathers*, as the Giver of honey and oil; and *Sota* 30 *b* quotes R. Jose the Galilean (A.D. 100—30) as supporting this tradition by Ps. viii. 2 "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings."

[3783 *e*] Philo (i. 312) says that, in the Song of Moses, not only are "mind (Moses)" and "sense (Miriam)" to play a part, but also "all men (*ἄνδρες*)," provided that they *see clearly and keenly*, τὴν γοῦν παράλιον ὥδῳ ἄδουσι μὲν πάντες ἄνδρες, οὐ μὴν τυφλῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅξυ καθορῶντες. He alludes to "Israel," which he habitually takes as meaning ἀνὴρ ὁρῶν θεόν.

² [3784 *a*] "To be seen by." This form is given by *Thes.* 1234 as meaning "appeared," or "presented himself," &c., in O.T. and N.T. In Syr. (as in Onk.) the Heb. passive "appeared," is rendered by two words (1) "to be seen by" (as here), (2) "to be revealed" (*Thes.* 717). The latter is used in the Syr. of Gen. xii. 7, xvii. 1, xviii. 1 of God's "appearing to Abraham." The former is used in the Syr. of Gen. i. 9 "let the dry land appear," &c., and in the Syr. of Mt. i. 20, ii. 12, 13, 22, &c. Burk. renders Mt. ii. 12 (SS) "*it appeared* to them in a vision that they should not return"—where the Syr. for "vision" is a form of "appear."

In the passage under consideration, "to be seen" might mean, apart

15. In order that they might come-to-know¹ Him that made them,

from the context, either (1) "to be recognised as the Messiah," or (2) "to be seen after His resurrection." As to the latter, comp. Acts x. 40—41 "Him God raised up on the third day and (R.V.) gave him to be made manifest (*ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν* (but D, d, and Syr. *αὐτῷ*) *ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι*) *not to all the people but to the witnesses pre-elected* (τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις) *by God*, [namely] ourselves, who ate with him and drank with him after he had arisen from the dead." Iren. iii. 12, 7, though quoting Acts x. 37—44, makes no remark on the italicised words; nor are they quoted by Clem. Alex., nor by Tertullian, nor even by Origen—although he tries to explain at great length why Jesus (*Cels.* ii. 64) "*did not shew Himself to all* after the resurrection from the dead." Their silence may be explained, in part perhaps by a doubt whether such men as Celsus would have accepted the statement as satisfactory, but in part also by the doubt whether *ἔδωκεν* meant "appointed," or "given."

Compare Jn. xiv. 22—3 "What is come to pass that thou wilt *manifest* thyself unto us and not unto the world?" to which Jesus replies that, "if a man love" Him, He and the Father will "come and make abode with him," where R.V. marg. refers to Rev. iii. 20 "I will come in to him and sup with him." These Johannine traditions, in effect, *take the "manifesting" as a gift*. Our poet expressly takes it thus, as *a gift to the Son from the Father, and a gift from the Son to men*. Probably, however, he refers it to the whole of Christ's self-manifestation and not to that alone which followed His death.

³ [3784*b*] "His own." Comp. Jn. i. 11—13 "he came unto his own [house], and *they that were his own* (i.e. the household at large) received him not; but as many as *received* him, to them gave he authority to become God's children...who were begotten, not from blood (pl., *Joh. Gr.* 2268)...nor from the will of man (*ἄνδρός*, *Joh. Gr.* 2269), but from God." Elsewhere these are repeatedly called by Jesus, addressing the Father, "all that thou hast given me" (*Joh. Gr.* 2740—4, 2798*a*). Also Jesus (Jn v. 26) is said to have had "life given" to Him by the Father, that He (x. 28) may "give" it to others. As regards the "seeing" by those who are "His own," comp. Jn i. 14 "we beheld his glory," and this (it is implied by "for") was a consequence of "*receiving*"—(*ib.* 16) "*for* from his fulness we all *received*." All this agrees with the thought in the Ode, but in the obscure and condensed language of the latter there is no trace at all of borrowing from the Gospel. The two writers assume the same fundamental axioms.

¹ [3784*c*] "Come-to-know." Above, we have had (Ode vii. 4) "*caused me to know* Himself" and (*ib.* 9) "the Father of *knowledge* is the Word of *knowledge*"; here (*ib.* 15) "that they *might-come-to-know* Him," (*ib.* 19) "the Most High *shall be known*," (*ib.* 24) "*the knowledge of the Lord* hath arrived," (*ib.* 27) "there shall not be any soul soever without

and that they might not suppose that from themselves (*lit.* from their souls) they came-into-being¹.

16. For to knowledge He hath appointed His Way²; He nath

knowledge." The writer is possessed by the conviction that to "know God" is the heritage of all mankind, the long-deferred fruit of the Tree of Eternal Life (comp. Jn. xvii. 3)—far above Greek "wisdom" (3768).

¹ [3784 *d*] "From themselves...being." Comp. the Jubilate, Ps. c. 3 (R.V. marg.) "It is he that hath made us *and not we-ourselves*." There Rashi (s. Breithaupt) ("cum nondum essemus in mundo") takes "and not we" as "and [at that time] we [were] not [in existence]." So does Symmachus. This would agree with Ode vii. 11 "when as yet I was not." Aquila and the Targ., followed by R.V. txt, take "*not*" as "[*belonging*] to Him." Then the meaning would be "and we are *His*." Whatever version or versions our author may have adopted, he probably has in his mind David's Jubilate, when composing his own Song of Joy. In the Jubilate, the foundation of the joy is knowledge:—"know ye that the Lord he is God." The *knowledge* that He, the unchangeable Goodness, is our Maker and our Shepherd (Ps. c. 3 "the sheep of his pasture") is to fill us with permanent thanksgiving. That is the thought of the Psalm, and it is also part of the thought of this Ode.

² [3784 *e*] "For to knowledge He hath appointed His way." R.H., 1st ed., "For He hath appointed to knowledge its way," 2nd ed., "For knowledge He hath appointed as its way" (without note), H. "Denn er hat festgesetzt seinen Weg zur Weisheit." "Knowledge" (*Thes.* 1559) is fem., and "way" has a masc. suffix. The meaning of "*its*" in R.H. 2nd ed. "as *its* way" is not clear to me.

It has been suggested that "to" in "to knowledge" is the Syriac *signum accusativum*, of which Nöldeke (§ 288—92) gives abundant instances, so that the meaning might be "For knowledge hath He appointed [*as*] *His way*." But this raises the following questions. (1) How is it that Nöldeke, amid his multitude of instances from N.T. and later Syriac, gives none from the Syriac version of O.T.? (2) How is it that *Thes.* 1865 begins its scanty list of instances with Hos. vi. 9 R.V. "*toward* Shechem," where the Syr. "to" might naturally represent "*toward*," and the other instances are either unsatisfactory (as 1 K. xvi. 33, where the Syr. (*Thes.* 3148) *colo* often means *servio* and may be followed by dative) or confined to special phrases? (3) Is this idiom used elsewhere in the Odes with any frequency? (4) If an idiom so common in N.T. and later Syriac is not common in the Odes, does not this indicate that the author of the Odes wrote in Hebraic style, or perhaps in Hebrew, and that the extant Syriac, in either case, is affected by Hebrew influence?

An expert, to whom I referred these questions, while agreeing with me in rejecting the explanation of "to" as *signum accusativum* here,

made-it-broad and made-it-long and hath-caused-it-to-come to all fulness (*or*, perfection)¹.

17. And He hath set upon it the footprints² of His light, and (?) His goings³ [therein are] (*but txt*, I have gone [therein]) from the beginning even to the end⁴.

pointed out that it occurs in Odes xi. 9, xvi. 4, and in Gen. ii. 7, Ps. ix. 10 &c., but that it is comparatively rare in Syr. renderings of Heb. poetry because it corresponds to Heb. *'êth* (sign. accus.) which Heb. poetry avoids. But in Ode xi. 9, Ps. ix. 10, the Syr. "to" in both cases follows "forsake," which may naturally be followed by the dat., like the Lat. "renuntio." In Ode xvi. 4 (R.H. "*sing unto Him*," H. "*ihm singen*") the dative naturally follows the Syr. "*make-psalms*"—the Heb. verb being sometimes (Gesen. 274 a) followed by the dative. In Gen. ii. 7, the curious *appositional construction* "formed *man* (Heb. *'êth adam*) *the dust* of the earth" may have something to do with the Syr. insertion of "to" before "man" to correspond with Heb. *'êth*; for, if the Syr. invariably used "to" to represent *'êth*, we should find it in Gen. i. 1 "created *the* (Heb. *'êth*) heaven." But, there, the Syr. reproduces *'êth*. The Syriac differentiation may be contrasted with the consistency of Aquila, who renders *'êth* by *σιν* in both cases; and the inference is that the Syrian translator *did not use "to" simply to represent Heb. 'êth, but reserved it for 'êth, in special circumstances.*

It may be added that the Syriac *signum accusativum* in Ode iii. 2—3, thrice repeated with verbs of loving, agrees with the use of the Syr. in Gen. xxv. 28, xxix. 18, and may be illustrated by our phrases "be in love *with*," "have a love *for*." But *Thes.* 2556—7, which does not specify any instance of the *signum accusativum* with the Syr. verb here meaning "appoint," shews that the verb is frequently used with the dative of the remote object, *e.g.* Gen. xlv. 7, Mk iii. 17, xv. 17, 1 Tim. i. 12 "appointing me *for the ministry*." This greatly increases the improbability that at the beginning of a sentence the dative should be used with this particular verb not as a dative but as an accusative.

¹ [3784 f] "Fulness (*or*, perfection)." The repetition of "*fulness*," the same word as that used above (Ode vii. 13 "the *fulness* of the *aeons*") is intended to shew that the meaning here is "lengthened it (*i.e.* the Way) to *completion* through the *aeons*, from the alpha to the omega." R.H. has "fulness" above, and "perfection" here; H. "Fülle" above, and "Vollendung" here. See 3819 o foll.

² "Footprints." See 3786, 3789—90 and 3844 t—v. The footprints are "set," to indicate a *path to be followed*.

³ [3784 g] "(?) His goings." R.H. 1st. ed. "it goeth," 2nd. ed. "I walked [therein]" (without note); H. "ich bin [ihn]...gegangen." The

rendering "it goeth" would make good and easy sense. But *Theo.* 1015 gives no instance of the verb thus applied to a "way." It might be justified in Heb. by Josh. xvii. 7 "the border *went*" (where the Heb. verb is the same as the Syr. here) but the Syr. there has "a limite...quae *est*" (dropping the metaph. "went").

A very slight alteration would convert the word into "*His goings*," and this Syr. word occurs in Ps. lxxviii. 24 (Syr.) "They have seen thy *goings*, O God, the *goings* of my God and holy King," and in Hab. iii. 6 (Syr.) "For His are the *goings* that are from eternity." The former Rashi explains of God's "goings" at the Red Sea. The latter he explains of the "*ambulation, or revolution, of the world, which belongs to God*"; and it is quoted in the Mishna of *Sota* 22 a (Wagens. pp. 517, 523), and in *Megill.* 28 b, with the statement (or implication) that instead of *halichah*, the literal "*going*," one must read the familiar *halâchah*, i.e. non-literal "going," "way," "custom" &c., in the sense of (Levy, i. 471 a) "precept deduced from the Law." In Syr. (*Theo.* 1015) the distinguishing *î* is dropped, and the word means "ambulatio" etc. and metaph. "mores." Our poet would regard the "going" at the Red Sea, not as a mere instance of God's universal "going," but as a type of it, revealing Him as the Deliverer from the beginning to the end.

In view of other instances of confused suffixes in the Odes, I have ventured to insert "His" conjecturally here. See H. on Ode x. 3, and add xviii. 1 (Syr.) "through (*Theo.* 1547) *my* name," where R.H. reads "*His*" for "*my*," and Harnack's "durch *meinen* Namen" seems to need explanation. "*His*" seems absolutely necessary, yet "*my*" is the reading of Codex N, on which see Appendix IV and especially the footnotes on suffixes. As the two Codices differ in some important respects, their agreement in confusion of suffixes indicates that this error may go back to a date earlier than that of either of them.

The Journal of Theol. Studies, Jan. 1912, p. 303 (in an article by the Rev. R. H. Connolly, O.S.B., which has but recently reached me) gives "and I (*or*, it) walked from the beginning to the end," and takes the alternative rendering "*it* walked" as "*knowledge* walked" ("knowledge" being feminine). This removes the above-mentioned objection that a "way" can hardly be said to "walk" or "go," and it seems a very probable interpretation. In that case the "goings" of God—but of God as represented by His Knowledge—are still in view.

[3784 *h*] The alternative "I have gone, or walked" seems astonishingly abrupt in its sudden introduction of the 1st pers. And the claim to have walked "from the beginning to the end"—though it might be justified in a suitable context as applied to the Messiah, or to some Patriarch, such as Abraham (Gen. xiii. 17 "walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it") as representing the Messiah—seems here improbable. Comp. however Ode xi. 3—4 "I ran [the full course] in the way, in His

peace, in the way of truth. From the beginning and even to the end I have received His knowledge" (3848_g foll.). Perhaps "I have gone therein" implies the reception of a revelation of the Way of Redemption extending from the beginning to the end—not "I have run the course of my life," but "I have gone, in thought." This view is favoured by Philo (i. 470—1) on the journeying of Abraham's all-exploring mind.

MATTHEW'S TRADITION ABOUT THE "NARROW WAY"

⁴ [3784 *i*] "From the beginning to the end." Concerning the whole of this description of God's "Way," H. says "Das ist sicher jüdisch, s. die Weisheitslehren im A.T.; nach dem Evangelium ist der Weg schmal." This, if true, implies a discontinuity between the O.T. and "the Gospel," namely, that O.T., like this Ode, teaches that the Way is "broad" whereas "the Gospel" teaches that it is "narrow." It seems at first sight true. Comp. Mt. vii. 13—14 (W.H. txt) "Enter ye through the narrow (στενῆς) gate, because broad (πλατεῖα) [W.H. marg. ins. "[is] the gate," s. 3784 *p*] and widespaced (εὐρύχωρος) is the way that conducts (ἀπάγουσα) to destruction and many are they that enter thereby; because narrow is the gate and cramped (οὐ, pinched, τεθλιμμένη) is the way that conducts to life, and few there are that find it." But why does the parallel Luke shorten this tradition, if it was known and accepted by him as accurate? Why does he omit all about "the Way"? Why, instead of "the Gate," does he substitute "the Door," and why, instead of "find," substitute "be able," thus:—(xiii. 24) "Strive (ἀγωνίζεσθε) to enter through the narrow door, because many, I tell you, will seek to enter and *will not be able*"?

[3784 *j*] That Matthew's text gives the original incorrectly while Luke's gives it correctly, is suggested by the following internal considerations. In Aramaic, "*I am able [to do]*" is expressed by "*I find [how to do—i.e. the way to do]*." The Syriac of Matthew and of the parallel Luke has "*find*." Suppose, as the original, "*will seek to enter and will not find [the way to enter]*." Translators taking "*find*" in its usual sense might mentally supply "*way*." Others might insert "*way*" in the text. Others, including Matthew, might say, "Not '*way*' meaning '*how*,' but '*way*' meaning '*Way*,' i.e. '*the Way that conducts to life*.'" This Matthew inserts in his text, supplying "*it*" after "*find*." On the other hand, Luke, in order to rectify the error and prevent a recurrence of it, not only omits the glosses in Matthew but also paraphrases "*will not find*" as "*will not be able*." But it is interesting to note that even in Luke, Codex D, instead of "*will not be able*," has "*will not find*" ("will seek to enter and *will not find*").

[3784 *k*] If Luke is right, the metaphor is that of a little "door," the Door of the Little Child, the Door of Humility, the Door of Regeneration, the Door that represents Christ's condition for entering into the Kingdom of God. In order that we may enter through this "narrow door" we must humble ourselves, or become as little children (or follow Christ, who

is "the Door"). The children of this world, who will not thus "become as little children," will approach the little door, and—because they are swollen with pride and self-conceit—they will not "find" how to enter in.

[3784 *l*] On the other hand, Matthew—or whoever it is to whom we owe what is called "Q" (*Son 3333 c*), a writer with a fine ear and a sonorous rhetorical Greek style—would seem to have been led wrong by Greek stories, of great antiquity, about man's choice between the Two Ways, leading to two Cities, the city of Life and the city of Death. Both have "gates." The way to Death is broad and easy to find. The way to Life is narrow and difficult to find. All this is beautifully expressed in Matthew. And there is some truth in it. But it appears to be a Greek not a Hebrew or Jewish metaphor.

[3784 *m*] For, in the first place, the Hebrew scriptures do not represent either the Way of God, or the way to God, as being "narrow." The Psalmist says expressly (cxix. 96) "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." *Erubin 21 a* calls attention to this and other statements of the "breadth" of God's Way, and *Gen. x.* (on *Gen. ii. 1*) quotes the Psalm to prove that, though heaven and earth have boundaries, the Commandment, or Law, has none. Isaiah, too, in his description of the Return of the Redeemed and in the exhortation (xl. 3) "Prepare ye...the way of the Lord, make straight...a highway for our God," gives no suggestion of any metaphor from which later Jews could deduce the conclusion that the saints must pass, in single file, through a "narrow" path, to the Kingdom of God or the New Jerusalem. Nor have later Jews apparently used such a metaphor or even entertained the thought. Wetstein, Schöttgen, and *Hor. Heb.* (on *Mt. vii. 13* foll.) give no illustration at all of "the narrow way" from Jewish literature. It is true that Wetstein quotes Philo (i. 316) on the difference between the "way" (the Way of God and Virtue) and the "path (*τρίβος*)," "well-worn (*τετριμμένη*)," which, "they say," is taken by the multitude, the path of Pleasure. But the whole of Philo's context indicates that he is dealing with Greek talk ("they say") such as the story of the Choice of Hercules to which *Clem. Alex.* 664 refers when quoting Matthew. We may therefore conclude that the mass of Jewish and Hebrew tradition asserted the Way of God to be not narrow but broad, contrary to the single tradition handed down by Matthew alone of all the Evangelists.

[3784 *n*] Secondly, it is not difficult to see how Matthew may have been misled while Luke was not. The Original Tradition, here differently interpreted by Matthew and Luke, seems to have mentioned the "narrow door" alone. What this was may perhaps be inferred from the Jewish use of "the door of repentance" (*Levy iv. 156*) as in the *Comment on Cant. v. 2* "It is the voice of my beloved that knocketh [saying], Open to me"; God says to Israel "My children, open to me a door of repentance, even though it be as small as the point of a needle,

and I will open to you *doors through which waggons and carts can pass-through*" (rep. *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 235). To this add the following paraphrastic Targum (on Jerem. xxxiii. 6 "I will reveal unto them abundance of peace and truth") "I will reveal unto them the *door of repentance* and will shew them how they *may walk in the way of peace and truth.*" The door is the door of repentance, and may be called "narrow," but there is no suggestion as to any narrowness of "the way."

[3784 *o*] This is not the only possible explanation. Another is suggested by Delitzsch's rendering of "narrow" in Matthew (vii. 13—14) and Luke (xiii. 24). It is a word which, in the form *tsar*, Trommius (and see Gesen. 865 *a*) gives as repeatedly used both for θλίψις "tribulation," and for στενός "narrow." A form of it occurs again in Acts xiv. 22 (Delitzsch) "through many *tribulations* (θλίψεων) we must enter into the kingdom of God," and Luke (xiii. 24, s. 3784 *i*) prefaces his precept with ἀγωνίζεσθε, which would apply to a martyr's "conflict" when "entering" through "the *door of tribulation.*" A divergence as to the meaning of θλίβω would have the advantage of including the difficult use of τεθλιμμένη in Matthew, "a *pinched, or cramped, way.*" The instances alleged in Steph. *Thes.* fail to shew that the participle of θλίβω is used to mean "narrow," except in the sense of "confined," "encroached upon." But it may mean "narrow" when constraint is implied. Matthew may have taken it so here. But the real meaning may have been "*the door of tribulation.*"

[3784 *p*] Thirdly, W.H. txt, quoted above (3784 *i*), omits "the gate" in Mt. vii. 13 *b* ("broad is *the gate*") and Tisch. omits "the gate" in *ib.* vii. 14. If we adopt *both* these omissions we shall find Matthew recording a precept "enter through the narrow *gate*" but supporting it by a lengthy statement that mentions nothing but "*way.*" Again, Matthew's word εὐρύχωρος, unique here in N.T., is quite out of place as applied to a "way," but is applicable to that which one *reaches after one has passed through a narrow door and reached a "roomy space.*" Thus it is applied to (2 Chr. xviii. 9) "*a void place* at the entering in of the gate" (and comp. 1 Esdr. v. 47, ix. 6, &c.). More freq. it is applied to a wide and roomy land (Judg. xviii. 10 (A)) or to safety reached after "straits," (Ps. xxxi. 7—8) "thou hast known my soul in *tribulations...*thou hast set my feet in a *wide-and-roomy-place,*" but especially to pasture (Is. xxx. 23, Hos. iv. 16).

[3784 *q*] These facts may also illustrate the Johannine parable of the "door" through which (Jn x. 9) "if any man enter in, he shall...go in and go out and find *pasture.*" It is implied that there is abundant room both in the "fold" and in the "pasture," but the sheep must pass through "the door." Not improbably the evangelist has in view early discussions about "the Narrow Door" and "the Confined Way." Clement of Alexandria and Origen give fanciful explanations (for which we have no space) of the epithets "narrow" and "confined," applied to the Way. The Fourth

18. For from Him it was wrought and it hath rest in the Son, and, for the sake of its (*or*, His) redemption, He (*i.e.* the Son) will take (*or*, hold) everything soever.

[3785] In this last verse there is an ambiguity, very frequent in Jewish literature, as to the meaning of the pronoun to be supplied in an English rendering. R.H. 1st ed. has "it was resting in the Son," but 2nd ed. "He was resting in the Son" (without note). H. has "He," but regards the verse as a Christian interpolation. If, however, we adopt "it," as referring to "light" (masc.) we may regard the verse as expressing the thought that Light proceeds from the Life that is in the Word, who was also the Son. And this doctrine, though not developed till the later Odes, may perhaps appear to underlie all of them, so that it may not be an "interpolation." In "*its* redemption"—if we adopt that rendering—"its" is ambiguous. The phrase might mean "for the sake of *its* (*i.e.* *Light's*) *redeeming power*"; but it might also mean, anticipatorily, "for the sake of *its* (*i.e.* *everything-soever's*) *being redeemed*." Taking "its" in the latter sense we may paraphrase thus:—"The Light [proceeding] from God was wrought [through the Word] and it [became human Light and] rests¹ in the Son. And He [the Son]² will take every-

Gospel, and our Ode independently of that Gospel, assume that the Way is not narrow but broad. In doing this, they certainly differ from Matthew, but only because Matthew himself, in this particular passage, differs from the whole tenor of Jewish metaphor, which could not fail to influence Christ's expression—less correctly represented, in this instance, by Matthew than by the parallel Luke.

All this must of course be distinguished from doctrine about the "many" that are called and the "few" that are chosen. Our point is that Christ would have agreed with the Psalmist in saying that God's commandment was "exceeding broad," and that He would not have used the expression attributed to Him by Matthew about the "narrow way."

¹ [3785 *a*] "Rests." Comp. Jn i. 32 "it (*i.e.* the Holy Spirit) *abode* on him," and s. *From Letter to Spirit* 711—15 on the traditions of its "resting" on Jesus, and the note above (3775 *a*) on Sir. xxiv. 7 foll. describing the "rest" of the Spirit.

thing [into His power]¹ *for the sake of redeeming it [from darkness]².* But the last words may also mean "*for the sake of His redeeming act.*"

[3786] This exhibits the first important statement in the Odes about the Light³. It is also a preparation for a consistent doctrine about the Light as dawning from the Word⁴.

² [3785 *b*] "He [the Son]," or "it [the Light]." In view of what follows, "the Son" seems to make better sense. Otherwise we should have to regard "the Light" as personified actively in a manner not exemplified elsewhere in the Odes.

¹ [3785 *c*] "Will take everything [into His power]." R.H. "Will take hold of everything," H. "wird er alles erhalten." *Theo.* 114 foll. indicates that, in the sense "*take hold of*," the verb is usually followed by a preposition, which is absent here.

² [3785 *d*] "For the sake of redeeming it [from darkness]." Comp. Origen *Comm. Joann.* i. 22 (Lomm. i. 42) "Had not men been in darkness, He would not have become the Light of men," and (*ib.* 24, Lomm. i. 54—5) after saying that (Rom. viii. 21) the world is being delivered "from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God," he quotes the words "I am the light of the world." A "redemption" from darkness is also implied in 1 Pet. ii. 9 "ye are...a people for [God's] own possession...who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

³ The preceding statements are v. 6 "they shall have no light to see," and vi. 16 "They gave...light for their eyes."

⁴ [3786 *a*] In the next mention of light (viii. 3), although there may be some doubt about the text (see 3803 *d*) it is certain that "fruit" and "light" are mentioned together. The next two (x. 1—7 "the Lord...hath opened my heart with His Light...and the footprints of the Light were set upon their heart") shew a connection of Light with a change of "heart"; and the next one implies that the reception of God's Light makes us His possession (xi. 10 "the Lord purchased me by His Light"). These and other passages are all applicable to the "enlightenment (*φωτισμός*)" which, at a very early period, implied "baptism." But they shew no allusions to this technical meaning. And the doctrine of the writer, as a whole, indicates that he would have said—in the spirit of the Fourth Gospel, which declares that the Baptist "was *not* the light"—"baptism was not the Light." The Light is "clothing" (Ode xxi. 2 "I have clothed myself with Light"), but it is also something more:—(xxi. 5) "I was lifted up in His Light," (xv. 2) "His rays have raised me up, and His Light hath dispelled all darkness from my face," (xxxviii. 1) "I went up into the Light of Truth as if into the Chariot," (xli. 15) "Light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him." These and many other passages

Here, it must be considered along with the "traces," or rather "footprints," of the Light, mentioned in the preceding verse. A subsequent Ode says "The footprints of the Light were set upon their heart"—that is, apparently, on the hearts of the Gentiles, who are "taken captive" by the Messiah and brought into the number of His people¹. The "footprints" of God are mentioned but once in Scripture, and then in a Psalm in which the "way" of the Deliverer of Israel is thus described: "Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary (*or*, in holiness)²; who is a great god like unto our God? Thou art the God that doest wonders...The waters saw thee, O God; the waters saw thee, they were afraid; the depths also trembled...Thy way [was] in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters, and thy *footprints* were not known³".

[3787] With this passage R. Jehuda bar Simon contrasted another in Deuteronomy⁴ "Ye shall walk after the Lord your God," and asked, "How can flesh and blood 'walk after God,' of whom it is said, 'Thy way [was] in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters.'...Is it possible for flesh and blood to mount

confirm the conclusion that, if the author, apart from his exultation in the Light, desired to deprecate indirectly some special doctrine about it, the notion that he deprecated was, that "light" meant the ecstatic vision of an unsociable and solitary religionist, void of love and of kindness; or that it meant any kind of purification that did not touch the heart with the imprint of the footsteps of the Lord, so that we might instinctively follow in His Way—the Way that began with (xii. 7) "Light and the dawning of Thought."

¹ Ode x. 4—7 "I...led-captive the world...And the peoples...were gathered together...and the footprints of the Light were set upon their heart."

² [3786 *δ*] "In the sanctuary (*or*, in holiness)." Ps. lxxvii. 13 R.V. txt "in the sanctuary," marg. "*or*, in holiness," LXX *ἐν τῷ* (v. r. *τῇ*) *ἀγίῳ*, Aq. *ἐν ἡγιασμένῳ*, Sym. *ἐν ἀγιασμῷ*, Rashi "in holiness." Rashi says "Consuetudo actionis tue est sanctificare nomen tuum in mundo, ut exerceas iudicium contra improbos," *e.g.* against the Egyptians (at the Red Sea) to whom Rashi subsequently refers by name.

³ [3786 *ε*] Ps. lxxvii. 13—19. Gesen. 784 *a* gives only this instance of the word ("heel," "footprint," "hinder part") as applied to God.

⁴ Deut. xiii. 4.

up to heaven...?" Then, in mystical fashion—but with practical conclusions, apparently desiring to lead his disciples from aerial speculations to terrestrial morality—he goes on to explain that "from the very beginning of the Creation of the World, God busied Himself only with planting¹." He leads us to infer that this was God's "Way" from the beginning—planting, not destroying—and on this "Way" we must follow Him.

[3788] A second tradition², after quoting from another Psalm the words "*All the paths of the Lord are loving-kindness and truth*," stops short in view of the "way in the sea," and says "What, *all*?"—implying that it was not so for the Egyptians. Then it is explained that, for this very reason, the Psalmist inserts "Unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies." Israel says to Moses, "Tell us, O Teacher, who can 'walk after the Lord our God' if 'His way is in the sea,'" and Moses replies, "I tell you the ways of the Lord—*all* His paths are loving-kindness and truth." In this second tradition the intention seems to be to emphasize "*all*," declaring that there is not, and never was, any break or deviation in God's consistent Way from the beginning. Whether punishing or rewarding, He was *always* righteous. But the limitation "unto such as keep his covenant" appears to be used so as to exclude the Gentiles. Such an exclusion would not be accepted by the author of these Odes.

§ 8. *The "Way" of the Lord "in Holiness," or "in the Holy Place"*

[3789] One more point must be noted about this "Way of the Lord," in order to shew how the mention of His "foot-

¹ See *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xix. 23, Wü. p. 167). Philo has a special treatise about "planting," as well as one about "agriculture," and our gospels teach us that both these subjects were prominent in Christ's doctrine.

² See Midr. on Ps. xxv. 10 (Wü. i. 227).

prints" here prepares the reader for the mention of the Lord's "*holy ones*." Of these the next verse makes mention—the first mention in the volume—"And the Most High shall be known in His *holy ones*, [so as] (3792) to bring [the good] tidings—[known, I say] to them that have [in their hearts] psalms that [tell] of the Coming of the Lord." Now the first Biblical mention of the phrase "*in holiness*" is in the Song at the Red Sea, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord...who is like thee, glorious *in holiness*, fearful in praises, doing wonders¹?" The phrase occurs again (in this sense according to Rashi and others) in the Psalm that describes a procession of thanksgiving: "The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring them again from the depths of the Sea....They have seen thy goings, O God, even the goings of my God, my King, *in holiness*². The singers went before, the minstrels followed after, in the midst of the damsels playing with timbrels." This Rashi explains "As if the Psalmist said, It is fit, O God, that thou shouldst save those who while they *saw thy goings, in thy holiness, in the Sea*, went before as singers, to sing before thee the Song of the Sea." So, on another passage, "*Thy way, O God, is in holiness*...The waters saw thee, O God...," Rashi says, "It is thy wonted course of action to *hallow thy Name in the world so as to execute sentence on the unrighteous*...the many waters saw thee when thou didst reveal thyself at the [Red] Sea³."

¹ Exod. xv. 11.

² [3789 a] Ps. lxxviii. 24. Gesen. 871 *b* places this instance among those where the meaning is Zion, possibly assuming a procession in the Temple after the manner of the procession at the Red Sea. The Targum has "*regnantis super universum orbem in sanctitate*" (as Rashi). Ewald and Wellhausen also have "*holiness*." R.V. has (txt) "into the sanctuary, (marg.) "in the sanctuary" or "in holiness." These variations, and questions as to the historical fact immediately referred to in the Psalm, do not affect the conclusion that the conception of the Procession as a whole is drawn from the Song at the Red Sea.

³ [3789 *b*] Ps. lxxvii. 13—19 (R.V. txt) "in the sanctuary," (marg.) "in holiness." Gesen. 871 *b* "in holiness." The only other instance of this phrase as possibly meaning "in holiness" (beside Exod. xv. 11,

[3790] In spite of several varieties of interpretation in detail, these passages may be safely accepted as showing that the thought of the Lord's "goings," or "footprints," in the Great Deliverance of Israel, would be connected with the thought of His "holiness," and with the response of "praises" due from the people to whom He said "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy¹." The LXX renders "glorious in holiness" in such a way as to allow the meaning "glorified among *holy ones* (or *saints*)²." It is not likely that our author would be influenced by Greek renderings of Hebrew Scripture. He assumes that the Way of the Holy One, from the beginning, must always call forth responsive praise from those whom He has made holy by the impress of His "goings" in their hearts. But still he can hardly fail to have been influenced by the thought of the Song of Moses as commemorating the creation of a "habitation" for God amid a regenerate nation of "*holy ones*." So at least Onkelos and others interpret the opening words, rendering them "this is my God and I will prepare him a *habitation*³." Then follow the words in the Song, "Who is like thee, glorious in *holiness*...?" "thou hast guided them...to thy *holy* habitation," "*the holy-place*, O Lord, which thy hands have established"; and after these, at no very great interval, the titles to be bestowed on Israel "a kingdom of priests and a *holy* nation," and the precept "ye shall be *holy* men unto me⁴."

[3791] From the thought of "the Father of the aeons"—who reveals Himself through the franing of the aeons—passing, in the following extract, to the responsive song of the Lord's "holy ones," we shall find the transition more continuous if we look forward a little to what the poet says about the

Ps. lxxviii. 24) is Ps. lxxviii. 17 (R.V. txt) "the Lord is among them [as in] Sinai, in the sanctuary," (marg.) "Sinai [is] in the sanctuary."

¹ Lev. xix. 2, comp. *ib.* xx. 7, &c.

² Exod. xv. 11, LXX *ἐν ἁγιότης*, Heb. "in holiness."

³ Exod. xv. 2, on which s. Rashi.

⁴ Exod. xv. 11, 13, 17, xix. 6, xxii. 31.

aeons of the Most High in the twelfth Ode, where he calls them "the interpreters of His beauty, and the repeaters of His glory, and the confessors of His design [of redemption] and the heralds of His thought." Such a conception of the aeons as being the "repeaters of God's glory," indicates, in our author's mind, a connection, which would not occur to others, between the procession of Israel at the Red Sea and the procession of the aeons. Israel sings "the Song of Moses," the aeons sing that fuller form of it which was "the Song of the Lamb."

[3792] 19. And the Most High shall be known in (? through) His holy-ones, [so as] to bring [the good] tidings (*i.e.* so that they may bring the good tidings to others) [He shall be known, I say,] —to them that have [in their hearts] psalms that [tell] of the Coming of the Lord¹.

¹ [3792 a] "Known...the Lord." Comp. Ps. lxxvii. 2 "that *thy way may be known* upon earth, thy saving health among all nations." How will the Lord make His way "known"? He will (*ib.* 1) "cause his face to shine upon" Israel; and the nations, beholding this (says Rashi) will glorify God. But, further, He makes it known through the songs of praise uttered by His "saints" or "holy ones" (Ps. cxlv. 10—12) "*thy holy-ones* shall bless thee, they shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom and talk of thy power, to *make known to the sons of man* his mighty acts." The construction in the Ode is obscured by brevity. But the meaning may be that, if God is to be known "in," *i.e.* *through*, His saints as agents *for* Him, He must first be known *to* them as recipients *from* Him. Receiving His Spirit they will find in their hearts spiritual songs of praise ready to break forth into utterance. God was "known" "to" and "in," Moses, and Aaron, and Miriam, who had "Psalms of the Coming of the Lord," *i.e.* the "coming" to deliver Israel at the Red Sea.

If "known *in*" means "known *through*," we may illustrate from Lightfoot's interpretation of Gal. i. 15—16 "When it pleased God...to *reveal* his Son *in me* that I might preach him among the heathen." But this is doubtful. Jerome—probably following Origen whose commentary is lost, gives—as his first and fullest explanation, with a brief subsequent note of a second "possible" one—"In quo vero '*revelatur*,' illud '*revelatur*' quod prius fuit '*in*' eo et postea '*revelatum est*.'" According to that view, the image of the Son was *in Paul's heart* before his conversion, and all that was needed was that it should be *uncovered*—the veil on his heart being removed. This might suit the present passage. Those "*in*"

20. That they may go-forth to meet Him¹, and may sing-psalms (or, make-psalms) to Him with joy, and with a harp of many voices².

whom" the Lord is to be "known," are those who already have "psalms" ready to burst forth in anticipation of His Coming.

¹ [3792 *b*] "To meet Him." This might seem to point to Mt. xxv. 1 "Went forth *to meet the Bridegroom*." But more probably it points to Exod. xix. 17 "And Moses brought forth the people...*to meet God*." On this, *Mechilt.* gives a tradition of R. Jose, that the Lord "came from Sinai to receive the Israelites as *the Bridegroom who goes forth to meet the Bride*." The picture is of the Bride being brought to "meet" the Bridegroom and of the Bridegroom coming forth to "meet" her on the way. The same passage of *Mechilta* quotes Cant. ii. 14 "thy voice is lovely," and says, "That is, at the [Red] Sea (Exod. xv. 1) 'I will sing unto the Lord'." Amos iv. 12 "prepare to *meet* thy God" is paraphrased by the Targum as "*adorn thyself [as a Bride]* to receive the teaching of the Law of thy God." There is no other instance in Scripture (A.V.) of "*meeting*" God. In Numb. xxiii. 15 (of Balaam) "meet [the Lord] yonder," Rashi apparently takes "yonder" as "away from the Holy One," so that it means, in effect, "separating myself from God."

The Exodus itself might be described as a "going-forth" of Israel "to meet God," in view of Exod. v. 3 "The God of the Hebrews hath met with us; let us *go*, we pray thee, *three days' journey into the wilderness and sacrifice unto the Lord our God*," i.e. God having come to "meet" us, let us go forth from Egypt to "meet" Him. This is probably the thought in the Ode, "go-forth" from the darkness and bondage of Egypt to "meet" the Lord at Sinai (not merely "go-forth" from the Red Sea) "and," on their way, "sing-psalms to Him with joy."

² [3792 *c*] "A harp of many voices." The poet has in view a Procession of Thanksgiving, not of Israel after the flesh, but of the spiritual Israel, a Jubilate such as is suggested by the 100th Psalm which is entitled *A Psalm of Thanksgiving* (or, *Confession [of thanks due]*) and begins "Rejoice-loudly to the Lord, *all the earth!*" But how are the nations of "all the earth" to "rejoice-loudly to the Lord," without a Babel of sound—caused (says the Scripture) when men began to build Babel—of which Josephus says (*Ant.* i. 4. 3) "God made them to be of different tongues and unable to understand one another by reason of their-many-voices (*πολυφωνίας*)"? Our author perhaps anticipates, as it were, a rescinding of the Confusion of Tongues.

Since writing as above, I have found the same thought in an early fragment attributed to Hippolytus on the Psalms (T. & T. Clark, i. 504, on which see *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 103) "And he (i.e. David) then formed choirs of men, selected from the rest. And he fixed their number at seventy-two, having respect, I think, to the number of the tongues that

21. There shall come before Him "the seers" and they shall be seen before Him¹.

22. And they shall glorify the Lord in [respect of] His great-love², because He is near and seeth³.

were confused, or rather divided, at the time of the building of the tower. And what was typified by this, but that hereafter all tongues shall again unite in one common confession, when the Word takes possession of the whole world?" Comp. Clem. Alex. 850 *θυμίαμα...ἐκ πολλῶν γλωσσῶν...*

[3792 *d*] It is not likely that the poet is alluding to (Ps. xxxiii. 2, &c.) "an instrument of ten strings." It is true that that is capable of mystical interpretations (see *Numb. r.* on *Numb. viii. 6*, Wü. p. 400, and *Tehill.* on Ps. xcii. 3) and that it is mentioned in the same context as "a new song"—which in Revelation is used to mean the Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb—in Ps. xxxiii. 2—3, cxliv. 9. But the Syr. there has (*Thes.* 2164) "strings" and not "voices"; and the conception of one harp with many "voices"—*i.e.* representing many moods and utterances of the harper—is much wider and loftier, and more characteristic of the Odes as a whole.

¹ [3792 *e*] "'The seers'...shall be seen." See 3783. Those to whom it has been (Ode vii. 14) granted to "*see*" the Redeemer are now called "*the seers*," that is, "the seers of God," or, "Israel." They "*see*" because they "*are seen*." And they "*are seen*" because they "*see*." Among the final promises in Revelation is (xxii. 4) "*They shall see his face*." One way of explaining Exod. xx. 18 "they *saw* the *thunderings*" was (*Pesikt.* Wü. pp. 67, 138) to quote Is. xxxv. 5 "the eyes of the *blind* shall be opened," *i.e.* the Giving of the Law caused Israel to be a nation of spiritual "*seers*." Similarly *Mechilta* ad loc., though that does not quote Isaiah.

² [3792 *f*] "In [respect of] (*i.e.* for) His great-love." H. "in seiner Liebe," R.H. "for His love." Comp. Ps. cl. 2 "Praise him *for* (Heb. and Syr. *in*) his mighty acts, praise him *according-to* (Heb. *like*, but Syr. *in*) his excellent greatness." In English, "*in* His love" might mean "*in* [*the strength of*] His love," but that does not appear to be the meaning here. The Syr. for "great-love" is the word elsewhere rendered "fervent-love" on which see 3681 and 3809 *u*.

³ [3792 *g*] "He is near and seeth." That is, "He is near [to defend me] and seeth [the enemy pursuing me]." Comp. Ps. cxix. 147—51 "I prevented the dawning of the *morning* and *cried*...They *draw-near* that follow after wickedness (*or*, persecute [me] with wickedness); they are far from thy Law; *thou art near*, O Lord; and all thy commandments are truth." So at the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 10) "Pharaoh *drew-near*," and the Lord said to Moses (*ib.* 15) "wherefore *criest* thou unto me," and (*ib.* 24) "in the *morning watch* the Lord *looked-down* (3731 *p*) on the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and cloud." "*Near*" implies "near

23. And hatred¹ shall be thrown² from the earth, and together with envy shall it be drowned (*or*, sunk)³.

24. For destruction-hath-befallen ignorance (*lit.* not-knowledge) because there hath come the knowledge of the Lord⁴.

at hand to help the persecuted." "Seeth," above, implied that Israel "sees" God and "is seen by God"; but here it implies "seeing the persecution—i.e. the persecutors as well as the persecuted," as in Ps. xciv. 1—10 "Lord, thou God to whom vengeance belongeth...how long shall the wicked triumph?...they say, The Lord will not *see*...Consider, ye brutish among the people...He that formed the eye, shall not he *see*?" This prepares the way for "hatred shall be...drowned," like the Egyptians in the Sea. H.'s Index gives "Nahestehenden" (xxxvi. 6) but not "nahe."

¹ [3792 *h*] "Hatred." On Egypt as "hating" Israel comp. Ps. cvi. 10 (and Ps. cv. 25 where Syr. and Targ. have "their heart turned to *hate* his people"). H.'s Index gives "Hass" only here; but comp. xxviii. 10 "hated."

² [3792 *i*] "Thrown." The active is used in Exod. xv. 1 (Syr.) "The horse and his rider hath he *thrown* into the sea." *Mechilt.* ad loc. discusses the difference between "*thrown* into the sea" and (*ib.* 4) "*cast* into the sea." Our poet may imply that they are rejected "from the earth," as too vile to remain on it. Targ. Jer. l. (and sim. Jer. II.) on Exod. xv. 12 says "The sea spake to the earth [concerning the dead Egyptians] 'Receive thy children,' but the earth spake to the sea, 'Receive thy 'murderers'.' Thus the corpses remained on the shore, in neither element, till the Lord stretched forth His hand and at His bidding "the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them."

³ [3792 *j*] "Drowned (*or*, sunk)." The Syr. here is identical with the Syr. (also in Heb. and Onk., Jer. simil.) in Exod. xv. 4 "His chosen captains are *sunk* (A.V. *drowned*)"; R.H. "drowned," H. "versenkt" (H.'s Index does not give "versenken," but the Syr. recurs in xxiv. 5 (3999 (ii) 8)). "*Drowned*" has the advantage of connecting the passage at once (in the minds of the readers of A.V.) with the Egyptians. But the word means (Gesen. 371 *b*) "*sink*," used of Jeremiah in the mire, or the stone in Goliath's forehead, or the deep-sunk foundations of the earth.

⁴ [3792 *k*] "The knowledge of the Lord." Comp. Is. xi. 9 "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of *the knowledge of the Lord*, as the waters cover the sea"—after which follows a prophecy about "the root of Jesse which standeth for an ensign of the peoples." This prophecy about "*the knowledge of the Lord*" seems to be here alluded to. The poet says that "not-knowledge" is not to be destroyed except with substitution. "Knowledge" must be substituted for "not-knowledge." "Not-knowledge" belongs to (Ps. xiv. 1) "the fool," to (*ib.* 4) "the workers of iniquity," who "eat up the people of the Lord" as they eat bread and call not upon the Lord.

25. Those shall make-psalms who make-psalms-about the grace¹ of the Lord Most High.

26. And they shall bring-as-an-offering² their psalmody, and like

"Knowledge" is to submerge all this and take its place. How can waters "cover the sea"? Various Jewish explanations were given. "The sea" might mean "the bottom," "the bare places," hence "the sins of Israel" (*Tehill.* Wü. vol. i. 16, and *Cant.* Wü. p. 20). But R. Isaac said (*Baba B.* 74 b) that "the sea" meant "the Monarch of the Sea," *i.e.* Rahab. Now Rahab means Egypt, the symbol of ignorant selfishness, greediness, and oppression. Destruction will not befall this "not-knowledge," Egypt, till the real knowledge of the Lord comes in like a flood and submerges it.

¹ "Grace." So R.H.; H. "Güte," s. 3722 d.

² [3792 l] "Bring-as-an-offering." Lit. "bring-near." *Thes.* 3722—3 gives "offer sacrifice" as the second meaning and "celebrate liturgy" as the third. The second includes "offering" gifts, tribute, exhortation, counsel, &c. When used with any noun that can imply "sacrifice," the verb must be taken to mean "bring-as-an-offering." Comp. Ps. l. 23 "Whoso *offereth-the-sacrifice-of* (lit. *sacrificeth*) *thanksgiving...*" On Ps. l. 5. "Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by *sacrifice*," the Targ. says "Gather me my saints who have covenanted my covenant, and confirmed my law, and given themselves to *prayer, which is like an offering*." The Midr. on Ps. c. 4 "thanksgiving" says (Wü. ii. 99) "All offerings cease in the future, but 'thanksgiving' never," and "'Thanksgivings' correspond to [public] prayer and correspond to [public] offering." During the exile, it would be natural that this view should become predominant, and it is apparent in many of the psalms.

[3792 m] H. has "darbringen" here (R.H. "bring") and does not include it in the Index, which gives simply "Opfer xx. 1, 3, in vii. 12 steht es wohl irrtümlich." Having discussed vii. 12 above, we may note xx. 1—3 "Priest of the Lord am I, and to Him I act as priest, and to Him I *offer the offering* (H. "bringe...dar das Opfer") of His Purpose (*i.e.* the Purpose of Redemption)...(3) The *offering* of the Lord is righteousness and purity of heart and lips." There is no discrepancy between that passage and the present one, "bring-as-an-offering their psalmody." In both it is assumed that a heartfelt *eucharistia* is the real sacrifice. But in this Ode of Joy and Triumph, the eucharist of the heart is expressed in words of gratitude taking the form of "psalmody"; in the Ode of the Priesthood, it is expressed in actions of gratitude taking the form of righteousness and purity.

[3792 n] Levy iv. 370 a gives the N. Heb. "Drawer-near," as meaning "Hymnenredner und Poet," and especially, "derjenige, der im Achtzehn-

the day¹ shall be their heart and like the greatness of the beauty² of the Lord [shall be] their sweetness [of song]³.

Gebete mehrere Hymnen u. dgl. einschaltet." This, and Levy iv. 368 *b* on the four senses of the "drawing near" in propitiatory sacrifice or prayer, may throw light on the modifications probably undergone by the Christian Eucharist at a very early date.

¹ [3792 *o*] "Like the day." In what respect? Apparently, "in brightness," as in Ps. cxxxix. 12 "the night, *like the day*, is light." Brightness would imply joy. But there may also be a thought of the metaphor in 1 Thess. v. 2—5 "The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night... But ye, brethren, are not in *darkness*...ye are all sons of light and sons of *the day*." In the light of the "day," when the Israelites looked back on the Sea, they felt that they had at last passed out of the oppression of the "darkness" of Egypt, and had become "sons of *the day*," and their "hearts" were "like *the day*," not only for joy but also for illumination. They had been (1 Cor. x. 2) "baptized" and "baptism" implied illumination.

It is noteworthy that 1 Cor. iii. 13 "each man's work shall be made manifest; for *the day* shall make-clear (*δηλώσει*), because it is revealed in fire," is not illustrated by *Hor. Heb.* and Schöttgen as to the absolute use of "*the day*" by any quotation from Hebrew or from Jewish tradition (nor by Wetst. who simply says "dies diem docet,"? from Ps. xix. 2). Nor does Levy give any instance of "*the day*" as meaning "the day of judgment." But Levy ii. 227—8 gives abundant instances (New Heb. and Aram.) of "day" meaning "sun," and 1 Cor. iii. 13 R.V. marg. refers to "day" in Mal. iii. 17 (R.V. txt) "*in the day that I do make*," subsequently mentioned thus (*ib.* iv. 1—3) "*the day* cometh, it burneth as a furnace... but unto you that fear my name shall *the sun of righteousness* arise *with healing in his wings*...and ye shall tread down the wicked, for *they shall be ashes* under the soles of your feet in *the day that I do make*..." On this, Rashi says, "*That 'day' signifies 'the sun.'*" For the Wise said, It is not Gehenna that is to come (*non est gehenna futura*); but the Holy One, Blessed be He, will bring forth the sun...and the wicked will be judged by it, but the righteous will be healed." This implies a double action of the sun, as upon wax and clay, which may be illustrated, as to the former, by Ps. lxxviii. 1—2 "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered...As *war* melteth before the *fire*, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God." This gives a fuller meaning to the Pauline words, "*The day* shall make-clear." They mean, not a particular day, but "the day," or "the sunlight," as distinct from "the night," or "the darkness"—it being assumed that we are, at present, comparatively, in "the night" (comp. Rom. xiii. 12 "*the night* is far spent, *the day* is at hand"). Hence they might be paraphrased as meaning "*The Sun of Righteousness* shall make-

clear, when it arises to reveal and illuminate that which is good and true, and to destroy that which is evil and false."

In an Ode so filled as this is with allusions to the Passage of the Red Sea, we may reasonably suppose that the poet is alluding to Exod. xiv. 24 "*In the morning watch...* the Lord looked down upon the host of the Egyptians," where *Mechilta*, after accumulating instances of prayer answered "*in the morning*," gives "another explanation," namely, "it was at the shining forth of *the sun*." This appears to be the poet's thought: "In the moment when the faces of the Israelites felt the rising sun which brought deliverance to them and destruction to their oppressors, their hearts, as well as their faces, were illuminated, and became 'like the day.' And so shall it be in the deliverance that is yet to come." Comp. 3865 a.

THE POET'S CONCEPTION OF "BEAUTY"

² [3792 *þ*] "The greatness of the beauty." R.H. has "the excellent beauty." H. has, for the whole phrase, both here and elsewhere, "*Herrlichkeit*" (or, in xxix. 3, "*Majestät*"). A question arises here as to the precise meaning attached to the Lord's "beauty," which, when denoted by a Hebrew word, has been shewn (3652) to occupy a central position in the Kabbalistic Tree of the divine attributes. Also, what is the precise difference between the Lord's (1) "beauty" and (2) "greatness of beauty"—both being used in the Odes? It will be best to consider them separately.

(1) "*Beauty*" is used concerning the Lord in Ode xii. 4 "The Most High has given it to His aeons, which are the interpreters of the *beauty* that [appertains] to Him," xvi. 6—7 "His Spirit will speak in me the glorifying of the Lord and His *beauty*," and *ib.* 18 "The change from the one to the other (*i.e.* from the night to the day and from the day to the night) fills up (*i.e.* if the text is correct, *makes up*, or *completes*, because the one without the other would not suffice to represent) the *beauty* of the Lord." (The conj. of R.H., "speak" for "fill up" seems prob. See *Thes.* 2118, where a somewhat similar conj. is rejected, but the Syr. "fill up" is not quite equiv. to "complete"). In these passages, the contextual mention of "aeons," and of the "sea" the "stars" and the "sun" (xvi. 11—16) along with "day" and "night," indicates that the poet is thinking mainly of God as (Ps. civ. 2) "clothed" in His own beautiful inanimate handiwork, beholding which, we call it "His beauty." This view is confirmed by Sir. xlii. 16—xliii. 32, which repeatedly mentions the "beauty" of the inanimate creation and supplies a comment on the notion of the "*completing*" of "*day*" by "*night*" in the words (*ib.* xlii. 24) "All things are *double*, *one against another*; and He hath made nothing imperfect."

(2) "*Greatness of beauty*" occurs (besides vii. 26) in xv. 7 "According to *the greatness of His beauty* hath He made me," where H. has, as above,

(for the whole phrase) "Herrlichkeit"; xviii. 19 "Praise and (lit.) *the greatness of beauty* [be] to His name," R.H. "great comeliness," H. "Herrlichkeit"; xxix. 2—3 "according to His glorifying He made me... and according to *the greatness of His beauty* He set me on high," R.H. "excellent beauty," H. "Majestät" (which occurs in H.'s Index only under the heading "s. Herrlichkeit"). In these passages the context indicates that "*the greatness of the beauty of the Lord*" is *not manifested through inanimate but through animate and human creatures whom He redeems*. Ode vii. 26 refers to the redemption at the Red Sea, xv. 7 to the creation of Man; xviii. 19 is the conclusion of an Ode describing the triumph of the light of truth over the darkness of error; xxix. 3 refers to the exaltation of man, typified by Moses.

This distinction may be illustrated from Ben Sira who first (xlii. 15—xlili. 31) praises God for His inanimate works, in all their "beauty," and then prepares us for something more (xlili. 32—xliv. 2). "There are yet hid *greater things than these*, for we have seen but a few of His works. For the Lord hath made all things and *to the godly hath He given wisdom*. Let us now praise famous men...."

[3792 q] Returning to "the greatness of His beauty" in the Ode under discussion, we have first to ask whether the phrase occurs in Scripture. The Ode describes the Procession of Song after the passage of the Red Sea, and, in the Psalm describing that Procession of Song, occurs the exact Syriac phrase that we are seeking, Ps. lxviii. 34 (Syr.) "Give praise to God and to Israel [?there is] *the greatness of beauty* for his strength is in the heaven of heavens," LXX δότε δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις, Targ. "Give the glory of strength to God who is over Israel; His excellence (celsitudo) and strength [are] in the heavens," Heb. (lit. and unpunctuated) "Give strength to God over Israel his *excellence* (celsitudo) and his strength in the clouds." The Vulgate has, for the first clause, "Date gloriam Deo super Israel," and two explanations of this are given by Jerome, (1, "Glorify God rather than Israel after the flesh," (2) "Glorify God, not with the lips, like Israel, but with the heart."

These facts lead us to ask what is the relation between the Hebrew "excellence (celsitudo)" and the Syriac "greatness of beauty," and also, in Ps. lxviii. 34, what share in the "excellence" belongs to Israel and what to the Lord. Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 26—9 where it is said to Israel concerning the Lord, "He is the sword of *thy excellency*," and "He rideth upon the heaven for thy help and in *his excellency* on the skies." In Hebrew occasionally (Gesen. 144) and still more often in Syriac (Thes. 629) "excellency," meaning literally "being lifted up," is used in a bad sense, e.g. "pride," "boasting," "self-magnifying." Probably the Heb. Psalmist used it with allusion to the verb repeated in the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1) Heb. lit. "*In exalting he hath been exalted*," LXX ἐνδόξως δεδόξασται,

R.V. "he hath triumphed gloriously," but Onk. "He hath been *exalted above the exalted and the exaltation is His own*," and Syr. "[let us praise God] *who is to be glorified, who hath been glorified above the horses...*" Jer. I. and Jer. II. follow Onk. in retaining "*exalted*," but each adds a synonym of its own (presumably to explain that the word is here used in a good sense). *Mechilt.* ad loc. says "He hath exalted me and I exalted Him; He exalted me in Egypt (Exod. iv. 22 '*My firstborn Son* is Israel') and I exalted Him in Egypt (Is. xxx. 29 'a song as in the night...to the Rock of Israel')." But it adds other explanations, e.g. "He shews Himself *exalted above the exalted*"—meaning (as Onkelos) proud above the proud, tyrannous above the tyrannous (comp. Is. ii. 12–18 "upon all that is proud," and Ps. xviii. 26 "with the perverse thou wilt shew thyself froward").

From these facts we perceive that Jewish poets had a difficult task before them when they tried to explain the nature of the God extolled in the Song of Moses as "a Man of War" and as (so it might be interpreted)—"Proud above the Proud." In reality the Song spoke the truth, but it was crudely, or rather we should say, passionately and unguardedly expressed, so as to give Gentiles the impression, "This Jewish Jehovah is a God whom they adore as the Supreme Force." In addition to this difficulty, was another, for a Syrian or Aramaic poet—that of language, as above described.

[3792_q₁] How was a Jewish poet to express his belief in the truth embodied (3652) in the Kabbalistic Tree, that the controlling Power of the universe, the Centre of the divine Tree, is "Beauty"? The Hebrew word there used for Beauty is the one employed for the first time in describing the clothing of the High Priest (Exod. xxviii. 2, comp. *ib.* 40) "for glory and for *beauty*." It is also applied to ornaments of the Temple (2 Chr. iii. 6). Rashi comments, in an instructive manner, on the word as used in 1 Chr. xxix. 11 "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the *beauty* (R.V. and A.V. *glory*)...." David, he says, thanks God for (1) the *great riches* accumulated for the Temple, (2) the *power* to suppress enemies and build the Temple in peace, (3) the riches collected "for the building of the Sanctuary which is called *beauty* (s. Breithaupt's note), as it is written (Is. lx. 13) 'for the *beauty* of the place of my sanctuary,' also it is written above (Deut. xxvi. 19) 'for a praise, and for a name, and for (lit.) *beauty*.'" This is instructive because it shews the danger that devout Jews might concentrate their conceptions of "beauty" wholly on the visible Temple. Against this, Isaiah (xxviii. 1, 4, 5) had warned his countrymen in his contrast between Ephraim's "fading flower of glorious *beauty*" and the Lord of Hosts, who would be for a "chaplet (3656) of *beauty*" to Israel. But that the warning needed to be repeated clearly and forcibly in the first century is attested by our Lord's utterance of contrast between the stones of the Temple that were "not to be left one upon another" and the "words" that were "not to pass away."

[3792 *q*₂] Mention has been made of the verbal difficulties in the way of passing from Hebrew to Syriac in traditions about "beauty." An extreme instance is in the above-quoted 1 Chr. xxix. 11, where the Syr. apparently renders the Heb. "beauty" (*tiph'ereth*) by the word used in the present Ode, but adds another attribute, and expresses "head over all" by "sapientia, robur, et scientia." But in the Odes there is no sign of confusion. The poet apparently distinguishes between "Beauty"—discernible in the material creation—and "Greatness of Beauty" or "Lordship of Beauty," which is manifested in the spiritual creation. He would apparently assent to the saying of Keats "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty." But he would not assent without qualification. Nor would he assent to the next words—"That is all ye know on earth and all ye need to know." He would say, 1st, "Beauty, in its highest form, is moral or spiritual Beauty," 2nd, "We need to know, and to know on earth, that Beauty, in its highest form, the Greatness, Lordship, or Supremacy of Beauty, is not only Truth, but also that Supreme Truth which dominates the Universe."

These considerations perhaps explain H.'s use of "Herrlichkeit" and "Majestät" to render the poet's "Greatness of Beauty."

³ [3792 *r*] "Their sweetness-of-song." In Heb. the corresponding adj. is used (Gesen. 653) of singing praises to Jehovah, Ps. cxxxv. 3, cxlvii. 1. The meaning seems to be that the sweetness of the song of Israel's thanksgiving—though on a lower scale—is to correspond to the supreme Beauty of the Lord's Redemptive Power.

The Midrash on Ps. xxxiii. 1 quotes Cant. iv. 11 "Honeycomb do thy lips drop, O Bride," and describes the Lord as saying to Israel "I love to hear thy voice" and (Cant. ii. 14) "Sweet is thy voice." It adds that "all rejoice," unrighteous and righteous, but the unrighteous not till they have been chastised. Also it distinguishes the mere rejoicing *to* the Lord from rejoicing *in* the Lord, which was accomplished in the moment when (Exod. xiv. 31) "Israel saw the great HAND" and straightway began to rejoice (*ib.* xv. 1) "Then (*i.e.* at that moment) sang Moses." It concludes by saying that although "everything rejoices (alles jubelt) before Him," yet the rejoicing of the righteous is "before Him [especially] pleasant."

[3792 *s*] Philo prepares the way for the thought of a new Song—superior in beauty to that of Moses which he regards as the Song of the Destruction of Passion. Superior, he declares (i. 694), is the Song of the Finding of Wisdom (Numb. xxi. 17) when "all the people will sing, not in a single part of music (ὅν καθ' ἐν μέρος μουσικῆς) but with all its harmonies and melodies." Elsewhere he says (i. 626) that Moses heard the harmonies of heaven, during the forty days that he spent on Mount Sinai.

§ 9. *Creation's Song of Joy*

[3793] The last section of this Ode of universal Joy introduces a declaration that God has "given a mouth to His creation" that it might "praise Him." No exception is made. Even more explicitly, in Revelation the Seer says "And every created thing that is in the heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things in them heard I saying...", and then follows the ascription to God and the Lamb¹. There is nothing original in the conception of the Ode, so far as it merely implies a universal praise-song sent up to God. That is prominent in the last Psalms of the Psalter².

¹ Rev. v. 13. The Syr. for "created thing" is the same as that used here.

² [3793 *a*] See Ps. cxlviii. 7—8 on the "stormy wind" and the "dragons" which are called on to "praise the Lord." *Chag.* 12 *b* says that David besought the Lord that these agents of His should come down to earth from heaven as not being fit for the divine presence. But still they are regarded as "praising God." A still greater paradox is implied in Prov. xvi. 4 "The Lord hath made everything *for his own purpose* (so R.V. marg., but txt *for its own end*); yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." Here the Midrash adds "if they do not repent," but Rashi boldly says "Etiam improbum fecit ut deducat (*lit.* quiescere faciat) eum ad diem malum, idque omne in laudem suam." It is not surprising that at least seven other Jewish traditions quote Prov. xvi. 4 but *omit the clause about "the wicked."* It appears to assume that Gehenna is as necessary an appendix to the kingdom of God as a prison is to a well-ordered kingdom among men. There, it might be called a "discredit" that any criminal should go unpunished, and therefore, in some sense, "a credit" to the King that he should be punished. Compare the astonishing Pauline saying about "the savour" of the "knowledge" of Christ (2 Cor. ii. 14—16) "Thanks be to God, who is always leading us in triumph...and making manifest, through us, the savour of his knowledge in every place. For we are a sweet savour of Christ unto God, in them that are being saved and in them that are perishing; to the one, a savour from death unto death; to the other, a savour from life unto life." It is only fair to the Apostle to add his next words, "And who is sufficient for these things?"—which will be endorsed by those who, though feeling themselves to be not "sufficient," nevertheless believe that the Apostle is leading us to feel our way to a truth that lies beneath "these things." Comp. Ode xxiv. 6 "They were corrupt from

But the expression "*give a mouth*" is perhaps only to be paralleled by the Lucan tradition "*I will give you a mouth,*" which, up to this time (I believe) has never been paralleled¹. In the Odes, however, the thought occurs later on as though our poet were familiar with it. "And He hath multiplied His Knowledge in me, because the *mouth of the Lord* is the true Word, and the door of His light. And the Most High hath *given it to His aeons*²...."

27. And there shall not be any soul soever that shall be either devoid of knowledge or dumb³.

the beginning, and the end of their corruption was life," where the author seems to find no difficulty in the thought of the Deluge as foreordained from the beginning, but rather to exult in it as the preparation for a new life.

¹ See *Son* 3623 *a* "Luke's phrase...has not been paralleled from Hebrew or from Greek by Wetstein, Schöttgen or *Hor. Heb.*" See below, however (3793 *b, c*), for some traditions about God's "creating a mouth."

² Ode xii. 3—4.

³ [3793 *b*] "Any soul...dumb." The first Biblical use of "dumb" is in the Lord's first revelation to Moses, Exod. iv. 11—12 "Who hath made man's mouth? Or who maketh *dumb*...? Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth." How natural it would be to allude to Moses as the type of a prophet inarticulate by nature, but filled with the power of speech by the Spirit, is seen from Wisd. x. 18—21 "She (*i.e.* Wisdom) brought them through the Red Sea...Therefore the righteous...praised thy holy Name, O Lord...For Wisdom *opened the mouth of the dumb*...," where the marg. refers to Exod. xv. 1 ("then sang Moses and the children of Israel"), *ib.* iv. 10 ("I am slow of speech:") and *ib.* xiv. 10—14 ("cried out unto the Lord"). H. does not give "stumm" in his Index, but comp. 3803 *i* for the *thought* of the Lord as "opening" man's "mouth."

R.H. instead of "any soul soever" has "any thing that breathes." But H. has "irgend eine Seele." And *Thes.* 2430—1 indicates that the Syr. verb corresponding to *nephesh* is not used for "breathe" except in Ethpe. (which is not used here) and that the noun is rarely or never used so as decidedly to mean "breath" (as distinct from "soul") except in Job xli. 21 (12) about the "breath" of the crocodile, where Syr. merely follows Heb. and LXX (ψυχή), as also does Targ., but Gesen. 661 *b* favours a reference to "fury" rather than "breath." *Thes.* 2430 also quotes Prov. xxiii. 2 "a man *given to appetite*" where Syr. part. pass. of *nphsh* is used—apparently to mean "sensual (gulosus)." Besides, if the

28. For a mouth hath He given to His creation¹, to open the

poet had meant "everything that hath breath," would he not have followed Ps. cl. 6 "let every [*thing that hath*] *breath* praise the Lord," where Heb. has *n'shâmâh* and Syr. and Targ. have similar forms? The meaning of the poet appears to be "anything that is of the nature of a soul," meaning "soul" in the N.T. sense, as something more than "breath" and suggestive of human life.

¹ [3793 c] "A mouth hath He given to His creation." This seems, at first, to be complete without the following words "to open the voice of the mouth toward Him." But perhaps the meaning is that there is one "Mouth" *given*, or *appointed* (*Thes.* 1565 "*constituit*") to be the Conductor, so to speak, of the concert arising from the mouths of all created things. Comp. Ode x. 1 "the Lord hath directed *my mouth with His Word*," with *ib.* xii. 2—3 "truth flows from *my mouth*...because the *mouth of the Lord is the True Word*"—and it will be seen that *man's "mouth" is directed by God's "mouth."* This is also implied in the question (*ib.* xxvi. 10) "Who can [so] rest on the Most High that with *His mouth* he may speak?" And it is definitely expressed later on in a metaphor describing man as turning toward God, mouth to mouth, like (*ib.* xxviii. 1—2) the "mouths" of "nestlings" turned toward the "mouths" of the "doves" that feed them. That the notion of feeding may be included in an ampler notion of dependence or correspondence is seen from Deut. viii. 3 as quoted in the narrative of the Temptation by Matthew (iv. 4 "the mouth of God"). Comp. *Aboth.* v. 9 as to God's having "made" this or that miraculous "mouth" from the beginning, *e.g.* the mouth of Balaam's ass, "the mouth of the earth" that swallowed up the rebels (Numb. xvi. 30) &c. But a far nobler mysticism is suggested by a comment on Ps. cxix. 130 "the opening of thy words giveth light" (s. Rashi). "*Opening*," in Hebrew, may mean "door," but it may also mean "*beginning*," and hence the paraphrase, "the *Beginning* of thy Words was LET THERE BE LIGHT." This resembles the saying in the Odes (xii. 3) "The *mouth* of the Lord is the True *Word*, and the *door* of His light."

[3793 d] Of these two aspects of "the mouth," the human and the divine, the author of the Odes for the most part dwells on the former. And here his mind often turns to Moses, as the type of the Messiah. The most conspicuous instance perhaps is Ode xxxi. 3—5 "He opened his (*or*, His) mouth...and he (*or*, He) spake a new song of praise...and he (*or*, He) lifted-on-high his (*or*, His) voice to the Most High, and offered to Him the sons that were with him (*or*, Him). And his (*or*, His) face was justified." Assuming that the "justification" of the "face" means its "illumination" (Exod. xxxiv. 29, Mk ix. 2 and parall.) some might argue that the poet was thinking of Christ's Transfiguration. But where in the Gospels, or in what early Christian writing, can we find Jesus singing a

voice of the mouth toward Him, to His glorifying (*i.e.* to glorify Him in praise).

29. Acknowledge-with-praise (2nd pers. pl.)¹ His power and shew-forth His grace². Hallelujah.

"song of praise," and "offering" to the Lord "the sons that were with Him," as we find Moses doing, in effect, at the Red Sea and afterwards at Sinai? Nowhere in the Synoptists, except in the single Greek word *ὑμνήσαντες*, preserved by Mark (xiv. 26) and Matthew (xxvi. 30), rejected by Luke (xxii. 39), and apparently misunderstood (*Notes* 2902—7) by Justin Martyr. Perhaps the earliest writing that records a Song of Jesus is the *Acts of John* (§ 11)—though there is an approach to it in the Johannine Last Prayer of Jesus (Jn xvii. 1—26) which is virtually a Song. The truth is, that our poet, though spiritually and doctrinally agreeing with traditions that underlie the Synoptic Gospels, yet picturesquely and poetically follows such noble types of the Messiah as he discerned in the history of Israel. Another instance of allusion to Moses—as the type of the Messiah offering up song—occurs probably in Ode xxxvi. 6 "I became one of His neighbours (*i.e.* those *drawing near* to God, the angels in God's presence on Mount Horeb) and my mouth was opened like a cloud of dew" (comp. Deut. xxxii. 2 "my speech shall distil as the dew") (see also note on Ode viii. 5 "your mouth hath been opened"). But in the last Ode of all (xlii. 6) "And I rose up, and am with them, and I will speak by their mouths," the words appear to concentrate the reader's thoughts on Christ alone.

¹ [3793_c] "Acknowledge-with-praise." R.H. "confess," H. "verkündet." The Syr. is the same as in Ps. lxxxix. 5 (R.V.) "the heavens shall *praise* thy wonders," and the Syr. there is the same as the Heb. and the Targum. Gesen. 392 gives the meaning as almost always "give thanks, laud, praise" ("confess" only in 1 K. viii. (*bis*) parall. 2 Chr. vi. (*bis*) "confess (God)," Ps. xxxii. 5 "confess transgressions" and Prov. xxviii. 13 "confess and forsake transgressions"). The Heb. noun (Gesen. 392) regularly means "thanksgiving." The instances given in *Thes.* 1550 appear to restrict the meaning to (1) "confess," "acknowledge" including "profess" as in Mt. vii. 23 (where however the sense demands "avow" and Syr. Curet. has "say"); (2) "thank"; (3) "praise."

The word recurs in Ode x. 7 "they *acknowledged-me-with-praise*," and Ode xxi. 6 "praising Him and *acknowledging-Him-with-praise*." In both passages H. has a form of "verkünden." That word is appropriate in Ode ix. 6 "I *proclaim* (verkündige) to you peace," but there the Syr. is different, being the equivalent of *εὐαγγελίζομαι*.

[3793_f] "Acknowledge-with-praise" is not the same as "praise." It is a kind of confession that God was mysteriously right *after all*, and that one's own judgment, or expectation, fell beneath the level of His

§ 10. *Inferences from this Ode*

[3794] This long and difficult Ode, important in itself as throwing light on the poet's conception of the Way of the Lord, is still more important as illustrating his thought and style in general, his habit of abrupt transition, from picture to picture, sketched in the shortest possible allusions, and often compressing too closely spiritual images that claim separate attention. But it is perhaps most important of all for the evidence that it affords of the profound impression produced on Jewish literature, and on early Christian literature, by the Song of Moses concerning the Passage of the Red Sea. Our study of this Ode, laborious even to tediousness in the examination of phrase by phrase, and sometimes even word by word, will not have been wasted if it prepares us for finding many allusions to that great crisis in Israel's history, in the Odes that follow, and perhaps even in the last Ode of all, which, to a Christian eye, conveys at first the impression of being a non-Jewish description of Christ's descent to Hades.

[3795] Trying, then, to put aside the many minor side-

wise goodness—somewhat as in Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21 “I acknowledge unto thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.”

² [3793 g] The first instance of the second person plural in the Odes was at the end of the third Ode, “Be ye wise.” The seventh Ode ends similarly with an exhortation to the redeemed to acknowledge their Redeemer with praise. The next Ode begins in the same spirit (viii. 1) “Open ye, open ye your hearts,” and continues for some time in the second person, as also does the following one (ix. 1) “Open ye your ears.” After that, the second person is dropped (with the exception of the 13th Ode “Open ye your eyes, &c.”) until the 23rd Ode. In xx. 4 R.H. has “present *your* reins...let not *thy* heart,” but H. “thy” in both cases, which the Syr. requires.

Probably all the changes of person in the Odes might be paralleled by changes of person in the Biblical Psalms, where many passages suggest that the Psalmist composed the words, as for a sacred Drama or Oratorio on a small scale—to be sung by various singers representing (1) the Lord, (2) Israel as a Person, (3) Israel represented by Abraham, Moses, David &c., (4) Israel as the Congregation at large.

issues of interest touched on in this Ode, we may draw from it three important inferences bearing on the Odes that follow.

The first is, that in all Hebrew and Jewish poets, but in our poet more perhaps than any in the Bible, we must be prepared to find allusions¹ to an extent not to be paralleled in Greek, Latin, or English literature. Naturally. What nation had such a history told in such a Book? What was even Homer—regarded as a national history—to the Bible? Or, if it be said that the Bible is not a book but a library, still we ask, what was even Homer—from a national point of view—compared with the Pentateuch?

The second is, that the Jews regarded the Passage of the Red Sea, and its sequel at Sinai, as a kind of baptism, regeneration, or new birth of the Nation, so that Israel thereby passed out of the darkness of slavery in Egypt into the Light of freedom, and out of a land in which beasts were popularly recognised as gods, into the Presence of the One

¹ [3795 a] For example, in Ps. xxxiii. 7, "he gathered the waters of the sea together *as an heap*" appears, at first sight, to refer to the "gathering" of the waters in the Creation—especially in the light of the preceding words "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made" and the following words "He layeth up the deeps in storehouses." But "*as an heap*," applied to "*waters*," is used elsewhere only in Ps. lxxviii. 13 "He clave the [Red] sea...and he made the *waters* to stand *as an heap*," and in Exod. xv. 8, Josh. iii. 13, 16 *of the passage of Israel* (1) *through the Red Sea*, (2) *across the Jordan*. Then it becomes reasonable to see in Ps. xxxiii. 7 an allusion to the "*heap*" in Exod. xv. 8. Then, in the same Psalm (xxxiii. 12) "the people whom he hath chosen for *his inheritance*" will claim fairly to be considered as an allusion to the first mention of God's "*inheritance*" in Exod. xv. 17 "Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of thine *inheritance*." Then, further, in the same Psalm, the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh will appear with probability to be alluded to in the words (Ps. xxxiii. 17) "*a horse* is a vain thing for safety"; and (*ib.* 16) "there is no king saved by the multitude of a *host*" will seem an allusion to Exod. xv. 4 "Pharaoh's chariot and his *host* hath he cast into the sea"—the word for "*host*" being the same in both passages, not used in the Bible (in this sense) till Exod. xiv. 4 rep. *ib.* 9, 17, 28, xv. 4, and there always of the Egyptian "*host*."

God, the Bridegroom, who met them in the Tent of Meeting; so that their hearts could not but go out to Him in songs of thanks, as says the Midrash on the Psalm that bids the righteous rejoice:—"Sing a new song to him. That is, to Him who hath created the New, since He left the heavens and caused His Holy-Presence to dwell on the earth, according as it is said (Exod. xxv. 8) *Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell in the midst of them*¹."

Another conclusion is, that some Jewish poets and prophets, and this one in particular, regarded all the great events in the history of Israel, and most of all the Passage of the Red Sea and the Giving of the Law, as events in the history of the world, destined to affect all the sons of Adam, and foreordained when, or before, Adam was created².

[3796] Lastly, and this is perhaps the most important consideration of all, our poet follows precedent in the fulness—sometimes perhaps to be called the exuberance—of his thankfulness. The Jews were pre-eminently—some will say

¹ [3795 *b*] Midr. on Ps. xxxiii. 3 (Wü. i. 261). Comp. Sota 9 *a*, where R. Chanina says, that we are to read, not "*seemly*," but "*habitation*" (and so Onk. "build a sanctuary" in Exod. xv. 2 for "beautify," R.V. "praise") referring to Moses, the builder of the Tabernacle, and to David, the (virtual) builder of the Temple, whose work (it is mystically maintained) would be concealed from their enemies so that they would have no power over them.

² [3795 *c*] *Mechilt.*, on Exod. xiv. 15, represents God as saying, about the (Gen. i. 9) "gathering" of the waters, "If I *made the dry land appear* for the first man, who was but one, should I not much more *make dry land* (Exod. xiv. 16, 21, 22, 29, xv. 19) for the community of the holy ones?" The same treatise, on Exod. xiv. 21 "the waters were *divided* (lit. *split*)," says that at that moment "all the waters in the universe were *divided*." Rashi, on Ps. xviii. 15 "the foundations of the world were laid bare," says similarly, after referring to the Red Sea, "For all the waters that were in the world were *split asunder*." These statements may be explained, in part, as an attempt to shew the world-wide import of this miracle; in part, as an expression of a belief that it was all foreordained, a portion of one vast, consistent, Plan of Redemption.

egotistically—a thankful people. How could they well be otherwise, if they believed what they professed to believe? Nor would it seem to make any difference—as to the theory of thanksgiving—whether a Jew was a Christian or not. Paul said “In everything give thanks”; but Philo too said, “Let us understand that *one occupation alone is incumbent on us* in our acts of honouring God, and let us practise *this giving of thanks ever and everywhere*, [unwritten thanks] by voice and [written thanks] in beautiful writings¹.” Our poet, later on, says something very like this². But we need not suppose that he borrows it from Philo. At the beginning of the second century Epictetus used similar language, not improbably influenced, in this respect, by Christian or Jewish, far more than by Stoic, doctrine³. The spirit is essentially that of the

¹ [3796 a] Philo i. 348 “is incumbent (ἐπιβάλλει,)” perh. “rightfully belongs to us,” comp. *ib.* i. 673 πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἐαντῷ μέρος δικαίων ἀνακτῆσθαι. Stress is laid in the context on details, such as “with or without melody,” “speaking” or “singing.” But Philo has previously said: “It is not possible genuinely to offer-thanks (εὐχαριστήσαι) to God through the fixed-forms (κατασκευῶν)—offerings, sacrifices, customary with the multitudes...but [only] through praises and hymns—not those which the uttering voice may sing, but those that shall ring forth in melody from the unseen and perfectly pure mind.” This, then, he assumes—the gratitude of the heart. It is “the most proper function (οἰκειότατον),” he says, of God to be beneficent (εὐεργετεῖν) and of man to be thankful (εὐχαριστεῖν).

² Ode xvi. 1—2 “As the work of the husbandman is the [work of the] plough...so also [is] my work the Psalm of the Lord...”

³ [3796 b] Epictetus has a great deal to say about εὐχαριστία. Shall we thank God, he asks (i. 4. 32), for the vine, and not for the fruit in the human mind? To him it seems easy (*ib.* 6. 1) to make everything that is going on in the world a basis for praising (ἐγκωμιάσαι) Providence (τὴν Πρόνοιαν), if one has in oneself these two things, 1st, the power of taking a collective view of the things that have befallen each of us, 2nd, “the thankful [spirit] (τὸ εὐχάριστον).” We are to “be-thankful” to the Gods because (i. 12. 32) they have left us above the reach of (ἐπ’άνω) those things which they have not made dependent on (ἐπ’ι) us. Finally (i. 16. 15), using the word “graces” (*Joh. Gr.* 2743 a) which Philo also uses, he says that, if we had sense, we should do nothing but “hymn” God and dilate on His “graces (χάριτας).” This

Hebrew psalms of thanksgiving, in which, more especially when the prescribed sacrifice of beasts was for the time impossible, the sacrifice of praise came to be regarded as the chief or only avenue through which Israel could pour forth its heart to God.

we are to do, "digging," "ploughing," yes, "eating" (comp. 1 Cor. x. 31 "Whether therefore ye eat or drink or whatever ye do..."). He concludes with this appeal to his disciples (*ib.* 19) "What follows? Since most of you are stone-blind, ought there not to be some one person to *fill-up this place* [left] vacant [by you] (*οὐκ ἔδει τινὰ εἶναι τὸν ταύτην ἐκπληροῦντα τὴν χώραν*) and to chant, in behalf of all, the hymn to God?"

[3796 *c*] To this Epictetian language about "*filling-up*" there is something that has a verbal resemblance in a Pauline warning, addressed to a person who is "*giving thanks*" fluently and lengthily in an unknown tongue. There is perhaps a touch of irony in calling the poor person condemned to listen an "*idiot*," "*amateur*," or "*ordinary-person*"—a word regularly used in New Hebrew and Aramaic to mean an insignificant or ignorant creature, a mere layman, and by Paul perhaps sarcastically contrasted with the learned expert who knows the "tongue." Then the Apostle indicates that this poor "*idiot*" ought at least to be allowed the chance of saying "Amen" (his only task) in the right place:—(1 Cor. xiv. 16—17) "How shall he that *filleteth-up* (*ἀναπληρῶν*) *the place* (*τόπον*) of the ordinary-layman say the *Amen* after thy giving-of-thanks...for thou *givest-thanks* beautifully (*καλῶς*), but the other is not edified."

[3796 *d*] Paul, the Apostle, presupposes a synagogue in which so many wish to give thanks in their own name publicly that there is a danger that no one will be left to listen and say *Amen*. Epictetus, the Lecturer, presupposes a temple in which no one wishes to discharge, or even sees that it is right to discharge, the duty of giving thanks. Possibly the Lecturer may be alluding to the language of the Apostle. This particular resemblance is not strong enough to prove borrowing (and Steph. *Thes.*, under *ἐκπληρώω*, quoting Diosc. Praef. *εὐχάριστον ἐκπληροῦντες πάθος*, indicates the possibility of a wide-spread use of the Epictetian phrase before the time of Epictetus) but it must be taken along with other indications that Epictetus was influenced from Christian sources. See *Notes on N. T. C.* 2805—6.

ADDENDUM ON "DEATH" AND "SHEOL"

[3796 *e*] Bearing on passages mentioning "death" (3734 *e*) in the Odes, the parallelism between them and Revelation, in the combination of "Death and Sheol (*or*, Hades)," deserves attention. With the exception

of Ode vi. 14 "the souls that were near departing they drew [back] from death"—where death is imminent but not accomplished—and of passages that speak of death with a negative, the Odes perhaps mostly combine it with "Sheol" or with some quasi-personification of evil. "Sheol" (H. "Hölle") occurs as follows:—

xv. 9 "*Mortality*"—(H. *das Sterbliche*, s. *Theo.* 2058; R.H. *Death*)—"has been destroyed before my face, and *Sheol* has been abolished by my word."

xxix. 4 "And [He] brought me up out of the depths of *Sheol* and from the mouth of *Death* He drew me."

xlii. 15—17 "*Sheol* saw me and was troubled, and *Death* cast me up again and many with me. Gall and bitterness was I to him..." (so H. "Essig und Bitterkeit bin ich ihm (dem Tode) geworden").

[3796 f] This last passage exemplifies the Jewish conception of "*like-for-like* retribution." It means, in effect, "when I was on earth, the agents of Death gave me gall and vinegar (see *Descens. ad Inf.* § 4 "They crucified Him and gave Him gall and vinegar") but when I came down to Sheol, *I became gall and vinegar to Death* and forced him to disgorge me, and his captives along with me." R.H. in both editions has txt "I had gall and bitterness" (with footn. "*Cod.* He"). In 2nd ed. he adds H.'s rendering in footnote, as "probably the right sense," though "not quite satisfied" with it; but, when explained according to Jewish traditions of retribution, it presents no difficulty.

H., however, instead of "troubled," gives "compassionate (barmherzig)": but *Theo.* 828 gives no such meaning. The noun "trouble" corresponding to the verb "troubled" is used in the Targums of Gen. xxxv. 18 "Ben-oni" (Levy *Ch.* i. 164 a) to represent the "*trouble*" that caused Rachel's death in travail. Comp. *Descens.* § 4 (Gk) where Hades says "*Lo, all these that I have swallowed from eternity I perceive to be in commotion, and I am pained in my belly.*"

[3796 g] Sheol, in LXX called "[the house] of Hades," occurs, as "Hades," in the Apocalypse i. 18 "the keys of *Death and of Hades*," vi. 8 "...*Death, and Hades was following with him*," xx. 13—14 "*Death and Hades gave [up] the dead that were in them...and Death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire.*" In Hosea xiii. 14 "O *Death, where are thy plagues? O Sheol, where is thy destruction?*" Aquila and Symmachus read "*I shall be*" for LXX "*where [are]*"; and Jerome says "The Lord delivered all men...when His soul descended into Sheol (Infernum)...and He said to Death itself and Sheol *I will be thy death, O Death...I will be thy sting* (morsus tuus) *O Sheol* (Inferne), thou who didst swallow down all men in thy jaws." He adds "Potest Mors et Infernus et Diabolus accipi qui Christi morte jugulatus est." Paul (1 Cor. xv. 55) deviates from the LXX "O Hades," and substitutes "O Death." Perhaps he felt that the vocative, more clearly than the customary genitive ("[house] of

Hades") recognised Hades as a god. But Revelation and the *Descensus* combine, in their use of "Hades," the notions of place and of person, and so do the Odes. The facts indicate that our poet would have rendered Hosea as Aquila and Symmachus did, and not as the LXX, nor as Paul. The Messiah, like Jonah, is swallowed up in the belly of Sheol, to whom He proves a "sting," and Sheol is forced to disgorge Him and others with Him.

[3796 *h*] In Revelation (i. 18) the first mention of "the Living one" is immediately followed by the statement "I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore," and by the first mention of "the keys of Death and of Hades" which He possesses. Similarly, though less explicitly, Odes i. and iii. say that the Lord is "living" and that whosoever cleaves to "Him that dieth not" will also himself "not die"; that is, Death will be destroyed for him by the Living one. And at (or near) the close of both books there comes a description of Death and Sheol as disgorging their captives. These traditions concerning the partnership, so to speak, of "Death and Sheol" leave us under the impression that the phrase was associated by Christians in the first century with the thought of Christ's triumphant resurrection from the dead, expressed in poetic language based on the prophecy of Hosea, and shaped, sometimes by the LXX, but sometimes by other versions of it. Among the latter is the 42nd Ode.

ADDENDUM ON PHILO AND THE LOGOS

[3796 *i*] Whenever Philo (3710) speaks of the Logos as the First-born or Eldest Son of God, it is on "*firstborn*" and "*eldest*" that he lays stress, not on "*son*." Elsewhere he speaks of *logoi* (rarely or never of "sons") of whom *the* Logos is the First. It is therefore not an accident that the Index to Mangey's Philo gives no reference for "*filius*" except to quite incidental and insignificant subjects, and that the Index to Dr Drummond's copious work on Philo does not even contain the words "*son*," or "*sonship*." Instead of "receiving *the Son*," the phrase that would occur to Philo would be perhaps "receiving the *Logos*," which would make the recipient *logikos*.

[3796 *j*] We should do Philo (and the Greeks generally) an injustice if we inferred that this implied that a man was hereby made merely *logical*. *Logos* radically means "putting together" or "arrangement"—of words mostly, but also sometimes of thoughts. To be *logikos*, then, may mean to be "thoughtful," which, in English at all events, implies often a great deal more than being "reasonable." Still, making all allowance for this fact, we shall find nothing in the Philonian Logos at all comparable with the passionate affection implied in the Odes.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECRET OF THE LORD*

§ 1. *The Secret of Exultation*

[3797] The poet, having depicted Israel for us, brought through the Red Sea on the way toward the Sanctuary—ransomed from the prostration of Egyptian slavery to the erect freedom of the children of God, and singing the Song of Moses—now calls on us, the spiritual Israel, to open our hearts “to the exultation of the Lord¹.” It is connected with a secret.

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ [3797 *a*] Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 3 “Let the righteous be glad; let them exult before God; yea, let them rejoice with gladness.” That Psalm appears to refer to the passage of Israel through the Red Sea, in which, according to several Jewish traditions, (*ib.* 27) “little Benjamin their ruler” led the way. But along with Israel’s passing through the Red Sea there is the thought of God’s passing (*ib.* 24) “into the sanctuary.” And with this, too, Benjamin has a connection. For it is said (Deut. xxxiii. 12) “of Benjamin” in the blessing of Moses, “The beloved (*or*, dearly-beloved) of the Lord shall *dwell in safety by him; he covereth him all the day long, and [he] dwelleth between his shoulders*”—explained by the Jews as meaning that the Holy of Holies was in that part of the Temple which lay inside the border of Benjamin. The name Benjamin, “son of the right hand,” lent itself to mystical interpretations. Advancing under the impulse of “the right hand of the Lord” below, “the son of the right hand” was the first to leap into the waters of the Red Sea; sitting under the “safety” and “covering” of “the right hand of the Lord” above, “the son of the right hand” may be regarded as the first-fruits of salvation, the type of blessedness and restfulness. In either aspect, but especially in the latter, “to be at the right hand” implies “to be in the secret” of Him of whom it is said (Ps. xvi. 11) “In thy presence is fulness of joy; *in thy right hand* there are pleasures for evermore.”

[3797 *b*] In attempting to follow some of the abrupt transitions in this

It cannot be comprehended, he says, by "flesh," but only by that "fervent-love" which is God's gift. This, and this alone, enables Man to understand—or at least to feel and take into his being—that divine Purpose of Creation and Redemption, that Mystery, that Secret between the Father and the Son—for so a Christian might naturally interpret Genesis—which was in the heart of the Supreme when He said, "Let *us* make man in our image after our likeness." It involves redeeming as well as creating, "war" as well as "peace," but "peace prepared before war¹," redemption ordained before creation—and that redemption a final one, with no more sin and no more falling for the Saints, who "shall be found in all the aeons incorrupt."

[3798] It will be found that this view of "the secret" points to a very early and original conception of what Mark alone calls "*the mystery* of the Kingdom of God." The parallel Matthew and Luke speak, in the plural, of "*the mysteries*" of the Kingdom. Also Mark says "to you hath been given *the mystery*," but Matthew and Luke "to you hath been given *to know the mysteries*:" The two statements are

Ode, it will be well to remember that a name, even when not mentioned, may be a centre of allusions, as in the Wisdom of Solomon. Not a single Ode mentions Benjamin. But this Ode will be found to mention "the right hand" of the Lord twice, and "dearly-beloved" twice, and it appears to be describing that exultation which is symbolized by the joy over the passage through the Red Sea in which "little Benjamin the ruler" was conspicuous. In these three, and perhaps in other points, the picture of Benjamin, the Son of the Right Hand, if kept before our minds, may help us to see that the whole of the Ode might have been entitled The Right Hand of the Lord, instead of The Secret of the Lord. See 3815 *e*.

¹ See Ode viii. 8.

² [3798 *a*] Mk iv. 11 "And he said (*or*, used to say) to them, 'To you hath been given the mystery of the kingdom of God, but to those [others], those outside, everything is done in parables'"—meaning that everything is beyond their apprehension; Mt. xiii. 11 "But he answering said, 'To you it hath been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens, but to those [others] it hath not been given,'" Lk. viii. 10

not quite the same, and may easily be taken as meaning things quite different. It is possible to "know" a person without taking the person into one's heart; and this applies also to "knowing" things, and especially such a thing as the redeeming Love of God. What the Epistle of James says about the "believing" of devils, that Epistle might apply also to the "knowing" of devils; they may "know" in a sense, but be detached from the thing "known," regarding it critically or contemptuously, or with aversion and hatred. No doubt, Matthew and Luke meant more than this, for they spoke of it as "given," and such knowledge is no "gift." Still Mark, besides being more brief, is also more expressive of the truth when he speaks of the "mystery" itself, that is, God's Love, as being "given" to man.

[3799] Again, "mysteries," in the plural, though much more intelligible to the Greek mind than "the mystery," was also liable to mislead. For, among the Greeks, there were many such "mysteries"—Eleusinian, for example, and others, much inferior. These would mostly include incantations, lustrations, sacrifices, or other external rites, varying in many respects but agreeing in this one respect, that they tended mostly to divert the mind from the thought of the one great Mystery of God's Love conforming Man to His own image. Even Christians, though using the plural at first in a pure and noble sense, might gradually tend to use it materialistically, in a kind of rivalry with the "mysteries" of the Greeks, to denote their own sacraments. In Philo's time, many of these Gentile "mysteries" were very disreputable. He fiercely attacks their secrecy and forbids "the pupils of Moses" either to be initiated in them or to initiate others¹. Elsewhere,

"But he said, 'To you it hath been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest in parables.'"

¹ [3799 a] Philo ii. 260 "Moreover he (*i.e.* Moses) removes from his holy Law everything that pertains to initiatory-rites (*τελετάς*) and mysteries (*μυστήρια*) and to [all] such jugglery (*τερθρείαν*) and vile-mummery (*βωμολοχίαν*)..."

however, he speaks of the wedlock between the Father of all and the Virtues as a "rite," or a "mystery," resulting in the birth of the virtuous soul¹. It is seldom that Philo departs from the Pentateuch for his quotations², but on this occasion, with a kind of apology, he appeals to Jeremiah, who says, in the person of God addressing Virtue, "Hast thou not called me House, and Father, and Husband of thy virginity?³"

[3800] The Fourth Gospel never uses the word "mystery." It implies that Jesus will have *no* "mysteries" from His disciples, because they are His friends, not servants, and a man has no "secrets" or "mysteries" from friends. Moreover He Himself is their "mystery," and He, the eternal Love of God, will enter into their hearts and make a home there⁴. This also is the view of the Ode. Further, the Gospel says, in effect, that if the disciples will "keep" His "word," that is His love, His "word" will keep them⁵. So the Ode says

¹ [3799 δ] Philo i. 147 Τίς οὖν ὁ σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς (i.e. ταῖς ἀρεταῖς) τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος θεὸς καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν; He prefaces this by calling it τελετή, and afterwards says ταῦτα, ὧ μύσται, κεκαθαρμένοι τὰ ὄτα ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἐάντων παραδέχεσθε. "In your own souls," after "having been purified as to the ears," means, "not merely with your ears, hearing it from others, but also with your souls." Our poet seems, at first sight, to reverse the order. For, whereas he begins this Ode by saying "Open ye, open ye, *your hearts*," he begins the next Ode by saying "Open your ears..." But, after "ears," he adds, in the same verse, "give me your souls." All through both Odes he is thinking of the right kind of "initiation" in the real and spiritual "secret of the Lord."

² Mangey's Index gives but fourteen instances of quotation from the prophets.

³ [3799 ε] Jerem. iii. 4 (LXX, but Philo substitutes ἀνδρα for LXX ἀρχηγόν). Philo (i. 147—8) says that, though he was "initiated by Moses in the great mysteries," yet, on seeing Jeremiah the prophet, and perceiving that he was not only an "initiate (μύστης)" but also a "hierophant," he "did not hesitate (οὐκ ὤκνησα)" to become his pupil.

⁴ Jn xv. 14, 15, xiv. 21—3.

⁵ Jn xiv. 23 "If any man loveth me he will keep my word," xvii. 6 "they have kept thy word," xvii. 11 "keep them in thy name."

about the secret: "Keep my secret, ye who are kept in it!"

[3801] Where in the Bible can we find a possible origin for this doctrine about "the secret of the Lord"? There are two passages severally mentioning two classes of people as possessing this "secret." In the Psalms it is said, "*The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him*, and he will shew them his covenant"; in the Proverbs, "*His secret is with the upright*."

¹ Ode viii. 11 "in it" or "by it," see 3809.

² [3801 a] Ps. xxv. 14 R.V. marg. "*counsel*" or "*friendship*." LXX has "*strengthening* (κραταίωμα)," Aq. ἀπόρρητον, Sym. ὁμιλία, Theod. and Quint. μυστήριον. Targ. has the Aramaic word for "secret"; Syr. has "thought"—a word freq. used in the Odes for God's Purpose of Redemption. It is important to note the LXX, "strengthening," as indicating that our poet, if he had these words in mind, was not influenced by the LXX. Nor does he adopt the word used in the Syr. version of the Psalm. He has the word used by the Targum.

³ [3801 b] Prov. iii. 32. The connection between "*being with*" and "*keeping*," or "*guarding*," may be illustrated by Gen. xxviii. 15 (comp. *ib.* 20) "I am *with thee* and will *keep thee* whithersoever thou goest." This is the first divine promise about God's "keeping." Previously "keep" has been used of the Seed of Abraham as "keeping" God's Way or Covenant (Gen. xvii. 9, 10, xviii. 19). The other instances (Gesen. 1037 a) of God's "keeping, *i.e.* guarding, in the way" are Exod. xxiii. 20 (of Israel in the wilderness, comp. Josh. xxiv. 17), and Ps. xci. 11 "to keep thee in all thy ways," partially retained in Lk. iv. 10 "to keep thee" (though om. in parall. Mt. iv. 6) and addressed by Satan to Jesus as having a Messianic application. The words (Ps. xci. 1) "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High" seem at first inconsistent with the following verses, which seem rather to describe Israel as journeying toward "*the secret place*." But the Psalmist implies that "the secret" is already with Israel, in God's Presence, even while he is journeying toward the fuller manifestation of "the secret."

Other instances of "guarding" are in Odes xix. 6—10 of the "guarding" of the Son by the Mother, xxxv. 2 "the cloud of peace...which guarded me continually."

[3801 c] The "secret" of the Lord is not a secret of darkness but a secret of light, revealed to the spiritually clear-sighted or "pure of heart." And this "light" may be said to "*keep*" those who "*keep*" it. Comp. *Deut. r.* (on Deut x. 1, Wü. p. 57) "Bar Capra said, The Soul and the Law are compared to a light. Of the former it is said (Prov. xx. 27) 'A light of the Lord is the soul of man'; of the latter (*ib.* vi. 23)

The Midrash on the Psalm adds a third class, the prophets, in view of a remarkable passage in Amos, who says "Surely, the Lord God will do nothing but he revealeth *his secret unto his servants the prophets*¹."

[3802] Further, the Midrash on the Psalm, in answer to the question "Who is he that feareth the Lord²?" replies from Scripture, that it is Abraham, to whom, first among men, God says "Now I know that *thou fearest God*³." But the Midrash on the words of God in Genesis, "Shall I hide anything from Abraham⁴," quoting the Psalmist's utterance about God's "secret," says that Abraham is not only the most "upright" among the "upright," and a "prophet" too, but also the one among men "*most beloved*" by God. This leads us up to the thought in our Ode⁵, namely, that "the secret" is *not*—or at least not except in a rudimentary form—with those that "fear."

'The commandment is a lamp and the law is light.' God said to Man, 'My light is in thy hand, and thy light is in my hand; my light, that is the Law; thy light, that is the soul. *Keepst* ("bewahrst") thou my light? Then I *keep* thy light. But if thou put out my light, then I put out thy light.'" The same correspondence is found in Rev. iii. 10 "Because *thou didst keep* the word of my patience *I also will keep* thee...."

¹ [3801 *d*] Amos iii. 1—7. The sins of Israel are to be not specially condoned but specially punished: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." And, when the "visit" takes place, "shall the trumpet be blown...and the people not be afraid? Surely the Lord God...prophets."

² Ps. xxv. 12.

³ [3802 *a*] Gen. xxii. 12. This is the first Biblical mention of "fearing God" in a positive phrase (it occurs negatively in Gen. xx. 11). It is in strict accordance with Hebrew and Jewish thought that the first man described as "fearing" God should also be described as pre-eminently God's "friend" or "lover." The Midrash on what may be called the Psalm of the Secret of the Lord finds also other Abrahamic allusions in it. In Ps. xxv. 12 "Him shall he instruct in the *way* that he shall choose," it sees a reference to Gen. xvii. 1 "*Walk* before me," and in Ps. xxv. 13 "His *seed* shall inherit the *land*," a reference to Gen. xv. 18 "unto thy *seed* have I given this *land*."

⁴ Gen. xviii. 17.

⁵ See the notes below, on Ode viii. 11—14 "Keep my secret... love me" (3809 *i—u*).

It is with those that "*love*," as it was with Abraham, who was called pre-eminently God's "*lover*¹." Amos says that the "prophets" are admitted to the "secret" of God's impending chastisements; they hear (or perhaps they sound) the "trumpet" before the war comes on the city. So Abraham, as a prophet, heard beforehand the secret of the doom impending on Sodom. But Abraham heard also the "secret" of the Redemption of all the families of the earth, and was filled with "*exultation*" that he might see the "day" of the Redeemer, who, through war, was to bring about an endless peace².

¹ Is. xli. 8 "my friend," *lit.* "my lover."

"MY MYSTERY TO ME"

² [3802 *b*] Gen. xii. 3, Jn viii. 56. In considering the origin of the poet's phrase "keep my secret" some mention is due to Is. xxiv. 16 (R.V. marg.) "Leanness to me, leanness to me," om. by LXX but rendered by Theod. and Sym. τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἐμοί, and similarly by Targum "secretum, praemium justorum monstratum est mihi; secretum, vindicta impiorum revelata est mihi." The Targ. may be illustrated by Wisd. ii. 22 "As for the mysteries of God, they (*i.e.* the wicked) knew them not, neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls." *Sanhedr.* 94 *a* takes Is. xxiv. 16 similarly as referring to the day of the Messiah's coming, of which God says "It is my secret to me, my secret to me."

[3802 *c*] Clement of Alexandria (683 foll.) has preserved a tradition similar to this, while treating of "mysteries" in connection with apostolic writings. First he quotes Pauline passages that indicate revealed mysteries. Then he quotes others (including Hebrews) that indicate mysteries not yet fully revealed to the ordinary Christian, who must grow up to them. Then he quotes Barnabas (vi. 8 foll.) who says that (Exod. xxxiii. 1—3) entering into the land of milk and honey means believing in Christ, "for Man is land subjected to suffering; for from the face of the land was the shaping of Adam...Blessed be our Lord... who has put into our hearts...the understanding of His secrets...Who shall understand [this] save he that is wise and understanding and a lover of his Lord?"

[3802 *d*] At this point Clement diverges from Barnabas. Barnabas goes on to speak of the regeneration of men by the Lord "as little children," as though the Lord "shaped us over again (*ἀναπλάσσοντας*)" out of the earth, "for the scripture saith about us that He saith to the

Son, 'Let us make man'...'—after which Barnabas mentions the first "shaping" and the second.

[3802 *e*] Here it should be noted that *Gen. r.* (on Gen. i. 26, Wü. p. 31) asks "With whom did God 'take counsel' to make Man?" Among various answers, it gives "With His own *heart*." This should be compared with the ancient Rabbinical interpretations (*Sanhedr.* 99 *a*) of Is. lxiii. 4 "The day...is *in mine heart*," i.e. it is "known to God alone and not to any of the angels" (comp. Mk xiii. 32 (probably an early corruption, see *Son* 3304—5) "not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father"). This shews how the "counsel" taken by God to make Man in His own image (called "*our image*") that is, presumably, as His Son, might be regarded as "*a secret counsel*" and as the first prediction of the great "Secret" of the Universe.

[3802 *f*] To return to Clement. He proceeds thus: "It is but for few to comprehend these things. For it was not in the way of envy [but of necessity] that the Lord (it says (φησί)) commanded in a certain gospel (παρήγγειλεν...ἐν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ) '[Let] my mystery [be] for me and for the sons of my house.'"

[3802 *g*] Thus, whereas Barnabas represents God as "taking counsel" with the Son with the view of regenerating the sons of man as His own sons, the sons of His household, Clement quotes a tradition which seems to describe, or at least to have originally described, this same "taking counsel" as if it were the "*mystery*" of the Redemption or Regeneration of Man.

[3802 *h*] Hom. Clem. xix. 20 (Resch, *Agrapha* p. 103) has μεμνήμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου, ὡς ἐντελλόμενος εἶπεν ἡμῖν Τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου φυλάξατε. Here the change of μυστήριον to μυστήρια corresponds to that above noted (3798 *a*) in Mt.-Lk. as compared with Mk; and the addition of φυλάξατε may completely alter the sense, making the precept mean "*Keep the mysteries from others.*" Comp. *Act. Joann.* § 11 τὰ μυστήριά μου σίγα. But the original may have meant "*Keep the mystery in mind.*" Theodoret (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 103) quotes the tradition twice with pl. "mysteries," and in one of these instances connects it with the prohibition to cast pearls before swine.

[3802 *i*] Origen (on Mt. xxvi. 37—41) may throw some light on the origin of this tradition by his free quotation of Heb. ii. 13—14, which cites Is. viii. 18, to illustrate the Lord's incarnation. Isaiah says "Behold, I, and the children that the Lord hath given me, *are for signs and for wonders.*" The Epistle stops short after "given me." But Origen quotes thus: "Behold, I, and the children (pueri) whom God hath given me, *participate in flesh and blood.*" The "children given" to Isaiah, being born as the result of a special injunction (Is. viii. 3) on the prophet, would be said in early Christian times to be (*Didach.* xi. 11) "*for a mystery.*" Thus "*I and the children...are for signs and*

[3803] It is in this "*exultation*" that our poet now calls his hearers to share:—

1. Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord¹.

wonders," might become "*I and the children...are (or, embody) a mystery.*" This might be paraphrased as "We have a mystery *in* ourselves," and misunderstood as meaning "a mystery *between* ourselves," that is, a secret known to us alone. As regards the "secret" of spiritual regeneration, it has been shewn above that this "birth" was called by Philo "initiatory rite" and "mystery (3799 *b—c*)."

[3802 *j*] These facts are interesting as shewing the growth of a Christian use of the term "mysteries," differing from the regular Pauline use. But our author appears to have followed earlier usage, including perhaps that of Philo, but mainly scriptural. He may, however, have been influenced by a desire to combat the notion that Christ exhorted His disciples to "keep" their "mysteries" secret from the world.

¹ [3803 *a*] "The exultation (*lit.* leaping) of the Lord." H. "zum jauchzenden Empfang des Herrn." Comp. Odes xxi. 7 "*the exultation (lit. leaping) of the Lord* increased upon my face and His glorifying likewise," xxviii. 3 "my heart is delighted and *leaps* [for joy] like the babe that *leaps* in the womb of its mother," xl. 6 "and there rejoices my face in *His exultation* (R.H. *His gladness*) and there *exults* my spirit in *His love*, and my soul shines in Him"; xli. 7 "let us exult with *the exultation* (R.H. *the joy*) of the Lord." In all these passages, the "exultation" is the gift of the Lord to the redeemed, like peace, grace, love, joy. Ode xxviii. 3 describes this "leaping [for joy]" as being like that of "the babe in the womb," which Luke (i. 41, 44 (Syr.)) describes as having actually occurred before the birth of John the Baptist. Although, therefore, "exultation" undoubtedly *implies* "an exultant reception of the Lord," it seems better to keep close to the author's text in rendering it "His, *or*, the Lord's, exultation."

It is worth noting that this (viii. 11) the first mention of "the *exultation* of the Lord" is followed (viii. 16—20) by the description of the Lord's "framing" the "members" of those whom He loves; and the tone of the Ode suggests that this "leaping up" of the heart to welcome the Nursing Father is to begin from the very beginning of the new birth, and to remain to the very end, because the soul, in one sense, will always be a babe at the breast. This doctrine is part of the Secret of the Lord.

[3803 *b*] See *Thes.* 846—7 for passages indicating that the Syr. regularly means "leap," and especially "leap for joy," and for joy in the redemption of Israel. Wordsworth would certainly have described

2. And let your fervent-love abound¹ from the heart and [even] unto the lips.

3. [So as] to bring-forth fruit unto the Lord, [namely] a holy life², and [so as] to speak³ [His praise] in wakefulness⁴ in His light.

the "leaping up" of his "heart" at the sight of the rainbow as being—along with the sight itself—the gift of God. This "exultation" is felt by our poet as pervading his whole being—face, heart, and soul—so that it will not rest till it finds expression in a song of praise, in which the love rises from the heart up to the lips.

¹ [3803 *c*] "Abound." R.H. "be multiplied," H. "eure Liebe nehme zu." *Thes.* 2517 shews that in 1 S. xxi. 12 (11) the pa. of this verb means "sang" (? "magnified in singing") corresponding to Heb. "respondebant in choris."

² [3803 *d*] "[Namely] a holy life." R.H. has "living 'fruit', holy 'fruit'"; H. "ein heiliges Leben." R.H. 2nd ed. adds, in note, "Ungnad-Stärk, a holy life." Comp. Philo (on Lev. xix. 24 "holy for giving praise unto the Lord") i. 348 καρπὸν οὐ μόνον ἅγιον ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰνετόν, "fruit, not only holy but also giving praise." Our author says, in effect, "fruit, not only of praise, but also of holiness," and he emphasizes the practical nature of this "holiness" by inserting "life." This emphasis (3647 foll., 3754 *g*) characterizes the Odes as a whole. Steph. *Thes.* gives no instance of αἰνετός active, but the context in Philo (especially i. 348 τὸν ἐπαινετήν αὐτῶν λόγον) and that of the LXX, indicate that the LXX used it actively, and that Philo understood it so.

³ [3803 *e*] "And to speak." H. has "und zu vermindern" and says that R.H. has substituted "to speak" for "to diminish," which is in the Syr. text. R.H., in 2nd ed. of Syr. text, has altered "diminish" to "speak." Presumably the Syr. text of 1st ed. was in error. But R.H. 2nd ed. has no note on the subject, either in the Eng. or in the Syr. version.

⁴ [3803 *f*] "In wakefulness." H. "Roheit" with n. "lit. Wildheit." But *Thes.* 566 gives this only as *vox dubia*, whereas "in wakefulness" (*ib.* 2845) is freq. R.H. has "with watchfulness." But the meaning seems to be akin to that in Ode iii. 13, and to many passages of Isaiah, as also to Eph. v. 14 "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." This prepares the way for what follows in the Ode "Rise up and stand erect, ye that at one time bowed down"—*i.e.* as slaves in darkness and lethargy—"ye that were in deep-sleep, speak ye, [declaring] that your mouth hath been opened," *i.e.* as at the Red Sea, to speak the praise of the Redeemer. If this view is correct, the meaning is, not "watching against enemies" but "awaking to the light of God's glory," which glory extorts praise from the hearts of the awakened. See 3691 *m*, 3803 *g*.

4. Rise up and stand-erect¹ ye that at [one] time bowed down [as slaves]².

5. Ye that were in deep-sleep³, speak ye, [declaring] that your mouth hath been opened⁴.

6. Ye that were despised, be ye henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been lifted up (*or*, lifted-on-high, 3922 *a* foll.).

¹ "Stand-erect." See 3840.

² [3803 *g*] "Bowed down [as slaves]." The meaning might be, as R.H. "were brought low," H. "niedergebeugt waret." But comp. Is. li. 23—lii. 2 (Syr.) "I will put it (*i.e.* the cup of my wrath) in the hand of those who *cause-thee-to-bow-down*, who say to thy soul, *Bow-thyself-down* that we may pass over; thou hast made thy people as the ground and as a street for those that pass over....*Awake, awake*, Zion, and put on glorious clothing...Shake thyself from the dust, *rise up*." The Ode uses the same words as in Isaiah (Syr.) for "*bowing down*," "*awaking*," and "*rising up*," and the poet probably sees the same picture as that in Isaiah—a nation, "fast bound," not merely, as the Psalmist says, in "misery and iron," but also in lethargy and iron, drunken torpor arising from their unfaithfulness to Jehovah and from their following after other Lords. The nation is (Is. li. 21) "afflicted and drunken," but not with "wine," that is, not with the wine of joy, but with (*ib.* 22) "the cup of staggering." The Deliverance from Babylon (contemplated by Isaiah) would be regarded by a Jewish poet as, in some sense, a repetition of the Deliverance from Egypt.

The apparent allusion to Isaiah appears to justify a preference of the middle "bowed [yourselves] down [as slaves]" to the passive "were bowed down."

³ [3803 *h*] "Deep-sleep." R.H. "Silence," H. "Stille." The Syr. is the same as that in Gen. ii. 21 (Syr.) "And the Lord God caused a *deep-sleep* to fall on Adam," where see *Gen. r.* on this kind of sleep (1 S. xxvi. 12). It might be rendered "stillness [as of death]." *Thes.* 4167 quotes it from Wisd. xviii. 14 (Syr.) of the "silence" that precedes the sudden "leaping forth" of God's Word as "a man of war."

⁴ [3803 *i*] "Your mouth...opened." See 3793 *c, d*. Moses, who described himself as (Exod. iv. 10) "slow of speech" and as (*ib.* vi. 12, 30) "of uncircumcised lips," was a conspicuous instance of the fulfilment of the words of the Psalmist (Ps. li. 15) "Open thou my lips and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise," when he, at the head of enfranchised Israel, poured forth its first national song.

§ 2. *The Secret of Peace, Faith, and Knowledge*

[3804] The foregoing extract concludes with a mention of "righteousness"—the first in the Odes. It is introduced as the righteousness of the redeemed nation—"your righteousness." But this will be speedily followed by a mention of the Lord's "righteousness" ("my righteousness") as "being" or "going" (?) "before" the redeemed¹. This "before" seems to allude to God's righteousness as the pillar of the divine cloud "going before" Israel in the wilderness, somewhat as in Isaiah, "Then shall thy light break forth...and thy healing shall spring forth...and *thy righteousness shall go before thee*; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward"²—where "thy righteousness," being parallel to "the glory of the Lord," might be taken to mean the righteousness bestowed on Israel by the Lord, concerning whom Jeremiah, when predicting the advent of a King who shall deliver Israel from the northern captivity, says, "His name shall be called, *The Lord [is] our righteousness*"³.

¹ Ode viii. 22, on which s. 3815 *h*. The text is doubtful.

² [3804 *a*] Is. lviii. 8. But the Targ. has the plural, "There shall go before thee *thy acts-of-righteousness*," apparently meaning (comp. *Aboda Sara* 5 *a* and *Baba B.* 11 *a*) that the acts go before a man's soul to prepare for him a habitation in heaven.

³ [3804 *b*] Jerem. xxiii. 6. The LXX gives the two words as one Greek name, Ἰωσέδεκ. But the Syr. has "our righteousness." The Targ. again has the plural, "fient nobis *justitiae* a facie Domini in diebus ejus," and Rashi "Dominus justificabit nos in diebus istius [*i.e.* regis Messiae]." *Pesikt.* p. 210, *Baba B.* 75 *b*, and *Tehill.* i. 187, refer to the passage as shewing that the Messiah is to receive a new Name, or God's own Name. Jerome's comment calls attention to 1 Cor. i. 30, "Unde et Apostolus loquitur, Qui factus est sapientia nobis a Deo, et *justitia*, et sanctificatio, et redemptio."

[3804 *c*] That appears to represent also the thought in this Ode. Beginning with "*your righteousness*" it leads the reader on to recognise that it is really *the Lord's "righteousness."* Comp. Odes xxv. 10 "I became strong in the (Codex N thy) Truth and holy in *thy righteousness*," ix. 10 "Righteousness has received it (*i.e.* the crown) and has given it unto you"—which does not mean "your righteousness," but "the Lord's righteousness imparted to you." This is always in the poet's mind,

[3805] It will be noted that both before and after the introduction of "righteousness" in the Ode, there is implied an opposing, oppressing, and silencing power of unrighteousness, a power that will be crushed by "the right hand of the Lord"

namely, that the spiritual Israel, from being "bowed down," is "lifted up" by the "lifting up" of the righteousness of the Messiah. The contrast in this Ode between the "lifting up" and the "being bowed down" recurs in the final mention of righteousness (xli. 13) "The Man who *was-bowed-down* (or, *humbled Himself*) and *was lifted up* (3922 a) *in the righteousness that was His [own]* (lit. *that was to Him*, emph.)."

[3804 d] The Targumistic substitution of "acts of righteousness" for "righteousness" illustrates the warning in Tit. iii. 5 "not by *works in righteousness* which we did ourselves." It illustrates also the remarkable fact that Mark never uses "righteousness" at all, and that Luke only uses it (i. 75) in connection with John the Baptist. Matthew uses it twice (iii. 15, xxi. 32) in words of Jesus to, or about, John the Baptist. He also uses it repeatedly in the Sermon on the Mount, and there in such a way as to indicate that God's "righteousness," for which His disciples "hunger and thirst" (v. 6, vi. 33) and which is to become theirs, is quite different from (v. 20) that of the scribes and Pharisees. Jn uses it in only one passage (xvi. 8—10) implying that Jesus was the Righteous One, and that the world, by putting Him to death (*i.e.* causing Him to "go to the Father") "*convicted*" itself of hating, or being blind to, "*righteousness.*" (Comp. Wisd. ii. 12—14 "Let us lie in wait for the *righteous*...He was made to *convict* our thoughts.") The mentions of "righteousness" in 1 Jn ii. 29, iii. 7, 10 are accompanied by warnings that it implies being "born of God," or being righteous like the Son of God, or "doing," and not mere speaking.

[3804 e] As bearing on the N.T. uses, and avoidances, of the term "righteousness," it should be noted that (1) the Heb. in its different forms (Gesen. 841—3) has a great number of technical meanings; (2) these are said to include "*righteousness* as vindicated, *justification* in controversy...*deliverance, victory, prosperity,*" and hence "*salvation*"; (3) in N. Heb. (Levy iv. 172—3) one form of the word meant "conqueror," and another "almsgiving"; (4) although Syr. uses the word freely (with the slight change of *z* for *ts*) Onkelos with but one exception (Brederek p. 98) never uses "righteous," either in the Heb. or in the Syr. form, but prefers a word meaning (Levy Ch. i. 220—1) "innocent," "pure," or else (Brederek p. 98) some paraphrase such as "true" or "upright"; (5) Levy (iv. 172 a) says that the primary meaning of the word implies "conquering"; and, whether this be true or not, the facts shew that Jews associated the term with conquest before and after the Christian era. It is thus associated in this Ode.

in a "war" that will result in a foreordained "peace¹." The Book of Wisdom, similarly, when it introduces "the righteous (man)," describes him as oppressed by the ungodly, who ignore the life to come². Later on, it describes him, in detailed allusion, as guarded by Wisdom. Wisdom saves him from drowning (this refers to Noah)³; selects and preserves him blameless from the nations after the Confusion [of Tongues] (Abraham)⁴; delivers him from the fire of the five cities (Lot, from Sodom)⁵; guides him and enriches him when fleeing from a brother's wrath (Jacob)⁶; goes down with him into the pit, accompanies him when he is sold, delivers him from sin and from bonds and brings him to the sceptre (Joseph)⁷; and finally "delivered the *righteous people* (Israel)...from the nation (Egypt) that oppressed them⁸." Not a single name of person or place is mentioned till almost the end of this eulogy on Wisdom. It concludes thus: "She

¹ [3805 a] Ode viii. 6—8 "despised...lifted up...the right hand of the Lord...peace...before ever your war was." For similar antithesis, comp. Ode vii. 1 "as...*wrath*...so...*joy*," and Rom. i. 17—18 "for the *righteousness* of God is therein revealed...for there is revealed also the *wrath* of God...."

² Wisd. ii. 12—22.

³ Wisd. x. 4, Gen. vi. 9 "Noah was a *righteous* man."

⁴ [3805 b] Wisd. x. 5 *συνχυθέντων* referring to Gen. xi. 7—9 *συνχέωμεν* &c. Abraham is nowhere called "righteous," but his faith was imputed to him (Gen. xv. 6) "for *righteousness*."

⁵ [3805 c] Wisd. x. 6. Presumably the epithet is assumed to apply to Lot because of Gen. xviii. 23 foll. "the righteous (*ὁ δίκαιος*)," which is shewn, by the result, to prove that Lot was the one "righteous man" in Sodom. It should be noted that the writer passes over the sacrifice of Isaac—perhaps as being implied in Wisd. x. 5 "kept him (Abraham) strong against his tender compassion toward his son."

⁶ [3805 d] Wisd. x. 10. Jacob is not called "righteous" in Genesis, nor is Joseph; but it is prob. implied that they participate in the righteousness "imputed to" Abraham, as also does the nation of Israel. For "enriches," s. Gen. xxxi. 16.

⁷ Wisd. x. 13—14.

⁸ Wisd. x. 15. Comp. Is. xxvi. 2 "the righteous nation, which keepeth truth."

brought them (*i.e.* the righteous) through *the Red Sea*...but drowned their enemies...Therefore the *righteous* spoiled the ungodly, and praised thy holy Name, O Lord, and magnified with one accord thine Hand¹ that fought for them. For Wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb (*i.e.* Moses and his people) and made the tongues of them that cannot speak eloquent²." This instructively illustrates our author's habit (the habit of Philo, too, and of a multitude of ancient authors) of *alluding* instead of *naming*.

[3806] But all this does not explain "your righteousness hath been lifted up"—an expression differing from anything in Scripture, and more particularly from the saying in Proverbs that "righteousness lifteth up a nation³." Does it mean "your character for righteousness has been vindicated as if by a sign lifted up on high for all the world to behold"? That would lay on "your" a stress inconsistent with the whole tone of the Odes, which all lead us to think, not of our own qualities, but of God's attributes, as causing them, so that we are "holy" in His "*righteousness*⁴." The Midrash on Proverbs, after asserting the righteousness of Abraham, David, and Moses, and after saying that it goes before souls in the hour of their departure to prepare the way for them, limits this promise to Israel⁵. But this is quite alien from our poet, whose belief

¹ "Hand." Comp. Exod. xiv. 31 "And Israel saw the great HAND," and so LXX. R.V. "the great work" with marg. "Heb. hand."

² Wisd. x. 21, with marg. ref. to Exod. iv. 10, xiv. 10—14, preceded by a ref. to Exod. xv. 1 describing the outburst of song.

³ Prov. xiv. 34.

⁴ Comp. Ode xxv. 10 "I became holy in thy righteousness."

⁵ [3806 a] Midr. on Prov. xiv. 34. Rashi, after "Justitia exaltat gentem," adds "Israeliticam." The verse continues "But sin is a *reproach* to people[s]." But the word here supposed to mean "*reproach*" (*chesed*) occurs nowhere else in this sense except in Lev. xx. 17 of incest, as being a "*reproach*" or "*abomination*." *Chesed* means, more than 200 times, "kindness." Even in Lev., Jer. Targ. introduces a paraphrase about "*kindness*" along with the rendering "*depravity*." Hence we cannot be surprised that the Midr. on Proverbs takes *chesed* as meaning

assuredly coincides with that of Peter, that "God is no respecter of persons¹." Perhaps we may better understand his view about Israel's (the spiritual Israel's) righteousness by comparing what the Psalmist says, in the name of Israel, about the exaltation of "*our horn*," with what he says elsewhere, in the name of David, "*The Lord is...the horn of my salvation*²." And so, here, "your righteousness hath been lifted up," appears to mean something to this effect, "The Lord, your righteousness, imparting Himself and His righteousness to you, and making you victorious in His righteousness and yours, hath lifted you up in Himself, as a sign to all the world that 'in righteousness He doth judge and make war'³."

[3807] The transition from "righteousness" to what follows may be illustrated by a similar transition in the Epistle to the Romans. The Epistle first leads its readers rapidly to its main subject, "the Gospel," "salvation to every one that hath faith," wherein is "*revealed the righteousness of God from faith unto faith*⁴." Then, it touches on the opposite revelation—corresponding to unrighteousness and unfaith—"the *wrath of God is revealed*⁵." Then, after illustrating this opposition from the history of the whole world, Gentiles and Jews⁶, it

"kindness," so that the result is "[Even] the kindness of the nations is sin." Adopting this, Rashi says, "For they (*i.e.* the nations of the world) take wrongfully from one what they give to another." If that is the meaning, it might be illustrated by Prov. xii. 10 "the compassions of the wicked are cruel" (because dictated by no general love for man and beast, but by a selfish liking for one object, and a selfish dislike for another object).

¹ Acts x. 34—5.

² Ps. xviii. 2, lxxxix. 17.

³ [3806 *b*] Rev. xix. 11. We must also not ignore the possibility that, in mystical Christian poems, "Christ our Righteousness is lifted up" might be a phrase expressing Christ's triumph over death, typified by His Ascension. This might be condensed into "our Righteousness is lifted up" without any intention to impute to the speaker a claim to possess a "righteousness" of his own apart from Christ.

⁴ Rom. i. 17.

⁵ Rom. i. 18.

⁶ Rom. i. 21—iii. 31.

passes to Abraham, "the Father of us all¹," as being *made-righteous* by faith. From his example, it takes up the thought of the message that the Gospel brings to all the world:—"Being therefore *made-righteous* as the result of faith, we have *peace* with God through our Lord Jesus Christ...and we *exult* (lit. *boast*) in hope...yea, we even *exult* in our tribulations." And why? Because "*the love of God* hath been shed abroad in our hearts...²."

[3808] Somewhat similarly here—yet with difference enough to shew that there is no imitation—the poet is led by the "lifting up" of man's "*righteousness*," to think of God's "right hand," which thus "lifts up," and then to reflect that it is God to whom we owe this and every other gift—"peace," "*truth*," "*faith*," "*knowledge*," and, last of all and root of all, "*fervent-love*." All this is God's "secret" as well as man's, and hence he represents God as saying "Guard (*or*, keep, 3801 *b—c*) *my* secret," "*my* faith," "*my* knowledge."

[3809] In the Epistle to the Romans, as also in this Ode, the "secret" is not mentioned at the outset. But it comes later on, along with a mention of the "hardening" of Israel until "the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved," so that God "might have mercy upon all³." The "secret" is the "adoption-of-sons." If we remember that "mercy" is an aspect of "loving-kindness," the sequence of thought in the Epistle will be seen to be similar to the sequence in the following extract:—

7. For the right hand⁴ of the Lord is with you and He is [become] to you a helper⁵.

¹ Rom. iv. 1—25.

² Rom. v. 1—5.

³ Rom. xi. 25—32.

⁴ [3809 *a*] "The right hand of the Lord." This is the first mention of the term in the Odes. In O.T., Gesen. 411 *b* gives "the right hand of the Lord" as occurring for the first time in the Song at the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 6, 6, 12) "glorious in power," "dashing in pieces the enemy" and causing the earth to "swallow them up." It is mostly used with the thought of destroying oppression. But it is also connected with the thought of founding or planting, *e.g.* Ps. lxxx. 15 "the stock (A.V.

8. And peace was prepared for you before ever your war was¹.

vineyard) which *thy right hand hath planted*." This may be illustrated by the conclusion of the Song at the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 17) "Thou shalt bring them in and *plant* them in the mountain of thine inheritance...the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy *hands have established*"—where several traditions explain why "hands," and not "right hand" is used. This metaphorical mixture of "establishing" (or "founding") with "planting" resembles the Pauline (Eph. iii. 17) "*rooted and founded*." It also resembles the final instance of "right hand" in the Odes (xxxviii. 16 foll.) "My *foundations* were laid...He set *the root*...the Lord alone was glorified ...by the beautiful *planting of His right hand*." Our Odes resemble the Song of Moses in associating "the right hand of the Lord" at first with rescue, *e.g.* here and Odes xviii. 7, xxii. 7, xxv. 2 (where however the Syr. text on which H. commented as corrupt has been altered by R.H. 2nd ed. without note, the Engl. remaining unchanged) but finally with the "planting" of Israel.

"The right hand" of the Lord is connected (Ode xiv. 4) with "guiding," and (xxv. 9) with "lifting up" and "removing sickness." "On the right hand (absol.)" occurs, according to R.H. and H., in xix. 5, but Dom Connolly renders it—as appears to me more accurately—(*J. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1912, p. 307) "'Those who receive [it] are in the perfection of the right hand,' *i.e.* are in the perfect state of God's elect, who are set on His right hand." "On my own right hand" occurs in viii. 21 (3797 *a—b*, 3815 *e*).

⁵ "Helper." See 3760 *b*.

¹ [3809 *b*] "*Peace was prepared...before...war was*." This is the first mention of "*peace*" and "*war*" in the Odes. The context, besides asserting that the former was "prepared," rather implies that the latter, too, was at least foreseen as a foil to the former. (Compare the introduction of "light" in Jn i. 5 "the light shineth in darkness.") In O.T. the first mention of "*war*" is in Gen. xiv. 2 closely followed by a mention of (Gen. xiv. 18) "Salem," *i.e.* peace. The King of Salem, Peace, blesses Abraham when he returns, after rescuing the captives taken in the "war." The Midrash on Gen. xiv. 1 says "*Because the empires went to war, Redemption came to Abraham*." This illustrates "*peace...before...war*."

[3809 *c*] But further, if we ask what it is that God has "prepared" for men, one of the first instances—the first in A.V.—is (Exod. xxiii. 20) "the place which I *have prepared*"—that is, Palestine, and more particularly Jerusalem. To this the Epistle to the Hebrews refers, as the goal of the wandering saints from Abraham onwards (xi. 16) "God is not ashamed of them to be called their God, for he hath *prepared* for them a city," that is, the New Jerusalem. According to Jewish tradition—which Philo (i. 691—2) accepts—"Jerusalem" means the "*Vision of Peace*."

[3809 *d*] These facts point to the conclusion that the poet is referring

9. Hear the word of truth and receive the knowledge of the Most High¹.

10. Your flesh hath not known what I am saying to you; also not (*i.e.* not even) your hearts² [have known] what I am shewing to you.

primarily to Abraham, as the Saint for whom "peace" was "prepared" out of "war." And the thought of Abraham suits well with many features in the Ode (*e.g.* the subsequent mention of "faith" (viii. 12), the introduction of the term "elect" (*ib.* 21), and the emphasis laid on "fervent-love" (*ib.* 14)). But this reference does not exclude reference to others, and, in particular, to Moses and to the mystical "son of the right hand," the "little Benjamin." The poet believes that always and everywhere God does, of His goodness, (Ps. lxxviii. 10) "prepare for the poor." In the creation of the visible world, "darkness" is mentioned before "light," and, in the Scripture, "war" is mentioned before "peace." But, in the Thought of God, "light" was before "darkness," and "peace" before "war." That appears to be the poet's conception here and in many other passages of the Odes.

¹ After declaring that "peace was prepared before war," the poet goes back to the thought of "knowledge" (Ode iii. 13 "be ye wise, and take-knowledge") and prepares his readers to receive the "secret" of all "knowledge."

THE "FLESH" AND THE "HEART"

² [3809 *e*] "Also not (*i.e.* not even)...hearts." The txt has, instead of hearts, "*clothing*," emended by R.H. to "hearts," which H. accepts. R.H. in 2nd ed. adds "But perhaps the raiment means the human body?" The objection to this is the want of sense in "Not your flesh...*not even* your raiment (*i.e.* body)." "Not even" (R.H. "neither," H. "und auch nicht") appears from *Theo.* 327—where "not even," rather than "neither," seems the usual meaning—to favour "hearts." The saying is somewhat stronger than Mt. xvi. 17 "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee," for it appears to mean "not only your flesh, *but even* your hearts, have failed to attain it." And this strong saying prepares the way for the mention of the "secret."

[3809 *f*] Comp. the Psalm of Asaph, Ps. lxxiii. 26 "My flesh and my heart faileth [for longing]; God is the Rock of my heart and my portion for ever," where the Psalmist has been perplexed by (*ib.* 3) "the prosperity of the wicked," who oppress the poor. "It was too painful for me," he says (*ib.* 16), "when I thought how I might know this." At last he knew the secret when he (*ib.* 17) "went into the sanctuary of God." The wicked are (*ib.* 18 foll.) "set in slippery places" and ultimately "consumed." The Psalmist confesses (*ib.* 22 foll.) that he had been "brutish" and "as

11. Guard my secret¹, ye that are guarded by (*or*, in) it.

a beast" in his former distrust; and then, trusting that God who has "holden his right hand" will "afterward receive" him "into glory," he expresses his longing for a strength beyond that of his own flesh and his own heart.

[3809 *g*] Rashi illustrates the Psalmist's going "into the sanctuary of God" by the picture of Hezekiah taking into the sanctuary the letter of Sennacherib. Jerome *ad loc.* explains it as "going in imagination (*mente*) into the assembly of the saints," where one sees that they, although at first "buffeted (*vexati*) in a few things," will at the last "fare well (*bene disponentur*) in many things." Origen *ad loc.* following the LXX "*until I shall go into the sanctuary of God*," seems to defer to the life to come what we may call "the scientific knowledge" of the ways of Providence (*τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ προνοίας γνωσόμεθα*).

[3809 *h*] Having regard to the extreme rarity of the collocation of "*flesh*" and "*heart*," and to its combination both in the Ode and in Asaph's Psalm with "*knowing*" and "*knowledge*," we are justified in thinking that our poet is alluding to the insoluble problem presented in that Psalm, as also in Job. Of this he finds a solution—or rather no solution, but a cutting of the knot—in an absorbing love of God believed in as conforming Man to His image through apparent failures that are to issue in an ultimate and perfect success.

THE SECRET

¹ [3809 *i*] "Secret." See 3797 foll. If we connect "secret" with the preceding verse, "Your flesh hath not known...", there will be a resemblance to Is. lxiv. 4 "From of old men have not heard...neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, who worketh *for him that waiteth-with-longing* (Gesen. 314 *a*) *for him*," where the last words resemble Is. xxx. 18 "The Lord will *wait-with-longing* that he may be gracious unto you...for the Lord is a God of justice (*mishpât* from *shâphat*, judge); blessed are *all they that wait-with-longing for him*." Comp. an apparent quotation of this passage in 1 Cor. ii. 6—10 on the "wisdom" that was "fore-ordained before the aeons" but "hidden" from "the rulers of this aeon," who would otherwise not have crucified Jesus, "But, as it is written, '*Things that eye saw not, and ear heard not, and [that] entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him*'"—where it is added that we know these secret things, "the deep things of God," because (*ib.* 16) "we have the mind of Christ."

[3809 *j*] The passage in the Odes throws light on this Pauline quotation which, though resembling Is. lxiv. 4, substitutes "*love*" for "*await-with-longing*." The LXX has "wait-for mercy (*ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον*)."
Another quotation of it in Clem. Rom. § 34 has "wait-for (*ὑπομένουσιν*)

Him." This is the most accurate rendering, but it does not express the "longing," which Paul perhaps felt to be the predominating element. Comp. 2 Tim. iv. 8 "to all those who have *fixed-their-love-on* (ἡγαπή-κόσῳ) his appearing," where R.V. "*have loved*" does not make sense, and A.V. "*love*" does not represent the Greek. The Heb. for "await-with-longing" is rendered *ὑμείρομαι* or *ὀμείρομαι* in Job iii. 21.

[3809 *k*] The possession of "the secret of the Lord"—the "secret" that can "guard"—seems to have consisted, not in a present knowledge of the precise things that the Lord would do in time to come (and especially in the Day of Judgment) but in a present faith in the Judge, and love of the Judge—like the faith and love of Abraham when he exclaimed (Gen. xviii. 25) "shall not the judge of all the world do justice?"—developed by Christ into something more, a trustful love of the just Father, such a "love" as was possessed by "the mind of Christ," who imparted His "mind" to His disciples. Comp. Ode xxxiii. 10 "I am your judge"—the only instance of "Richter" in H.'s Index.

[3809 *l*] Our Ode may also throw light on the question whether Paul (in 1 Cor. ii. 6—10) quoted from the Apocalypse of Elijah, as is asserted by Origen but denied by Jerome. Lightf. on Clem. Rom. § 34, discussing this, has not given the evidence so fully as Schürer ii. 3, 129—32, and does not consider the possibility that the apocrypha mentioned might have Christian touches, yet be Jewish as a whole.

[3809 *m*] Both Abraham and Elijah illustrate the possession and the non-possession of the secret of the Lord. Abraham was perhaps not in the "secret" literally, if he expected that Sodom would be spared. Elijah, though certainly not in the "secret" in saying "I, even I, am left alone," was admitted to the secret of the future chastisements of Israel. But Abraham *was* in the "secret" spiritually, when he said to God, in effect (Gen. xviii. 25) "Thou hast said of me that thou knowest that I will teach my children (Gen. xviii. 19) to do *righteousness* and *justice* (mishpât); but thou thyself—wilt thou slay the *righteous* with the wicked? Thou *that-art-judge-of* all the earth—shalt thou not do *justice*?" On the other hand Elijah was *not* in the "secret," spiritually, when he pleaded with God against Israel, as though not one righteous soul survived and all were worthy of destruction. The former had an absolute confidence in God and believed in peaceful and loving influences; the latter had not the same confidence, and needed to be taught the superiority of the "still small voice" over the fire, the storm, and the earthquake.

[3809 *n*] Not improbably the author of the Apocalypse of Elijah perceived something of this contrast. In modern times, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*—in answer to the passionate appeal of the prophet to the Lord "O that thou wouldst rend the heavens"—introduces an angel saying "O rest in the Lord, wait patiently for Him." The Jewish Apocalypse may have done much the same, adding a mention of the future joys

12. Guard my faith (*or*, belief)¹, ye that are guarded by (*or*, in) it.
 13. And know my knowledge², ye that in truth are knowing me.

that await those who "wait-with-longing" for the Lord. *Sanhedr.* 97 *b* contains a couple of sayings attributed to "Elijah," or "the house of Elijah," about the duration of the world, and, in the same page, a question based on *Is.* xxx. 18:—If the Lord is "waiting-with-longing" to be gracious to Israel, and Israel is "waiting-with-longing" for the Lord—what hinders the Coming of the Messiah? The answer is brief and obscure—that it is "the Nature of the Judgment."

[3809 *o*] *Joma* 19 *b* contains another saying of "Elijah" about the Coming of the Lord. The words of Malachi (iv. 5 "I will send you Elijah...before the great and terrible day of the Lord come") would favour a Jewish popular belief that Elijah, above all the worthies of Israel, possessed the "secret." All the more might Jews of the mystical spirit take pains to shew that Abraham, rather than Elijah, possessed it, that the "secret" was based on a trustful longing for ultimate universal justice to all, rather than on a passion for the immediate punishment of some; and that this trust and longing belonged in the highest degree to those whom God called, not His servants, but His friends. *Gen.* i. (on *Gen.* xviii. 25) says that, when Abraham addressed his bold remonstrance to God, He replied, "Abraham, (comp. *Ps.* xlv. 7) thou lovest righteousness with my creatures, and thou hatest unrighteousness...therefore God, thy God, anointeth thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."

¹ [3809 *p*] "Guard my faith," *i.e.* "my gift of faith," which is also "faith in me—the faith in me that I impart to you." For this use of "my" see 3722 *b*. For "guard," or "keep," see 3801 *b*—*c*.

² [3809 *q*] "Know my knowledge" appears to mean, not "recognise the *extent* of my knowledge," but rather "recognise the *kind* of my knowledge," namely, that it is heart-knowledge rather than brain-knowledge. Perhaps it is to be regarded also as meaning "know *with* my knowledge"—a cognate accusative like "think my thoughts," "write my [kind of] writing." We cannot "know" the Lord except with "His knowledge," *i.e.* with the knowledge that He gives us. "Are-knowing," like "am saying" in viii. 10, is perhaps future as well as present—"knowing, or intending to know." "In truth" means in the reality of true and spiritual knowledge as contrasted with the falsehood of mere logical or intellectual knowledge.

[3809 *r*] This passage challenges comparison with 1 *Cor.* xiii. "knowledge," "faith," "hope," and "love," but differs verbally, not spiritually, in the use of the term "knowledge." Paul says, in effect, "We cannot have 'knowledge' in this world. We must wait. In the next world we shall

14. Love me with fervent-love¹, ye that are loving.

'know'—not through a mirror but face to face with God. For the present, we must be content with faith, hope, and love." Our author says, "We must have the faith of the Lord, not our own faith, and we must have the knowledge of the Lord (the living fruitful knowledge that He alone can give us) not fruitless knowledge of our own, if we are in truth to know the Lord. Such faith and such knowledge, leading to—and also springing from—the fervent love of the Lord, constitute 'the secret of the Lord,' which is an ever-present guard to those who guard it in their hearts."

[3809 *s*] Paul warns us (1 Cor. viii. 1) that "[the wrong] knowledge puffeth up"; our author teaches us that "[the right] knowledge"—what the Lord calls "my knowledge"—gives life and growth and fruit. In the Pauline doctrine it is not easy to understand the exact place assigned to "hope"—which seems at first sight superfluous if we have perfect faith and love. In the Ode it is somewhat more easy to see that the "knowledge" of God's overruling subordination of evil to subserve good, and of His bringing "peace" out of "war," is—like the Pauline "hope," only more manifestly and logically—a part of the trinity of God-given faculties by which men enter into "the Secret of the Lord." Whenever hope is a virtue it is based on insight.

[3809 *t*] Lastly, Paul contrasts our future "knowing" or "being known" with our present state in which (1 Cor. xiii. 12, *Notes* 2826) "we see through a mirror in a riddle." Our author's view of the "mirror" is set forth later (see 3884 *a* foll., comp. Pref. pp. xxxix—xliv). *Sanhedrin* 97 *b*—after quoting "Elijah" (3809 *u*) along with Isaiah's doctrine about "waiting-with-longing for the Lord"—distinguishes the "glass" that is "pellucid" from the "glass" that is not. Through the latter, myriads behold God's image; through the former, a very small number. On the difficult "glass" see Levy i. 129 *b*, Levy *Ch.* i. 49 *b*.

¹ [3809 *u*] "Fervent-love." R.H. "affection." H. has "Inbrunst"; this does not appear as a separate word in the Index, but the verse appears there under "Liebe, lieben, &c." The poet might have said "Love me with *my* love," *i.e.* (comp. Jn xiii. 34, xv. 9) "with the love that I have revealed to you," or "with the love with which I have loved you." But he prefers to use a different noun from the ordinary word for "love" (as indicated above, 3681, 3792 *f*) suggesting its fervour. "Fervour" though not so strong as "fire" in suggesting a love that burns up evil and purifies goodness, nevertheless approaches such a suggestion. "Affection" and "Inbrunst" indicate this distinctive meaning here, and might perhaps with advantage have been used by R.H. and H. to indicate it in some passages elsewhere.

§ 3. *The Secret is for "the New People, the Babe"*

[3810] Clement of Alexandria says about "the new name," which the Angel kept secret from Jacob, "He reserved the new name for the New People—the Babe¹." That appears to be the poet's thought here, as also throughout the whole of the Odes. Man is "the Babe" that is to be developed through the aeons to become full-grown and perfect, yet still to remain the Babe in relation to God.

[3811] The thought of the Babe, as an object of God's knowledge even before birth, came before us in the last Ode: "And He that created me knew—even when yet I was not—what I should do when I came into being²." And this foreknowledge was connected with compassion: "Because of that, He compassionated me in His great compassion³." Now it has come before us again, in a context of the same tendency, in which the Lord appeals for "love" on the ground of this foreknowledge: "Love me with fervent-love...for I do not turn my face from my own; because I know them, and, before they came into being, I observed them...I sealed them, I framed their members, and my own breasts did I prepare for them."

Must we say that the author is here borrowing from the Pauline doctrine of "predestination"? In favour of this view, it might be alleged (and with truth) that the Epistle to the Romans, somewhat similarly, combines the thought of "the liberty of the glory of the children of God," and "the love of God," with God's "foreknowing" and "foreordaining⁴." In the Ode, the Lord will be found to ask who will venture to "rise up" against His redeemed, whom He calls His "work." So the Epistle says, "If God is for us, who is against us?... Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect⁵?"

¹ Clem. Alex. 132.² Ode vii. 11.³ Ode vii. 12.⁴ Rom. viii. 21—39.⁵ Ode viii. 20, Rom. viii. 31, 33.

[3812] But there is no trace of any literary use of the Epistle in the poem. Nor is "predestination" a good word to describe our poet's aspect of the insoluble mystery of an omnipotent God's foreknowledge. Predestination suggests Destiny, or Fate, or fixed Decree. But the mystical doctrine of the Odes is alien from these thoughts. It assumes the omnipotence of Love, and a pre-existence—in the loving "Thought" of God—of human sons, implied in the eternal pre-existence of the divine Son, to whom all humanity is to be ultimately conformed. This the poet seems to prefer to a mere predestinating, in the sense of an intellectual knowing-beforehand, and fixing-beforehand, that men-as-they-are shall ultimately become men-as-they-ought-to-be.

[3813] Probably the poet is going back to earlier traditions than the Epistle to the Romans, including some about the "foreordaining" (or what the LXX calls "preparing") of God for Israel, and others about "babes and sucklings," and about "a people that shall be born¹." For the sake of Israel, God "prepared" food in the wilderness². And even before they entered the wilderness, the Song of Moses says that He had already "*established, or prepared, a sanctuary*³." Subsequently the Lord says "I send an angel...to bring thee into the place that I *have prepared*⁴." What was this "place" or "sanctuary"? The Wisdom of Solomon answers, "The holy tabernacle" which God had "*prepared from the beginning*⁵." But the true

¹ Ps. viii. 2, xxii. 31.

² [3813 a] 1's. lxxviii. 10, lxxviii. 19. *Aboth* v. 9 places "the manna" among "ten things created between the suns," *i.e.* (Taylor) "at the time of transition from the 'six days of creation' to the sabbath."

³ Exod. xv. 17 "Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance...the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (LXX prepared, ἡτοιμάσαν)." *ἡτοιμάσαν*.

⁴ Exod. xxiii. 20. R.V. and A.V. "prepared," LXX ἡτοιμάσα.

⁵ [3813 b] Wisd. ix. 8 "Thou hast commanded me to build a temple... a resemblance of the holy tabernacle which *thou hast prepared from the beginning* (προητοιμάσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς)." The tabernacle of Moses was (Heb. viii. 5, quoting Exod. xxv. 40) according to the "pattern" of a

tabernacle, sanctuary, or temple of God is a Person. And the Personal Temple of God the Father must be the Son—that Son whom the Book of Proverbs, as interpreted by Aquila and the Jews, calls the “Nursling,” and identifies with the eternal Wisdom. Between the Father and the Son there is the “secret”—namely, to conform mankind to the image of the Son by creating men anew in the Spirit of the Babe.

[3814] The two following extracts curiously resemble the eighth Psalm, the Psalm of Babes and Sucklings, in the sequence of their thought. The first part of that Psalm begins with the thought of mankind as of mere “babes and sucklings” out of whose mouth nevertheless God has “established strength.” So does the first extract in its description of the offspring for whom the Lord “prepares” His “breasts,” and of whom He is “not ashamed,” because they are the “strength” of His “designs”:—

15. For I do not turn my face from my own¹.

16. Because I know-them, and before they came-into-being I observed-them (*or*, reviewed-them)² and their faces [too]. [Yea] I (*emph.*) sealed them (*emph.*)³.

divine tabernacle shewn to Moses in “the mount.” This is regarded as having been “from the beginning.” On this s. Ode iv. 1—4. “Prepare a place,” in a spiritual sense, occurs in Jn xiv. 2—3 and Rev. xii. 6, and “prepare a city” in Heb. xi. 16.

¹ [3814 *α*] “My own.” R.H. “them that are mine,” H. “dem was mein ist.” It is ambiguous, like the English—not like the Greek—in Jn i. 11 (A.V.) “He came unto *his own* (τὰ ἴδια) and *his own* (οἱ ἱδιοὶ) received him not,” see next note.

² [3814 *δ*] “Observed (*or*, reviewed).” R.H. “took knowledge of them,” H. “habe ich sie erkannt.” *Thes.* 2628 does not give instances of this form of the verb with a personal object, except in Ezr. viii. 15 “inspexi, recensui populum” (with prep. “in”), Lk. xxiv. 16 τοῦ μὴ ἐπιγινῶναι αὐτόν, and in later Syr. “ils ne s’entendent pas l’un l’autre.” A Jewish tradition (*Gen. r.* on Gen. v. 1) says that God passed in review before Adam the generations of his posterity. “Passed in review” may be the meaning here, but before His own mind, not “before Adam.” Or it may mean that God “reflected” on each human soul that is “His own,” giving His thought to its destiny before it entered into being.

"Them" removes the ambiguity of the preceding "my own," and shews that it means the human souls that are God's "own." In Jn i. 11, it is said that His "own" received Him not—*i.e.* those who were His own *de jure*, and perhaps also those who were of His household, city, and nation, who might have been expected to be the first to receive Him. But here "my own" and "them" mean those who are His *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

THE ANTENATAL SOUL

³ [3814 c] "And their faces [too]. [Yea,] I (*emph.*) sealed them (*emph.*)" The punctuation makes a difference. R.H. has "And on their faces I set my seal." H. "...und ihr Antlitz; ich habe sie versiegelt." Against the rendering of R.H. is (1) the construction, if taken in the ordinary way, (2) the apparent rarity or non-occurrence (*Thes.* 1408—9) of "seal the face" instead of "seal [*a person*]" or "seal on the forehead." "Observed (or, reviewed) them and their faces," may have in view a shepherd, counting his flock and "observing" their "faces"—which seem all alike to a stranger but different to him—as the sheep pass in or out of the fold before him. The phrase of *Thes.* 2628, above quoted, "recensui populum," recalls the *Aeneid* vi. 682 "recensebat" applied to Anchises "reviewing" the long line of his illustrious descendants, existent as souls, but not yet born as men.

The word used here for "seal"—which differs from that in Ode iv. 8 (3722 f)—is (*Thes.* 1429) a form of Heb. *tiba* "sink," hence "deeply impress." It means occasionally "*stamp*" or "*coin*," as in Mt. xxii. 19 (SS) "the *coin* of the head-money," where the *stamp* of Caesar is used to suggest that the coin belongs to Caesar. The other word for "seal" (*Thes.* 1410) is not alleged to have that meaning. Both words occur in the Mishna of *Sanhedr.* iv. 5 "Man stamps (or, coins) many stamps (or, coins) with one seal, and they are all like one another; but...God...stamps every man (adam) with the seal of Adam, and not one of them is like his neighbour." The abruptness and the emphatic pronouns in the last clause ("I sealed them") imply a climax, and also the Lord's desire to identify Himself with His own: "and, what is more, it is from me that they received the seal that stamps them as my own for ever." This initial "seal" before birth does not prevent the soul from subsequently receiving a corresponding "seal" after birth. [On Ode xxiv. 5 (R.H.) "and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord," see Appendix IV indicating that the meaning is "and the abysses were sunk with the sinking of the Lord" (3999 (ii) 8 foll.).]

[3814 d] The last Ode (xlii. 25) speaks of the Lord's "name" as being "signed"—or, more probably (see Appendix IV) "*put*," as upon the Lord's Temple—upon the heads of those who are rescued from Sheol. Of these Adam presumably was the first. In that case the author's view would seem

to be that the soul of Adam was primarily "sealed" when the Father said to the pre-incarnate Son in heaven—so Barnabas (v. 5) and Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 62)—"Let us make Adam *in our image*," and that afterwards the Father said to the Son, post-incarnate and risen from the dead, "And now let us complete the sealing, by making Adam *after our likeness*."

[3814 *d*₁] This we may be disposed to call "wild mysticism." But the poet—by the word "sealed," and, in the last Ode, by the use of "signed," or (as Codex N) "put"—implies that he is a mystic. We may call it "wild" if we like, provided that we recognise the probable prevalence of this "wild mysticism" among Jews in the first century. The word for "sign" in Ode xlii. 25 (R.H.) is *r^esham*, Heb. *rāsham*, which occurs (Gesen. 957, 1113) as a Heb. word in Dan. x. 21 "that which is *inscribed* in the writing of truth," but in Chaldee *ib.* v. 24—vi. 14 as meaning both "*inscribe*" and "*sign*." Now the noun formed from *rāsham* was used technically (like *māshāl*, "parable"), so that *reshumouth* meant "significances" or "symbolisms," *i.e.* allegorizing interpretations of Scripture. Levy iv. 474 (*rāsham*), ii. 128 (*chātham*, "seal") and i. 320 (*gezer*, "a decree") shews the distinction sometimes drawn between "signing," "sealing," and "decreeing." But as to the early prevalence of these *reshumouth* see *Jewish Quart. Rev.* Jan. 1911, pp. 291—334, *The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash*, by Dr Jacob Z. Lauterbach, who gives a list of the early *reshumouth*, pointing out that they belonged to a special class of expositors, and maintaining that they fell into disrepute (p. 294), "It would seem that by the end of the second century or thereabouts the rabbis felt a certain resentment towards these ancient exegetes...they purposely avoided giving any account of them, and sought rather to let them fall into oblivion." They may have felt about the *reshumouth* what Celsus (Orig. *Cels.* ii. 27) declares the Christians to have felt about the very earliest forms of their gospels (s. above, p. xxvi). The hypothesis of a conflict between two classes of Rabbinical interpretation is illustrated by the rebuke addressed to R. Akiba (*Chag.* 14 *a*) "Akiba, what hast thou to do with Haggada?"

[3814 *d*₂] Dr Lauterbach says (*J. Q. R.* p. 321) "R. Akiba said...no virtuous action...to overbalance his shortcomings, for the *Dorshe Reshumot* said...", and treats "the *Dorshe Reshumot*" as "quoted by R. Akiba." But Wünsche (on Eccles. x. 1, *Cohemoth* r. p. 134) has no "*for*" and begins a new paragraph with "Die Zeichendeuter sagen," punctuating so as to indicate that these expositors were regarded, not as agreeing with, but as differing from, R. Akiba.

In the Hymns of Ephrem on Epiphany, *r^esham* is technically applied to baptism as follows (*Expos.* 1912, Feb. pp. 108 foll.) Ephrem i. 41, 6 *seq.* : "Come, ye lambs, and take your *sign*—this is the sign which separates the housemates from the strangers," *ib.* i. 43, 12 : "Descend, my *signed* brethren, and put on our Lord." See 3840 *d*.

[3814 *e*] Does this "reviewing" and "sealing" imply a belief in a pre-existence of the soul before birth? It can hardly be denied that such a pre-existence was contemplated as possible by some Jews in the first century. Jesus may not have been actually asked by His disciples (Jn ix. 1—2) whether a man was born blind because of his sins, but the fact that the evangelist records such a question from them is proof that he regarded the question as not wholly absurd or impossible. Jews might naturally argue, "If a man could be born good and holy from the womb (Jerem. i. 5, Wisd. viii. 20) might he not be born bad (comp. Rom. ix. 11, 12)?" Origen (*Lev. Hom.* xii. 4) explains Wisd. viii. 20 "being good I came into a body undefiled," as referring to Jesus alone. But non-Christian Jews would not do this.

[3814 *f*] In *Sota* (Wag. p. 72 foll.) it is declared that everything about the unborn soul is decreed before birth except its goodness, "according to the saying, *All things depend on God except the fear of God.*" The antenatal soul beseeches God that it may not be born into the world, but is assured by Him that He desires a better abode for it than its present one. A lamp is placed above its head (Job xxix. 3) that it may see all the Universe. Then it is taken to visit (Wag. p. 74) Paradise and the good, Gehenna and the evil, that it may be both encouraged and warned. Finally the lamp is extinguished, and the soul is pushed crying into the world to begin the first of its seven ages. Comp. (3875 *c*) a doctrine "in the name of R. Samuel" about "the souls of the pious which were with Him at the planting of the Garden of Eden."

[3814 *g*] *Sota* bears, perhaps, the stamp of Greek thought. At all events, it differs in detail from the thought of our poet. He is contemplating merely God's foreknowing of the elect. But the last Ode suggests (3814 *d*) that Adam is saved. And this gives the impression that Man, as a whole, is saved, and that, in spite of sin, he will "be found," as the present Ode says viii. 26, "incorruptible in all the aeons to the name of" the "Father."

[3814 *h*] Philo seems to regard God as "completely framing" some elect souls before birth, but as leaving others without the final touch of His hand (i. 104) "But some (ἐνίοις) God completely shapes (διαπλάσσει), and sets-in-order (διατίθεται) even before birth (καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως), and has chosen-beforehand (προήρηται) to have a most excellent lot (κλήρον ἔχειν ἄριστον)." Of this, he says, Isaac is an instance; God named him beforehand, "Isaac," *i.e.* laughter, or joy; and "joy" differs from other blessings, because one has it, so to speak, even while waiting for it—which is not true about health, freedom, honour &c. "But again," he proceeds (i. 104—5) "as to Jacob and Esau—God the Shaper-of-things-living knows—[and] well [knows] (?)—the works of His hands (ἐπίσταται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα) even before He has given them the last touch of the chisel (καὶ πρὶν αὐτὰ εἰς ἄκρον διατορεῖναι)—not only the faculties

17. I (*emph.*) framed¹ their members, and my own breasts² did

that will then be at their disposal, but also, in entirety, all they will do, and all they will feel (*τάς τε δυνάμεις αἷς αὐθις χρήσονται καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἔργα τούτων καὶ πάθη*).” Even when, he says, the principle of good or evil in the soul “is not yet full-grown but is as it were oscillating (*ἐνδοιάζεται*),” the evil (*i.e.* Esau) is “servant” (Gen. xxv. 23), in God’s eyes, and the good is superior. These arguments, together with the Pauline references to Jacob and Esau in the Epistle to the Romans, suffice to shew that in the first century the pre-existence of the soul before birth would be a debateable subject among many Jews.

¹ [3814 *z*] “I framed.” This word occurs in the Syr. of Ps. cxxxix. 13 “Thou hast (Heb. lit.) *purchased* (LXX *ἐκτήσω*) my reins.” The Syr. has there apparently confused *ἐκτήσω* with *ἐκτίσω*, or else has corrupted Heb. “purchased” by prefixing to it a letter (derived by error from the preceding word) so as to make it “framed (condidisti).” R.V. has “*possessed* (marg. *formed*).”

Comp. Lactant. *Inst.* ii. 11 “*fictio veri ac vivi hominis e limo*”—as contrasted with the image of man made by Prometheus—“*Dei est. Quod Hermes quoque tradidit, qui non tantum hominem ad imaginem Dei factum esse dixit a Deo, sed etiam illud explanare tentavit, quam subtili ratione singula quaeque in corpore hominis membra formaverit.*” By themselves these two passages might indicate independent references, in “Hermes” and the Ode, to a widely diffused tradition about God the Shaper of Man. But the Ode continues “*My own breasts did I prepare for them.*” This indicates a recognition of God as Mother and resembles an opinion, quoted by Lactantius from Hermes, to which Lactantius objects thus, after stating that Orpheus supposed God to be both male and female:—(*Inst.* iv. 8) “*Sed et Hermes in eadem fuit opinione cum dicit αὐτοπάτορα καὶ αὐτομήτορα.*” The twofold combination in the Ode confirms the view, probable in itself, that our poet was influenced by what Plutarch calls “the so-called books of Hermes” (3781 *z*₁), sometimes agreeing with them, sometimes disagreeing. *Αὐτομήτωρ*, in Simonides Iamb. vi. 12, means “her very mother,” *i.e.* a daughter the very image of her mother. But it was also a Valentinian name (Epiphan. i. 170, *Haer.* 31 ὁ Λόγος δὲ ὁ πνευματικὸς ἐκoinῶναι Πνεύματι καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ συγκράσει ποιῶν τὸ τέλος τοῦ Αὐτομήτ[ο]ρος, ἀδιχοτόμητον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάπανσιν—an obscure passage, in which however this at least is clear, that *Αὐτομήτωρ* is masculine).

² [3814 *j*] “My own breasts.” On the Hebrew suggestion of a Nursing Father see *Son* 3149, 3425 foll., 3500—9 &c. This is the first instance of a metaphor which occurs again in xiv. 1—2 “As the eyes of the son [are turned] to his father, so [are] my eyes, O Lord, at all

I prepare for them, that they might drink my own holy milk¹, that they might live thereby.

times [turned] toward-thee, for with thee are my *breasts*," that is, "the breasts" that are the source of my milk, my spiritual food. So far any Jewish poet might go. And he might even say, poetically, that Moses and Aaron, or the Two Tables of the Law, or Moses and David, or the Messianic Son of David and the Messianic Son of Joseph, were "the two breasts" mentioned in the Song of Solomon (Cant. i. 13, iv. 5, vii. 3, on which see Midrash, Targum, and Rashi)—all these being the avenues through which God gave the Milk of the Word. But the next and last instance in the Odes (xix. 2 foll.) while continuing to represent God, and not man, as the Giver of the Milk, mentions also the Holy Spirit (whom the poet ventures to describe as "milking" the Father "because His breasts were full") and the Son—apparently the pre-incarnate Son—whom he has previously (*ib.* 2) called "the Cup." Afterwards (*ib.* 6) the Ode goes on to speak of the Virgin as "becoming a Mother."

[3814 *k*] Almost the only mention of "mother" in the Odes is (xxxv. 6) "I was carried like a child by his mother, and the dew of the Lord gave me milk" (comp. xxxv. 1 "The dew of the Lord...hath He distilled upon me"). See also 3814 *m*.

Taken together, these passages indicate (1) a tendency to heap metaphor on metaphor in speaking of "the milk of the Lord," in order to prevent the reader from attaching himself to any one metaphor as being literally true, or as embodying the whole truth; (2) a belief that the "milk" is not mere elementary food for babes, to be discarded as soon as possible, but the eternal sustenance of Man provided for him by God out of His own Self. See next note.

THE "HOLY MILK"

¹ [3814 *l*] "My own holy milk." This is an advance on the first mention of milk (Ode iv. 10) "thy rich fountains that pour forth to us the Milk and Honey [of thy Promise]." Barnabas (vi. 9—10) (3802 *c*) describes Jesus as being the promised Land of Milk and Honey, and calls this "a parable," which cannot be understood except by him who "is wise and prudent and loves his Lord." "A wise and understanding people" is the praise (Deut. iv. 6) to be bestowed on Israel if they keep the Law. And the first commandment of the Law is "love." Barnabas adds "loves his Lord," perhaps having in view Christ's words about a narrow kind of wisdom and prudence (Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21) "I make acknowledgment unto thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." Somewhat similarly our poet, having first introduced his readers to the "milk and honey" of the Land

of Promise, now drops the thought of "land," and brings before them the thought of Him who promised it. It is *His* milk. It is from *His* "breasts."

[3814 *m*] The next mention of the Milk shews the same thought as that of Barnabas, only quite differently expressed. Barnabas said that Jesus was the Land of Milk and Honey; the Odes say (xix. 1 foll.) "A cup of milk was offered to me...(2) the Son is the Cup, and He who was milked is the Father; (3) and the Holy Spirit milked Him... (4) the milk from the two breasts of the Father...(6) ...and the Virgin became a Mother." Later on, the poet says—as though he desired to shew that God really and truly is Mother as well as Father to us—(xxxv. 6) "I was carried [by Him] like a child by his mother; and the dew of the Lord gave me milk (*or*, and He gave me milk the dew of the Lord)." Here the metaphor of the Land of Milk and Honey, with which he began, is blended with the metaphor of the Milk of the Breasts, to which he proceeded; and we are made to feel that the two are attempts, but the latter the more successful, to express the parental love of God. Last of all comes a metaphor in which—contrary to the regular order—the "honey" is placed before the "milk," and both represent the *naturalness* of the flow of divine beneficence for which humanity can give nothing in return except that responsive and receptive hope in which it attaches itself to God as a babe to the breast of the mother (xl. 1—2) "As the honey distils from the comb of the bees and the milk flows from the woman that loves her children"—an apparent and noteworthy avoidance of the term *mother*—"so also is my hope on thee, my God."

[3814 *n*] In the Odes, "hope" is not supplanted by "knowledge" (as "milk" is by "meat" in the Pauline Epistles). The author feels as Paul felt, that, even though we have faith, we still have an indefinable need of hope. Perhaps, too, he felt that "hope" corresponds to "milk," as to which, differing from Paul in his use of metaphor, he thought it well to keep in mind that Man, even when "full-grown," could never cease from being a babe at the breasts of the Nursing Father.

[3814 *o*] Christians are familiar with the thought of the sacred or holy "*wine*," but not with the thought of "the holy *milk*." It appears to spring from a very early Jewish meditation on the Eternal Gospel as a message proclaiming the Eternal Nursing Father. To Gentile Christians—comparatively unfamiliar with the Promise of the Land of Milk and Honey, but on the other hand familiar with Pagan anthropomorphisms in which the "breasts" of God might be represented in idols or in poetic imagery—this metaphor might naturally be distasteful and fall into abeyance, except with a few early theologians of a mystical turn such as Clement of Alexandria (3817 *a* foll.). Isaiah (lv. 1) mentions spiritual "wine and milk" together; but the doctrine concerning "milk," for Christians, would be subordinated to the more distinctively Christian

18. I-was-well-pleased in them¹, and am not ashamed of them².

19. For my own work are they and the strength³ of my designs⁴.

doctrine concerning "the blood of the New Covenant." Something may be due to the special individuality of the author, or to Essene proclivities, in the emphasis that he lays on "milk," and not on "wine" (see 3855 *p-r*); but it is also certainly a mark of early date.

Rachel died in the act of giving birth to Benjamin, so that it might be said about that babe with more literal truth than about any other well-known character in Scripture that he was (Ps. xxii. 10) "cast upon" God "from the womb." Moses, the Deliverer, though torn from his mother for a few hours, was fed by his mother's milk; Benjamin, "the little one," was not. Hence the transition to the doctrine of God's "milk" accords very well with the view (3797 *a-b*, comp. 3815 *e*) that the thought of "the son of the right hand" underlies the whole of this Ode.

¹ [3814 *p*] "I-was-well-pleased in them." The Syr. occurs in Mk i. 11 "in thee I am well pleased" (and parall. Mt.-Lk.) and elsewhere, representing εὐδοκέω. But its first Biblical occurrence (*Theo.* 3352—3) is in Gen. iv. 4—5 (bis) "*had respect*," LXX (1) ἐπιδεν (2) προσέσχεν, comp. Numb. xiv. 8 "If the Lord *delight* in us," LXX αἰετίξει.

² [3814 *q*] "Ashamed of them." God is said in O.T. to have "repented" of making man, but never to have been "*ashamed of*" them, nor is the word (apparently) (Gesen. pp. 101—2) ever connected with God, even negatively. Even in the Gospels, God is never said to be "ashamed" of those who are ashamed of Him. But here the context must be considered. God is regarded as at once the Mother and the Maker "framing the members" in the womb, and also preparing the "breasts" for the child that is to be born. Now the Talmud has a saying about the bad mother (Levy iv. 642 *a*, quoting *Keth.* 62 *a*) "A woman who is accustomed to *lose her children* (*verlieren* (oder: *zu abortiren*)) ceases to be *ashamed of it*." Some thought of this kind appears to be latent here.

³ [3814 *r*] "Strength." What work of God's can most suitably be called "the strength of God's designs"? Presumably that implied by the Psalmist in the saying quoted by Jesus, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained *strength*" (LXX "*praise*," as in the quotation attributed to Jesus in Mt. xxi. 16, from Ps. viii. 2). The "strength" of God in the creation of Man may be said to be manifested—in the best sense of "strength," as distinct from brute force—by the degree to which Man "glorifies" or "magnifies" his Maker. Hence the two renderings "*praise*" (i.e. *glorifying*) and "*strength*" are not very wide apart, though the latter is correct. *Numb. r.* (on Numb. v. 12, Wü. p. 143)

commenting on Mic. ii. 9 (R.V.) "from their young children ye take away my *glory* for ever," says "He (*i.e.* God) has no other *glory* than the babes, comp. Ps. viii. 2 'out of the mouth of babes and sucklings dost thou ordain *strength*'"—thus shewing that in the mind of the commentator *glory* and *strength* mean much the same thing. Ps. lxxviii. 61 says that God "delivered *his strength* into captivity" (meaning the ark that was the summary, so to speak, of His own revelation and of Israel's responsive glorifying). Rashi, on Ps. viii. 2, will have the babes to be Levites in attendance on the Ark, but *Mechilt.* (Wü. pp. 116 and 202) gives traditions suggesting that the "strength" comes from the children, and even the unborn babes, of Israel at the Exodus, crying (according to the Jerusalem Targum on Exod. xv. 2) "This is our God."

[3814 s] But, further, the "babes and sucklings" in the eighth Psalm may be regarded as Man, the last and youngest of God's creatures. Concerning Man in this sense, the jealous angels are supposed by Jewish tradition (*Son* 3036) to say to God, "What is man that thou visitest him and the son of man that thou regardest him?" But the Psalmist exults in God's divine purpose of "ordaining strength"—that is, revealing to the utmost the strength of His love and wisdom—out of those of His creatures who are, in respect of brute force and instinct, far inferior to many of the beasts. That is also the sense in which the author of the Ode appears here to interpret the Psalm.

The Biblical contrast (*Son* 3521 foll.) between *Rab*, "the elder," and *Zoër*, "the younger"—which is, literally, a contrast between *rab*, "great," and *zoër*, "little"—is definitely stated in Gen. xxv. 23 "the *elder* shall serve the *younger*," and underlies many of the most picturesque stories of the Bible, in a form sometimes hardly perceptible to readers of the English version. For example, Gen. xxxv. 18—22 places the sin of the firstborn, Reuben—without a word of comment—immediately after the birth of Ben-jamin, whom his dying mother Rachel would fain have called *Ben-oni*. *Oni* might be rendered "my wretchedness." It means (Gesen. 19—20) "my *trouble*, or *sorrow*, or *wickedness*," and Jacob is apparently to be regarded as correcting the gloomy prophecy about the little one, "No, not son of *my wretchedness*, but son of *the right hand*." But further, the same Hebrew consonants that mean "*my wretchedness*" mean also "*my strength*" (Gesen. 19—20, Prov. xi. 7, R.V. txt and marg. give alternatives). And in Gen. xlix. 3 "Reuben, thou art my firstborn ...the beginning of *my strength*," Aquila, Symmachus, Targ. Jer. II, and Vulg., all read "*my wretchedness*," and *Gen. r.* ad loc. adopts this as conveying one aspect of the meaning. That being the case, it seems by no means improbable that when the author of Gen. xxxv. 18—22 quietly set down the sin of the firstborn Reuben after the birth of the little *Ben-oni* whose name was immediately changed to *Ben-jamin*, he felt that there was a strange mystery—what the Greeks would call "irony"—in

the sequence of events: "Not Benjamin the latest born, but Reuben the firstborn, became Benoni, the son of wretchedness. The latest born became the son of the right hand." So it is implied in the Jewish traditions about the eighth Psalm; the jealous angels say to God, in effect, "What is the son of man? Is he not the youngest and weakest of thy creatures? Is he not *the son of thy sorrow*?" God replies, in effect, "He is the youngest of all, yet the ruler of all; he is *the son of my right hand*."

⁴ [3814 *l*] "My designs." R.H. "my thoughts," H. "meiner Gedanken." See Gesen. 364—5. The Syr. (*Theo.* 1397), which resembles the Hebrew, is not the word rendered by H. "Gedanke" in Ode v. 7, but the word rendered "Rathschluss" in Ode ix. 2. In Heb. (Gesen. 364 *a*) the word mostly means man's *devices, plans, inventions*, often in a bad sense. When applied to God, in Is. lv. 8—9, a contrast may be intended between man's "*devices*" and what may be called, quasi-ironically, the "*devices*" of God. And perhaps in Ps. xcii. 5 the meaning might be "*thy devices (as fools call them)* are very deep, too deep for fools to understand." But this will not hold in Ps. xl. 5, Jer. li. 29, Mic. iv. 12, where there appears to be admiration for God's "*designs*" (comp. the meaning in Exod. xxxi. 4 &c. "*cunning (i.e. artistic) work*"). The Syr. follows the Heb. in Ps. xl. 5 and Mic. iv. 12, but uses a different word in Is. lv. 8—9. In the Bible (Tromm. Index p. 65 *a*) the Heb. is 4 times rendered *βουλή* (see Gesen. 364—5). This invites a comparison of our author's use of it with what Homer says at the beginning of the Iliad, "the *purpose* (*βουλή*) of Zeus was being fulfilled." But in the Odes there appears a suggestion of *artistic design* (as in Exod. xxxi. 4 above referred to) when it refers to God's "*design*" of conforming Man to Himself. It will therefore be rendered henceforth "*design*"—to distinguish it from "*thought*." The latter the author sometimes combines with "*design*," apparently connecting "*thought*" with *will*, and "*design*" with artistic *plan*. Both are frequently used to denote God's Thought and Design of Redemption. Sometimes, instead of "*design*," we might use "*counsel*"—where there is no danger of inferring, from "*counsel*," that God takes "*counsel*" with *others*—e.g. Eph. i. 11 "foreordained according to the *purpose* (*πρόθεσις*) of him who [inwardly] worketh (*ἐνεργεῖ*) all things according to the *counsel* (*βουλήν*) of his will (*θελήματος*)." No one English word can adequately represent this Syriac word in the Odes.

[3814 *u*] The next instance of it is in Ode ix. 2 "The word of the Lord and His good-pleasures (*i.e.* what seemed good to Him to do) the holy *design* (R.H. "thought," H. "Rathschluss") which He has *designed* concerning His Messiah." This is closely followed by (*ib.* 3) "His *thought* is everlasting life," on which see 3819 *l* foll.

Βούλησις, referring to the generation of the eternal Son, occurs in a quotation of Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 7) from Hermes Trismegistus, after the

former has asserted the unnameableness of Him—so dear to God and so powerful—“whose first Nativity not only preceded but also by His wisdom ordered, and by His power constructed, the universe (*iste tam potens, tam Deo carus...cujus prima Nativitas non modo antecesserit mundum verum etiam prudentia disposuerit virtute construxerit*)” (comp. Heb. i. 2). It cannot at present, says Lactantius, “be uttered by mouth of man.” And he continues, “Sicut Hermes docet, haec dicens: *Αἰτία δὲ τούτου τοῦ αἰτίου ἢ τοῦ θείου ἀγαθοῦ βούλησις, ἣ θεὸν προήνεγκεν, οὐ τὸ ὄνομα οὐ δύναται ἀνθρωπίνῳ στόματι λαλῆθῆναι*. Et paulo post ad filium: “Ἔστι τις, ὃ τέκνον, ἀπόρρητος λόγος σοφίας, ὅσιος περὶ τοῦ μόνου κυρίου πάντων, καὶ προενοουμένου Θεοῦ, ὃν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἔστι.”

It occurs in a second quotation concerning the evils that will precede the end of the world, where Lactantius says that the doctrine of the Coming of the Son of God, sent by His Father to liberate the pious (*Inst.* vii. 18), has been suppressed by demons. “But Hermes has not suppressed it. For in the book entitled *Λόγος τέλειος*, after enumerating the above-mentioned evils, he appended this: *ἐπ’ ἂν δὴ ταῦτα ὦδε γένηται, ὃ Ἀσκληπιέ, τότε ὁ κύριος, καὶ πατήρ, καὶ θεὸς, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἐνὸς θεοῦ δημιουργὸς, ἐπιβλέψας τοῖς γενομένοις καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσει* (leg. *τῇ εαυτου βουλησὶ*) *τοῖς τοιούτοις, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀντερείσας τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενος τὴν πλάνην, καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐκκαθήρας, πῇ μὲν ὕδατι πολλῶ καταλύσας, πῇ δὲ πυρὶ ὀξύτατῳ διακαύσας, ἐνίῳτε δὲ πολέμοις καὶ λοιμοῖς ἐκπιέσας, ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόσμον*.” [*Dict. Christ. Biogr.* (“Hermes”) quotes this and a great deal of the context “with abbreviation,” giving the sentence about *βούλησις* thus: “O Asclepius, then God, the Lord and Father, seeing the deeds of men, will correct these evils by an act of His will and divine goodness.” This is very misleading. It differs seriously both from the Greek, and from the less authoritative version assigned to Apuleius.]

The first of these two passages Clark prints thus, “to *His Son* (filium): There is, O *Son* (τέκνον).” But it should be printed “*son*” and “*child*.” Human beings are indicated as in *Inst.* vi. 25 “Asclepium quaerentem a *filio* suo,” meaning the “*son*” (or *disciple* called “*son*”) as often in Proverbs. Hermes speaks of “a Divine *Boulēsis*, or Purpose of the Divine Goodness, which [Purpose] brought forth God whose name cannot be spoken by human mouth.” In the second passage, Hermes actually gives the titles of Father and God to the Master-Workman of the One and First God: “The Lord, and Father, and God, and Master-Workman (or, Demiurgus) of the First and One God” is to “look on the [evils] that have come to pass, and, firmly-planting [as a spear] (*ἀντερείσας*) His Purpose against them, Goodness against Disorder...,” He is to “bring back and restore His own [loved] Cosmos to its former estate.”

Considering the number and brevity of the quotations from Hermes

[3815] The second part of the eighth Psalm represents Man as endowed with "dominion," and as having "all things put under his feet." So does the extract that now follows, asking who will venture to be "not compliant" with God's "elect" whom He has "set" on His "right hand." Above, this term implied God's active presence with Israel, as at the Red Sea. Here it appears to imply rather the sanctuary of His rest, concerning which He might be regarded as saying, "Sit thou on my right hand¹," words addressed specially to Abraham, according to the Rabbis, but in any case conveying a call to security and restful communion with God. Taken literally, "the Sanctuary," or that part of it which contained the Holy of Holies, lay in the borders of Benjamin, who, alone of the twelve sons of Israel, is called "the beloved of the Lord²." In the Psalms he is also called "the little one," and yet receives the place of honour in the Passage of the Red Sea³. It will be shewn that—in spite of many misunderstandings of the Hebrew story of the birth of Benjamin and of the Hebrew allusions to him—the pathetic contrast between Rachel's sorrow and Israel's joy, over the birth of the youngest of the twelve sons, so appealed to Christian mystics of the twelfth century that Benjamin became, for Richard of St Victor, the climax of the Twelve, and the symbol of that "contemplation" which attains to "the sight of God." Much more naturally might such a thought occur to our author, fully understanding the true story of the birth of the "son of the right hand," and prepared by Jewish traditions to believe that, though "little," he became a "ruler," and was chosen to be the very home of that abiding Presence of God which his countrymen called the Shechinah (3815 *e* foll.).

in Lactantius, this twofold mention of *βούλησις* may be fairly taken as indicating that the former laid stress on the Divine *Boulèsis*.

¹ Ps. cx. 1, on which see Rashi.

² Deut. xxxiii. 12 (3797 *a*).

³ Ps. lxxviii. 27 (3815 *e*₂).

20. Who therefore will rise up against my work, or who will there be that is not compliant with them¹?

21. [It was] I [that] willed-by-my-good-pleasure (?)² and [thereby] formed-and-fashioned³ the understanding and the heart; and they are verily my own⁴; and on my own right hand⁵ have I set my elect⁶.

¹ [3815 *a*] "Compliant with them"—*i.e.* with those of whom it has been said above "my own work are they." R.H. has "*subject to them*," H. expresses adj. and neg. by "*ungehorsam*." The form here used is described, in Levy *Ch.* i. 316 *a*, as "syrisch Etthaf," of a word meaning "consent unto," "comply with." The active is used by Onkelos in Gen. xxxiv. 15, 22, 23 "consent unto." The spelling (comp. *Thes.* 1505 with *ib.* 3182, and Gen. in Walton) appears to vary. If the meaning is "comply with," it would appear to be a parall. to Prov. xvi. 7 "When a man's ways please the Lord he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." Not only are there to be no actively opposing enemies ("rising up"), but there is even to be a desire in them to be "compliant." Comp. Rom. viii. 28 "To them that love God all things work together for good, [even] to them that are called according to his purpose," on the context of which, as being parall. to the Ode, see 3811.

² [3815 *b*] "Willed-by-my-good-pleasure (?)." *Thes.* 3352 gives no authority for supposing that the writer could mean "I *willed* the understanding," or that, if the phrase existed, it would not mean "I *desired* it." But the meaning may be "I willed-by-my-good-pleasure and [thereby] formed," like "He spake and it was done." Thus "I *willed*" would be used absolutely. The verb is the same as that in viii. 18 "I was-well-pleased." *Thes.* 3352 gives an instance of confusion between this word and another (3360) meaning "adorned (*ἐκόσμησα*)." But apart from other considerations, the "adorning" could not precede the "forming."

³ [3815 *c*] "Formed-and-fashioned." The Syr. (*Thes.* 640) occurs in Gen. ii. 7, 8 of the *forming* of Adam, and also in Ps. xxxiii. 13—15 "He beholdeth all the sons of man...he that *fashioneth* the hearts of them all." Having described "the framing of the members" in viii. 17, the writer now describes the development of the higher nature of man.

⁴ [3815 *d*] "They." By "they" are meant, not the gifts of heart and understanding, but the recipients of these gifts. These recipients are God's, by virtue of His gifts, which are not only *to* them but also *in* them. The gifts are of the very essence of men's highest being, and yet belonging to God. Thus they make their human possessors divine possessions.

⁵ [3815 *e*] "On my own right hand." In this Ode, which (viii. 7) introduced the first mention of God's right hand as delivering the saints from enemies, there occurs also the first mention of it in connection with the triumph or rest of the saints in exaltation. "On...right hand" occurs

perhaps once again (Ode xix. 5 "and they that receive in its fulness are those *on the right hand*"—so R.H., and sim. H.—but probably better (3809 a) "those who receive [it] are in the perfection of *the right hand*"). In Ode xviii. 7 R.H. has "Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand" (with n. "or, To Victory may thy right hand bring our Salvation," and sim. H.). In Ode xxv. 1—2 R.H. Engl. (both editions) "Thou art the right hand of my Salvation," R.H. Syr. 1st ed. has "my right hand," but 2nd ed. "the right hand" (without n. to indicate change) with which Codex N agrees. Presumably R.H. 1st ed. contains a misprinted text (which H. tries to amend).

[3815 e₁] The following facts confirm the view that in the first century, and after it, interpretations were actually current, and allegorizings likely to be current, about "the right hand" as mentioned in Gen. xxxv. 18 "she (*i.e.* Rachel in the moment of dying) called his name Ben-oni (*i.e.* son of my sorrow) but his father called him Ben-jamin (*i.e.* son of the right hand)." Jeremiah (xxxi. 15—17), referring to the story (though not necessarily to any written story) of Rachel's "sorrow," regards it as repeated, at the Captivity, "over her children"—till she hears the Lord say "they shall come again." This is applied by Matthew (ii. 18) to the massacre of the babes in Bethlehem, from which Jesus escaped to Egypt (and from which, it might be added, He "came again" in safety). Thus one whom Herod endeavoured to make "a son of sorrow" was saved by God to be "a son of the right hand." But *jamin* in Aramaic might mean "days," and hence *Test. XII. Patr.* (ed. Charles, *Benj.* i. 6, where see note) as well as Philo i. 592 thus interpret the name. Jerome protests against the error. Rashi takes the Heb. *jamin* to mean "south," Benjamin being born in the south, unlike his brethren.

[3815 e₂] In Ps. lxxviii. 27 "little Benjamin *their ruler*," the LXX takes "their ruler" as "*in ecstasy*." Origen's only extant comment is "About Paul, *they say*, he prophesies this." Jerome, also referring it to Paul, and commenting on "ecstasy," adds "quem pertulit in Damascus cum iret" (comp. Philipp. iii. 5 and Acts xxii. 7 perhaps combined with *ib.* 17 "in ecstasy"). But among the Jews in the second century, R. Meir interpreted the difficult phrase "*their ruler*" as meaning "*went down into [the Red] Sea*" (so *Mechilt.* on Exod. xiv. 22, quoting Deut. xxxiii. 12 "the beloved of the Lord," and so *Sota* 37 a, and other authorities). R. Meir implied that there was a strife among the tribes for precedence in danger. See also Origen's (*Hom. Exod.* v. 5) curious remark on an apparently ancient tradition ("a majoribus observata") about "divisions"—but *for* the tribes, not *among* the tribes—made in the Sea, where he quotes Ps. lxxviii. 27 "Benjamin junior *in stupore*."

[3815 e₃] The effect of this LXX tradition about "Benjamin *in ecstasy* (Vulg. *in mentis excessu*)" is traceable in a beautiful tract by Richard of St Victor (c. 1141 A.D.) entitled "Benjamin," or "the Way to

true Contemplation" (see *The Cell of Self-Knowledge*, 1521, reprinted by Chatto and Windus, 1910). Near the close comes this appeal to the reader, "What so thou be that covetest to come to contemplation of God, that is to say, to bring forth such a child that men clepen in the story Benjamin (that is to say, sight of God)...call together thy thoughts...and make thee of them a church, and learn thee therein for to love only this good word *Jesu...*" This, though based on a complete misunderstanding, may enable us to understand how a Christian Jewish poet in the first century, rightly understanding the Hebrew text and the Jewish traditions based upon it, might be profoundly influenced by the contrast between "Ben-oni" and "Ben-jamin," the "sorrow" of Rachel on earth that came with the night of death, and the consolation of Rachel in heaven that was to come with the morning of resurrection, when "the son of" her "sorrow" was revealed as "the son of" the Lord's "right hand," who was also "the dearly-beloved of the Lord," strengthening and guiding Israel to enter into the presence of the eternal Love.

Some later Christian writers might look askance at the claims of Benjamin, the Son of the Right Hand, as interfering with the more orthodox and familiar Messianic title, Son of David. But in the first century, and in such poems as these, we must expect poetic vision and allusion rather than the fixed orthodoxy of an established Church.

⁶ [3815*f*] "My elect." The only previous mention of "elect" was in Ode iv. 8 "the elect archangels." Here the word comes somewhat abruptly—after the description of the creation of the members, and heart, and understanding, of those who are the Lord's—to summarise the consistency of God's action. God has been doing all this for those whom, in effect, He has already "elected," or "chosen," and has already placed in heaven. Comp. Eph. i. 3—4 "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who *hath blessed us* with every spiritual blessing *in the heavenly [places]* in Christ, even as he *elect* (or, *chose*) us in him before the foundation of the world that we should be holy..." So here, God says that He "*has set*" His elect on His right hand. Subsequently it is said that (Ode xxiii. 1—3) "joy" is "of the saints" and "grace" and "fervent-love" are "of the elect," and (Ode xxxiii. 11) "my elect walk in me."

The thought of "election" or "choosing" does not come definitely into Biblical history till the prediction (Gen. xxv. 23) about Jacob and Esau, to which Paul refers (Rom. ix. 11—13, quoting Mal. i. 2—3) to illustrate God's "election"—Jacob being preferred to Esau before birth, though both were (Is. xli. 8) "the seed" of him whom God calls "Abraham my friend." But the eighth Psalm, and this Ode, suggest that there was a "choosing" from the beginning, when God chose the as yet uncreated "son of man" to be, in effect, "son of His right hand" and ruler over all previously formed creatures.

22. And my righteousness goeth¹ before them, and they shall not be bereaved² of my name, because it is [ever] with them³.

23. Ask ye, and exceed [that which ye asked, in your receiving]⁴, and wait-patiently⁵ in the love of the Lord.

[3815 g] The Odes, like the Ephesian Epistle, imply that the "elect" were elected to be "holy," or to "walk" in the Lord. The writers apparently refuse to suppose as possible that those whom they address may prove themselves to have been not "elected," by ceasing to "walk" in the Lord. But we have to remember that in the first century it was a great discovery for many Jews to find that Gentiles, as well as Jews, might say (Eph. i. 4) "He chose us, in him (*i.e.* in Christ), *before the foundation of the world*, that we should be holy...."

¹ [3815 h] "Goeth." R.H. 1st ed. "And if my righteousness had not been before them...", with n. "something missing." H., having before him R.H. 1st ed., agrees that something is missing. But R.H. 2nd ed. has "and my righteousness goeth before them," with no note on the English text. In the Syr., however, of the 2nd ed., *z* is substituted for the very similar *n*, with n. "sic cod."

It would seem then that the text, when correctly transcribed, makes the word identical (*Theo.* 108) with a participial form of the usual Syr. for "go," of which the fut. occurs in Is. lviii. 8 "thy righteousness *shall go* before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward." That prophecy illustrates our author's meaning. Accepting the Lord as the fulness of every human faculty and virtue, and as being man's Hope, Peace, Joy, and Love, he sees Him as the Righteousness of redeemed Israel, and of each redeemed soul, going before us and helping our lagging footsteps with His "right hand" during our wanderings in the wilderness, and receiving us up into heaven "on the right hand" when the wanderings are over.

² [3815 i] "Bereaved." R.H. "deprived." H. has "beraubt," possibly meaning "bereaved," which is the rendering of the word favoured by *Theo.* 1587—8. Its root means "single," and it means "*left absolutely alone*" in 1 Tim. v. 5 "a widow indeed and *desolate* (*μεμονωμένη*)" and in Is. xlix. 21 (R.V.) "I have been bereaved of my children and am *solitary* (marg. *barren*)" A.V. "*desolate*"—where the meaning appears to be "without my husband." In this sense the poet may apply it here to Israel, the Bride, who will not be "bereaved" of the "Name"—which signifies the Presence of the Husband.

³ [3815 j] "Because...them." To say "it *is* with them" does not seem to prove that "it *will be* with them." But we are to interpret God's saying "I am with thee" (as in Gen. xxvi. 24) as meaning "I am [ever] with thee."

⁴ [3815 k] "Exceed [that which ye asked, in your receiving]." R.H.

24. And¹ the dearly-beloved in the Dearly-Beloved¹, and they that are [safely] guarded in Him that liveth².

25. And the redeemed in Him that was redeemed³.

"Abound," but in 2nd ed. adds in footn., from H., "Fl.: Bittet ohne Unterlass." The latter rendering has, at first sight, many instances in its favour, *e.g.* (*The*s. 2518) 2 K. ii. 10, Job xl. 25 (R.V. xli. 3) &c. where this verb is used with verbs of asking, to mean excessive, importunate, or vehement petition. But in all these cases, and in others where it is thus used adverbially, "exceed" comes *first*. Not a single instance is given of the use of "and exceed," *after its accompanying verb*. But the verb occurs absolutely in Exod. xvi. 17, 18 (Syr. and Onk.) of "exceeding" a prescribed amount (comp. Numb. xxxv. 8 (Syr. and Onk.) "from those that exceed [the average] ye shall exceed [the average]"). If used thus here—and the condensed style would be characteristic of the Odes—it would mean, in effect, "Ask and exceed in receiving." The corresponding Hebrew is used absolutely (Gesen. 915 *b*) both in Exod. and Numb. as quoted, and in Hab. ii. 6, Prov. xiii. 11, xxii. 16. The precept "*pray* without ceasing," is not so characteristic of the Odes as "*praise* without ceasing." "Ask and exceed in receiving" would well suit their general tone. This would be a little stronger than "ask and abound," for it would mean "ask, and receive *more than ye asked*."

The verb-form is causative, so that "abound," if adopted as the rendering, must not be taken to mean "multiplicari," which is the meaning of the non-causative verb-form (*The*s. 2517). The text has a superfluous *yod*, which would give the meaning "fence round." Its removal is assumed by R.H. and accepted by H.

⁵ [3815 *l*] "Wait-patiently." This verb implies "waiting" (and not merely remaining in one place) very often in Syr. (*The*s. 3509) and always in Heb. (Gesen. 875 *b*). R.H. "abide," H. "bleibet."

¹ [3815 *m*] "And...in the Dearly-Beloved." This is one of the instances in these Odes (3731 *t*, 3734 *a*) where "and" may perhaps be used for "even" or "yea."

On "dearly-beloved," or "greatly-beloved," see 3754 *f*.

² [3815 *n*] "In Him that liveth." This seems to be condensed for "in Him that [ever] liveth [and is therefore ever able to guard those whom He loves]." Comp. Heb. vii. 23—5, which contrasts other priests, "hindered by death from continuing," with our Priest who "is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near to God through Him, since He *ever liveth to make intercession for them*," Job xix. 25 "I know that my Redeemer *liveth*," and Rev. i. 17—18 "Fear not, I am the First and the Last, and the *Living* [one]; and I became dead, and behold, I am *living for evermore*, and I have the Keys of Death and of Hades."

³ [3815 *o*] "The redeemed in Him that was redeemed." At the end

of the clauses intended to shew that the Redeemer has Himself passed through the mortal stages from which He will redeem men, this comes as a climax. The Syr. for "redeemed" (R.H. "saved," H. "Erlösten") corresponds in O.T. to Heb. (1) "save" (2) "redeem" (3) "ransom" &c., e.g. to "redeem" in Is. xxxv. 9, 10 "the *redeemed* shall walk and the *ransomed* of the Lord shall return"—where both Syr. and Aram. have but one word, and that the word here rendered "redeem." For the thought, comp. Heb. v. 7 "who (*i.e.* Jesus) offered up prayers...unto him that was able to *save* (σώξεν) *him* from (ἐκ) death."

[3815 β] But whereas, in the Ode, "the *redeemed*" is part. pass., "*was redeemed*" is a middle form (*Thes.* 3294). And the latter, though mostly used in a passive sense, is capable of being used in a middle sense in the sense of *separation* (*Thes.* 3294) e.g. Numb. xvi. 26 (Syr.) "*separate [and save] yourselves* from the tents of those wicked men." Also in 4 Macc. vi. 27, a martyr says, "Though I could have *saved-myself* (παρὸν μοι σώξασθαι), I am dying for the Law." The question therefore arises whether the writer meant, not exactly "*was redeemed*," but something that might suggest "*redeemed Himself*." Comp. Ode ix. 5 "Be strong and *be redeemed* in His grace," and Ode xxxiii. 9 "Hear me, and *be redeemed*," which suggest, not indeed self-redemption, but at all events a contributory act on the part of the "redeemed." In this particular passage, the context indicates that the meaning is something of this kind: "Him that *was redeemed* [*pre-eminently, and by His own power, because He could not be held captive by death*]." Comp. Ode xli. 13 "the Man who was bowed down (*or*, humbled Himself) and was lifted up *in the righteousness that was His [own]*."

[3815 γ] Some illustration may be derived from Is. lix. 16 "His (*i.e.* God's) arm brought salvation to him (*i.e.* God)," Syr. "*redeemed him*." The difficulty of that passage reflects itself in Ibn Ezra, who calls it an anthropomorphism, and in Rashi, who paraphrases "redeemed" as "avenged Himself on His enemies." The LXX also, which renders the Heb. by σώξω more than 160 times, renders it here uniquely by ἡμύνατο ("*avenged Himself on them with His arm*"). But the meaning seems to be that when God, identifying Himself with Israel, saw no earthly saviour of Israel appear, "*His own arm came, as it were, to His and Israel's rescue, bringing salvation*."

[3815 δ] On the whole, it seems best not to avoid the usual passive interpretation of the Syriac middle by rendering "redeemed Himself." Partly, Syriac usage is against it, but still more the thought. For Jesus did *not* "redeem Himself." At least, that is not the right way of expressing it. "He saved others, *himself he cannot save*" (Mk xv. 31) expresses a truth as well as an untruth. Acts ii. 24 says "it was not possible" for Him to be "holden" by death. He was therefore "redeemed," or "saved" from death, by His own nature, as the first-fruits of Redemption, "the

26. And incorruptible shall ye be found in all the aeons to the Name of your Father¹. Hallelujah.

[3816] The compression of thoughts in this poem makes it difficult sometimes to perceive their exact sequence. But on the whole we seem to see a poet's vision of Love working throughout the aeons, through degradation and misery to glory and exultation, through ignorance to knowledge, and through war to peace. This vision reveals the Secret of the Lord. It is the Secret of the Birth and Growth of Man,

firstborn" (Rev. i. 5, and comp. Col. i. 18) "of the dead." After He had thus been redeemed by His own righteousness from the dead and had ascended to heaven, it was the part of His saints on earth to "wait patiently [for their full and final redemption] in the love of the Lord—the redeemed in Him that was redeemed."

[3815 s] This accords with Heb. v. 6—7, where the "priest after the order of Melchizedek" is said to have "offered up prayers" to Him that was able "to *save* (σώζειν) him out of death," and also with the *Acts of John* § 11 where Jesus is represented as saying "I desire to be *saved* (σωθῆναι) and I desire to save (σῶσαι)." But it also accords with the Hebrew text of Zechariah ix. 9 "He is just and *saved*, lowly, and riding upon an ass," which Rashi and Kimchi apply to the Messiah as being "saved" from His enemies (e.g. Gog and Magog). The Jewish conception of the divine sympathy with (elect) humanity goes still further in a tradition about Jehovah Himself, where *Numb. r.* (on *Numb. ii. 2*, Wü. p. 12) quoting *Exod. xiv. 30* "And the Lord *saved* Israel on that day," calls attention to the spelling of the word, and says, "It is as though the Israelites were *saved*, and as if He also were *saved*." This agrees with the better known rendering of *Is. lxiii. 9* "In all their affliction he was afflicted" (s. *Son*, Index, "Afflicted").

¹ [3815 t] "Incorruptible...Father." This must be taken with *Ode vii. 13* "He it is that is incorruptible, the fulness of the aeons and the Father of them" (where see *Wisd. ii. 23* quoted in 3781 h "God created man for incorruptibility"). The meaning is that, in the end of all the aeons, the Incorruptible Father of all the aeons will have kept His Promise to His human children that they should be conformed to His incorruptible nature. "Found" implies, perhaps, "found" in the Day of Judgment, as in *1 Cor. iv. 2*, *2 Cor. v. 3* &c. (comp. *1 Pet. i. 7*). "*Your Father*" suddenly introduces the thought of "fatherhood," without saying expressly that the Father is God. That is reserved for the next *Ode* (ix. 4).

passing from corruption to predestined incorruption, and from the darkness of the womb to the splendour of the right hand of the Lord. But that is not all. The question is, "Birth from whom?" The answer is, "From the Lord Himself," to whom the Child, Humanity, is to be conformed. The summary of the Secret is in the last word "Father"—mentioned before impersonally as "the Father of the aeons," but now personally, as "your Father¹."

[3817] If space permitted, the connection of thoughts in

¹ [3816 *a*] On Jewish views of the Secret of the Lord, the Midrash on Gen. xviii. 17 ("Shall I hide from Abraham...?") (Wü. p. 229 foll., too long for quotation) is worth noticing as consociating, so to speak, dissociable notions. The numerical value of "secret" is 70, and God's secret promised to Abraham (Deut. x. 22) "seventy" souls to go down to Egypt, (Numb. xi. 16) "seventy" elders, and a Law that should be taught in "seventy" tongues to the "seventy" nations of the Gentiles. The Secret of the Lord is (Ps. xxv. 14) for "them that fear him," and such a one (Gen. xxii. 12) was Abraham. Those that fear the Lord are upright, and Abraham was the most upright of the upright. This it derives from Cant. i. 4 "*rightly* do they love thee," apparently taking "*rightly*" as "*of the upright*" (as to which it may be noted that the context "Draw us, we will run after thee" is apparently alluded to in Ode vii. 2). God is described as saying that, since He has called Abraham father (Gen. xvii. 4—5 "the father of a multitude of *nations*," and Gen. xvii. 6 "I will make *nations* of thee"), He ought not to do anything to the children (*i.e.* to "*the nations*") without letting him know; Abraham (Wü. p. 231) knew already the New Name of Jerusalem (Jerem. iii. 17 "they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord and all *the nations* shall be gathered unto it").

[3816 *b*] This last passage illustrates Jn viii. 56 "Abraham rejoiced that he might see my day, and he saw it and was glad." Also the connection between "*secret*" and "*seventy*," and the "*nations*," may illustrate Luke's arrangement of Christ's words about the hiding of the gospel from the wise and prudent and the revealing of it to babes. For Luke (x. 21) makes this utterance part of a reply—or immediately following on a reply—of Jesus to the "seventy" Apostles. See *Son* 3503 *a—b*.

The Secret of the Lord, as imparted to Abraham, might also be connected with the predestined salvation of the world through the as yet unborn Child of Promise, Isaac—that is, Joy, born not of man but of God. But concerning this the Midrash is silent.

this Ode, and their concentration on "the Babe," as containing "the Secret of the Lord," could be profitably illustrated in detail from the *Instructor*, or *Pedagogue*, of Clement of Alexandria. An outline of his remarks on "the Babe" is given below¹.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA ON "THE BABE"

¹ [3817 *a*] Early in the treatise Clement (101) refers to "the good Instructor," the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, from whose "Right Order" we, human beings, "received the best and most steadfast order," above that of the heavenly bodies. This, which is a manifest allusion to the eighth Psalm, the Psalm of the Babes, is prefaced by the statement that "with the dawn of intelligence (*ἀμα νοήματι*, comp. 852) we became babes [to God]." Then, just as the Ode briefly notes God's special affection for His handiwork, so does Clement, but (101—3) at much greater length. Thence he passes (103 foll.) to the thought of "husband" and "wife" (*ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός*) and marriage, and of the usual Greek word for "man," *anthropos*, as meaning woman as well as man (like our "human-being.")

[3817 *b*] At the end of this section he says that the Greek "*lambs*" may refer either to the male or to the female. This seems at first like a bit of pedantical digression. But it prepares the way for a mention of "*lambs*" in the next section, which is a long discourse on "the *young*" in many aspects, including Christ's quotation of the eighth Psalm in the form, "Out of the mouth of *babes and sucklings* hast thou perfected praise," and also the saying in Isaiah (viii. 18) "Behold, I, and *the children* that God hath given to me." The words "As a hen gathereth her *chickens*" are declared (106) to be uttered by "the Word" "mystically" describing the *simplicity of childhood*; the "new name" for the Lord's people in Isaiah (lxv. 15—16) is to denote what is "simple" and "*babe-like*." Why (Clement asks) does Zechariah (ix. 9) speak of a "colt" as "*young*"—superfluously as it seems? It is to shew "the *youth* of humanity in Christ." For this cause Jesus (107) used the words "Whosoever shall humble himself as this *little child*." And here Clement adds a caution (107) "He does not use the appellation of *little children* as meaning the age of those [as yet] unable-to-reason—as *some have thought*."

[3817 *c*] These words point to a later date than that of the Odes. For the Odes shew no trace of caution in using the most exuberant language about "babes" and "milk" and the "breasts" of God as the Nursing Father. Clement on the contrary passes (108—9) into a long defence of the term "babes," in order to shew that it does not imply a preference for folly, and that it is not inconsistent with the Pauline doctrine of "the full-grown man."

[3817 *d*] Later on, Clement touches on a point of anthropological as well as theological interest to which prominence has been given in modern times by the author of *Ecce Homo*, namely, that the feebleness of the young often appeals to the full-grown and strong. So too (says Clement) the Father of the universe (110) "accepts those who flee to Him for help; and *regenerates them by the Spirit to the adoption of sons, and knows [them as] babes* (leg. *νηπίους*), and *loves these alone*, and becomes their Helper and Champion—and for this cause uses the name '*little-child*.'"

[3817 *e*] His next sentence shews how a Jew would see a special connection between the thought of a "*child*" and the thought of "*exultation*" with which this Ode begins. All nations think the birth of a child a joy; but not all nations have such national legends as the Jews have about the birth of Isaac, "*laughter*." Accordingly Clement proceeds (110 foll.): "I [for my part] class *Isaac as a child*. The interpretation of '*Isaac*' is '*laughter*.'" Then follows much more about "Isaac" as being "delivered from death," and "laughing," and "sporting," in a Christian aspect ("He bore the wood of the sacrifice, as the Lord bore the wood [of the cross], and he '*laughed*' mystically, prophesying that the Lord would fill us with joy") and as being the type of the Child prophesied by Isaiah (ix. 6) and fulfilled in (112) "*the Lamb of God*" who is also "*the Babe of the Father*."

[3817 *f*] "The Babe of the Father," closing one section, introduces another (113 foll.), "Against those who suppose that the appellation of *little-children and babes* hints at elementary teaching." It discusses "baptism," "illumination," "adoption-as-sons," "perfection," leading to "absolute immortality (*ἀπαθανάτωμεθα*)"—a work called by many names, "gift-of-grace (*χάρισμα*)," and "illumination," and "perfecting," and "washing." Beginning with "washing," Clement explains these terms severally, but presently returns to the fundamental fact that we thus become "*children*" and (117) "run-back to the eternal light, the *children* (*οἱ παῖδες*) to the Father," as to which he quotes the words of Jesus, "I thank thee, O Father...that thou hast hid these things...and hast revealed them to *babes*." This leads to discussion (118 foll.) about "babes" in the Pauline sense, *i.e.* those under the Law; and about "milk" in the Pauline sense and in the non-Pauline sense; and about its relation to "blood" in the Johannine sense; and (124) about the "breast" of the Father—all indicating how Clement was affected by circumstances of controversy and criticism of which we find few traces in the Odes.

[3817 *g*] He then passes (129 foll.) to the question, "Who is the Instructor, or Child-leader?" It is Jesus, the Shepherd, who tends the sheep that are the "*babes*." Playing on the latter part of the word *Pedagogue*, *i.e.* *Child-leader*, he says that the "Child-leader" is the Logos, who *leads* the *children* to salvation. It was (131 foll.) He that

Here we may point out that he, like Philo, is influenced by the fact that the LXX represents as a "Master-Workman," and not as a "Nursling," that Eternal Wisdom which (as the Book of Proverbs says) "sported" before the throne of God, and had "delight" with the sons of Man. Our author, adopting the Jewish rendering "Nursling," would be far freer than Clement to see "the Babe" in the very beginning of things as God's partner in the "secret" of spiritual creation, by which, through the Spirit of the incarnate "Babe," the sons of Man, themselves becoming "babes," were to be drawn to the bosom—or as Clement and our poet call it, the "breasts"—of the Nursing Father.

(Deut. xxxii. 10—12) provided for the people of Israel when He "*led*" them in the wilderness. It was He that (Exod. xx. 2) "*led*" them out of Egypt. He, also, said to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 1—2) "I am thy God (*Heb.* El Shaddai), be-well-pleasing before me." Thus, "in the manner of a true *Child-leader*, He secretly fashions Abraham so as to be a faithful *child* (*παῖδα*)"—a remark that would seem more to the point if we could suppose that Clement had some vague notions about "Shaddai" (see *Son*, Index) as being connected with the All-sufficing Father, and perhaps with "breasts."

[3817 *h*] Of Jacob the Lord became the Child-leader, says Clement, leading him on his journey and (132) training him to be an athlete by (Gen. xxxii. 24) "wrestling" with him. Yet He would not tell Jacob His name. Why? Because, though He was "wrestling-trainer (*ἀλείπτης*)" to Jacob," He was "Child-leader to Humanity (*τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος*)," and so He refused to disclose His name, "For He was keeping the NEW NAME [in reserve] for the *New People, the Babe*. And as yet, too, God [that is] the Lord [Jesus], was unnamed, not yet having become man [as Jesus]."

[3817 *i*] This conclusion indicates Clement's view, that the NAME was of the nature of a "secret" or "mystery," between God and the Logos, Son, or Babe. Elsewhere, quoting Isaiah (xliv. 19, xlv. 4) or Paul (1 Cor. ii. 9) Clement writes (436) "'Lo, I make new things,' saith the Word, 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man'"; and there he insists (as Philo and the Odes do) on the need of "a new eye, a new ear, and a new heart." Here he implies that all these new senses were needed for the reception of the secret of the Lord—hidden through many aeons, until it could be revealed by "the Babe of God" to those alone who, by receiving His Spirit, could likewise become "babes" of the same kind.

[3817 (i)] It must be added that the author of the Odes—perhaps in part because he was a poet, but certainly also in part because he wrote at a very early date—does not lead us through those weary wastes of controversial and fanciful exposition with which Clement encircles his beautiful oases of spiritual imagery. He believed in a Trinity—that is to say, in a Father, Mother, and Son—but in a Trinity that was from the beginning. *There never was a time when these divine relations did not exist. No “begetting” of the Eternal Son by the Father seems to be recognised in the Odes*¹. Gnostic controversies—about Monogenēs the Only-begotten, and about “the joint fruit of the Pleroma,” and “Sophia, mother of all living creatures,” and “the Jerusalem that is...Sophia whose spouse is the joint fruit of the Pleroma”²—had no existence for our poet. He used much simpler language—yet language that may have been as distasteful to some in the first century as to us. *He speaks of “milk” as the emblem of the love that passes jointly from the Father and the Mother to the Son above, and through Him to the sons of Man below, who might be called the Ecclesia on earth.* A similar hypothesis is attributed to Simon Magus—of milk, or a “milk-like fruit,” changing beast-like into human nature and reshaping fallen man, but along with a multitude of Simonian fanciful details quite alien from the Odes³. For those who wish to study the shaping of the doctrine of the Church about the birth of Christ—but not for others—it may be worth while to set forth in detail what Clement of Alexandria says about “the Fruit of the Virgin”⁴.

¹ [3817 (i) *a*₁] H.'s Index does not contain “erzeugen,” but, under the heading “Zeugung,” it refers to Ode xli. 10 “*His riches (3820 a) begat me (H. erzeugt),*” an expression to which it would be difficult to find an exact parallel in Scripture or in Christian literature. See 3817 (i) *h*.

² Hippol. (ed. Duncker) vi. 34.

³ Hippol. vi. 16.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA ON “THE FRUIT OF THE VIRGIN”

⁴ [3817 (i) *a*] In connection with the thought of the Messiah as the Son of the Vine (3710 *b* foll.) attention was called to Jacob's Blessing of

Joseph, mentioning "blessings of the breasts and of the womb," but not to the verbal similarity between those words and the blessing pronounced by "a woman from the multitude" on Jesus (Lk. xi. 27) "Blessed (μακαρία) is *the womb* that bare thee and the *breasts* that thou hast sucked." To this Jesus replies, "Nay, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it." Μακαρία, *i.e.* happy, worthy to be called blessed, is a different epithet from the one twice used in Lk. i. 42 "Blessed (εὐλογημένη) art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." But that fact does not remove the inconsistency, at least on the surface, between the two passages. Tertullian's comment on Christ's reply (*Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 26) indicates that some found a difficulty in Christ's "rejection (rejecerat)" of His Mother; and he says that, as on a previous occasion (Lk. viii. 21), He "transferred the blessedness to disciples, from the womb and breasts of His mother, from whom He would not [and could not] have transferred [it] if she had it not (a qua non transtulisset si eam [*i.e.* felicitatem] non [mater] haberet)" (Clark "unless He had in her [a real mother]"). Ephrem (on Lk. xi. 27) says, "This [*i.e.* the woman's] commendation He took from His mother and gave to His disciples; for in Mary it was [only] for a certain time, but in disciples for eternity (in Maria enim per aliquod tempus, in discipulis autem in aeternum fuit)." Origen (*Hom. Lk.* vii, on Lk. i. 39—45) says that "a certain person has been so mad as to assert" that Mary was "disowned (negatam)" by the Saviour, and that such heresy is to be confuted by Lk. i. 42 "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." Comp. his *Fragm.* on Lk. i. 42—3 where Elisabeth says "What great good have I done (or, why this great goodness for me?) that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and he adds, "She hails as 'mother' her who was still virgin—in prophetic utterance anticipating the event—and names the Saviour '*fruit of the womb*' because He was not from a husband (ἀνδρός) but from Mary alone (μόνης τῆς Μαρίας)." Then he adds οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τὴν σπορὰν ἔχοντες ἐκείνων εἰσὶ καρποί. Apparently he distinguishes between "*fruits of fathers*," *i.e.* children born naturally, and "*fruit of the womb*," *i.e.* a child born supernaturally. But, as a fact, "*fruit of the womb*" is a regular Biblical phrase for "offspring," accepted as such in Ps. cxxvii. 3 by Origen himself. But "*fruit of men*," or "*fruit of father or mother or human being*," without some intervening noun, is not alleged (Gesen. 826 a) from the Bible nor (Steph. *Thes.* καρπός) from Greek literature.

[3817 (i) b] All the more remarkable is a passage where Clement of Alexandria, besides mentioning "*the fruit of the Virgin*," also alludes to the Lucan "blessing" pronounced on the "womb and breasts" (although the allusion is not recognised in Klotz's text, or Clark's translation). Discussing the terms "little children" and "babes" applied to Christ's disciples, Clement contends diffusely that, for human beings (124—5),

"blood" is produced by "food" and "milk" by "blood," just as "the grape" for "the vine." He quotes (126) Gen. xlix. 11 "the blood of grapes" as meaning "the Lord's blood," though it is also described as "milk." "Wine," from the same prophecy, is also mentioned there and, apart from the prophecy, later on (128). "The blood" is also (126) "the word"—once that of Abel, now that of Christ. This sustenance has been previously described as coming sometimes (122—3) from "the breasts," at other times (125) "in a shower of milk and honey," or "a fountain of life," or "a river of olive oil." It is among such metaphors as these that "the fruit of the Virgin" is mentioned, in an introduction to a loose version of Jn vi. 53 foll. "eat ye my flesh and drink ye my blood": (123) Ἄλλ' αἱ μὲν γυναικες αἱ κύουσαι μητέρες γενόμεναι πηγάζουσι γάλα, ὁ δὲ Κύριος ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τῆς παρθένου καρπός, οὐκ ἐμακάρισε τοὺς γυναικείους μαστοὺς οὐδὲ ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς τροφεῖς, ἀλλὰ, τοῦ φιλοστόργου καὶ φιλανθρώπου Πατρὸς ἐπομύρησαντος τὸν Λόγον, αὐτὸς ἤδη τροφή γέγονε πνευματικὴ τοῖς σώφροσιν. This retains the Lucan antithesis between "the breasts" and "the word." But Clement turns the second Lucan clause, which was, in effect, "the Lord pronounced those blessed who receive the word of God," into "the Lord, *being the Word*, gave the blessing of the Word to His disciples." This resembles the Johannine saying (i. 12—13) "As many as received him (*i.e.* the Word), to them gave he authority to become children of God...who were begotten not of bloods (Son 3583 (x)) nor from the will of flesh, nor from the will of husband (ἀνδρός, but from God."

[3817 (i) c] So far, the meaning attached by Clement to Christ's reply is fairly clear; He pronounces spiritual kinship more blessed than material kinship. But why is Jesus, when giving this reply, described as "the Lord, the Christ, *the Fruit of the Virgin*"? We have seen above that the phrase "fruit of so-and-so" has no recognised existence, in the sense of human offspring. Can it be that Clement is here abbreviating Elisabeth's utterance to Mary "blessed is the *fruit of thy womb*"? Origen maintained that the *insertion* of "thy womb" implies supernatural birth. Did Clement suppose that its *omission* implies the same thing?

The question appears to be answered by what follows, in which Clement (123) avows his own belief ("I like to call," subsequently followed by a remark to the reader, "but you do not feel disposed [perhaps] to understand [it] in this way, but in a popular way (κοινότερον)") that the Ecclesia, or Church, is a good name for the Virgin Mother:—ᾧ θαύματος μυστικοῦ· εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Πατήρ, εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄλων Λόγος· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ· μία δὲ μόνη γίνεται Μήτηρ Παρθένος. Ἐκκλησίαν ἐμοὶ φίλον αὐτὴν καλεῖν. Γάλα οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη μόνη ὅτι μόνη μὴ γέγονεν γυνή. Παρθένος δὲ ἅμα καὶ Μήτηρ ἐστίν, ἀκήρατος μὲν ὡς παρθένος, ἀγαπητικὴ δὲ ὡς μήτηρ· καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς παιδία προσκαλουμένη ἁγίω

τιθηνείται γάλακτι τῷ βρεφώδει Λόγῳ—διὸ οὐκ ἔσχε γάλα, ὅτι γάλα ἦν τὸ Παιδίον τοῦτο, καλὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ—τὴν νεολαίαν ὑποτροφούσα[ν] τῷ Λόγῳ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκύησεν ὁ Κύριος ὠδίῳ σαρκικῇ, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐσπαργάνωσεν ὁ Κύριος αἵματι τιμῇ. *Ω τῶν ἁγίων λοχευμάτων, ὦ τῶν ἁγίων σπαργάνων· ὁ Λόγος τὰ πάντα τῷ νηπίῳ—καὶ Πατὴρ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Παιδαγωγὸς καὶ Τροφεύς. (Comp. Jn vi. 53) “Φάγετέ μου,” φησὶ, “τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνετε μου τὸ αἷμα.”

[3817 (i) d] This very difficult passage—which is given fully here for future reference but cannot be here fully discussed—appears to be a Christian development of Philo's (i. 553) doctrine that Wisdom, Sophia, is the Daughter of God, and “always Virgin,” and yet that she is “Father,” as also (i. 213) “Nurse and Foster-Mother” of those who seek life incorruptible. Elsewhere, when Clement (333) likens “*Wisdom*, dwelling with the man of faith,” to Sarah dwelling with Abraham, he proceeds to quote Philo by name. And in a passage connecting Wisdom with the Tree of Life he introduces the Cross in such a way as to shew how natural it would be for him to assume that “the Fruit of the Virgin” was the Fruit of that Tree. Moses, he says (689—90), called God's Wisdom “the Tree of Life”; “the Word both blossomed and brought forth fruit, having become flesh, and it gave-life-to (ἐξωποίησεν) those who (Ps. xxxiv. 8, 1 Pet. ii. 3) tasted His goodness. For it has assuredly not come to our knowledge without the Tree. For [Christ] our life was hanged [on that tree] to [create] our faith. Yes, and Solomon says (Prov. iii. 18) ‘*A tree of immortality she* (i.e. *Wisdom*) *is to them that lay hold upon her*’.” So Wisdom says, in Proverbs (viii. 19), “*my fruit is better than gold*.” And Ben Sira says (LXX) (i. 16) “to fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom and satisfieth (μεθύσκει) men with *her fruits*,” (vi. 19) “come unto *her* (i.e. *Wisdom*) as one that plougheth and soweth, and wait for *her good fruits*.”

For the connection between “*the Vine*” and “*hanging on the Tree*,” comp. Iren. iv. 10, 2 which first quotes the Blessing of Judah, then bids us ask who is the Vine, and adds that “the Word” is thereby “shewn as *hanging on the tree*.”

[3817 (i) e] Clement's expression (123) “Ecclesia is what I like to call her (ἐκκλησίαν ἐμοὶ φίλον αὐτὴν καλεῖν),” must be compared with his previous mention of Ecclesia. Speaking of God's purpose to save mankind, he says (114) “For God never becomes-feeble (ἀσθενεῖ). For as His will-and-desire (θέλημα) is [not mere desire but] action (ἔργον), and this [action] is named [the] [visible] Universe (κόσμος), so also His will-and-purpose (βούλημα) is man's salvation, and this [will-and-purpose] is called Ecclesia (ἐκκλησία κέκληται). Therefore He knows those whom He has called, those whom He has saved; and indeed (δὲ) He has simultaneously called and saved [them].” Here Ecclesia—the assembly “called-out”—has been used as a personification of God's Purpose, or

redeeming Love, and this has prepared the way for the passage we are now considering, where Clement avows his "liking" to give this name to the Virgin Mother, Wisdom. That Christ might be regarded as the Son of the Jerusalem above, which is another name for the heavenly Ecclesia, is indicated by Origen, who says that Jesus, *being also Himself Son of the Jerusalem above*, "left Father and Mother" in order to "cleave" to the fallen Wife, the Church below (*Comm. Matth.* xiv. 17) καὶ καταλέλοιπέ γε διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [ὁ] Κύριος, ὁ ἀνὴρ, πατέρα...καταλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς ὢν τῆς ἁνῶς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐκολλήθη τῇ ἐνταῦθα καταπεσούσῃ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ....

These facts help readers of the Odes to understand how large a part would be played, in the eyes of the Odist, by visions of the Virgin Wisdom of God, and the Tree of Life, and the combination of strangely mixed thoughts of "fruit," and "milk," and "breasts," with the "upright tree" of the Cross.

[3817 (i) f] Clement's mention of "the popular view," κοινότερον, after the expression of his own view, in connection with "the Fruit of the Virgin," may be illustrated by what Origen (on Mt. xxvi. 29) says concerning the "cup," which Jesus gave to His disciples, saying "I will not drink henceforth of this *produce* (γενήματος) of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom." This cup, Origen says, may be understood in a "popular," that is, literal manner, by one who is a little one in Christ: "Qui parvulus quidem est in Christo, et in Christo adhuc carnalis, intelligat communiter (i.e. κοινότερον)." As a fact, Irenaeus (v. 33, 1) does take it literally or "popularly," and quotes Papias (*ib.* 3) to support him. According to Papias, the Lord taught that, in the future, vines and vine-clusters would grow to a myriad times their present size; and each cluster would emulate its neighbour in self-sacrifice for the glory of the Lord. "I am a better cluster," it would say to the thirsty saint, "take me; bless the Lord through me." This might spring from some genuine saying of Christ based on Is. lxx. 8—9 "As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it, so will I do...I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob..." On this the Targum says, "As Noah"—who planted the first vine—"was found righteous in the generation of the deluge and I said that I would not destroy him, that I might raise up a race from him, so will I do...and I will bring forth a seed from Jacob." But Irenaeus was probably one of a large number who misinterpreted the metaphor literally.

[3817 (i) g] That this metaphor of "the offspring of the Vine" was often in Christ's mouth may be inferred from His doctrine about "the old wine and the new" in conjunction with the metaphor of "the children of the Bridechamber" (as well as from His parable about the vineyard); and that, even in Luke's time, it was objected to, may be inferred from Luke's special addition there (v. 39) "the old wine is better." Luke also

omits "*new*" ("drink it *new*") in his Paschal parallel (xxii. 18). The sign in Cana has a bearing on discussions about the old wine and the new. In Papias' parable, Clark's translation tells us that the epithets "*true*" and "*holy*" are inserted by some versions ("*true* twig," "*holy* cluster")—apparently intended to indicate the spiritual nature of the Vine. The same is the effect of the epithet in the Fourth Gospel (xv. 1) "I am the *true* Vine." Every Jew was familiar with the golden vine-clusters, "each as tall as a man," of the vines in the Herodian Temple (Joseph. *Beil.* v. 5. 4). These, to spiritual Jews, would represent the fruit of the *false* vine. Whatever Jesus may have said, or not said, when He for the last time passed out of the Herodian temple with its Herodian vines, it remains historically certain that He always had in His mind the thought of "the true vine"—and of Himself as at once its offspring and its representative (comp. 3846 *b*).

ADDENDUM ON "BEGETTING"

[3817 (i) *h*] Harnack's Index refers to "*begetting*" (Zeugung) in Odes xix. 6, xxxvi. 3 "through the Spirit," and in xli. 10 "through the riches of God." But in all these instances the Syr. has the word corresponding to Heb. *yálad*, which may mean (*Thes.* 1593) either "*beget*" or "*bring forth*," and H. himself renders it "*bring forth*" in xix. 6—9 "sie ward schwanger und *gebar*...und *gebar* einen Sohn...*gebar* sie mit eigenem Willen...und sie *gebar* (ihn)," where also R.H. has "*brought forth*," the subject being the Virgin. In xxxvi. 3 "Er (der Geist) *hat mich erzeugt*," R.H. has "The Spirit *brought me forth*." In xli. 10 "sein Reichtum *hat mich erzeugt*," R.H. has "*begat me*." H.'s Index does not contain "*gebären*" except for xxiv. 3 "wie *Gebärende*" (R.H.) "like *women in travail*"; but the word may reasonably be rendered "*bring forth*" in every case. It will be observed that in no case is the verb applied to the Father. There is an approximation to such an application in xli. 10 "His riches *brought me forth*, or *begat me*." But there "His riches" seems substituted for "He" somewhat as the Targums substitute "the Word of the Lord" for "the Lord" in order to soften anthropomorphisms. If this is so, it indicates an early date, before the Church had been taught that (Jn i. 13—14) all believers were "*begotten from God*" but that the Son was "*only-begotten*." [In xix. 6—9, the suffix mark of the feminine subject is omitted by R.H. in the 1st and 4th of the four instances; but I am informed that the facsimile of the MS. contains the mark in the 4th instance, and that its omission in the 1st may be explained by "interpunction." The subject is clearly feminine.]

CHAPTER IX

THE VICTORY OF THE LORD*

§ 1. *The Plan of the War*

[3818] The last Ode spoke of the Secret of the Lord. The Syriac of "The *secret* of the Lord is with them that fear Him," is, "The *thought* of the Lord...¹" Under this title the Secret of the Lord reappears in the present Ode: "*His* (the Lord's) *thought* is everlasting life...receive the *thought* of the Most High"—immediately preceded by a mention of "the holy *design* that He hath *designed* concerning His Anointed (or, Messiah)²." This implies a secret Plan of Redemption, and it is to listen to this that we are called in the Ode's first words, "Open your ears and I will speak to you."

[3819] "Open ye, open ye your hearts" was the beginning of the last Ode. Now, our "hearts" being "opened," we are called on to "open" our "ears" to the details of this "thought" or "design" or "secret." It is to be a "war," though none of those who "hear" are to "fall" in it. The plan of campaign, so to speak, is now to be revealed to us. The last Ode said that "peace" was "prepared" before war. But now it is impressed on us that the war, being more than nominal, will require a General. And the thought of God's General introduces the first mention that the Odes make of "the Anointed," *i.e.* "the Messiah³." Under Him we are to fight the coming

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ Ps. xxv. 14. See 3801 *a*.

² Ode ix. 2—3.

THE "ANOINTED," "MESSIAH," OR "CHRIST"

³ [3819 *a*] In Syriac, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, "Messiah" means "Anointed" or "Christ." It does not recur till Ode xvii. 14—15 "And

they gathered-themselves unto me and received-redemption because they became to me my (*lit.* the) members, and I their head. Glory [be] unto thee, our Head, the Lord, *the Anointed*. Hallelujah." Here R.H. has "were gathered to me," but H. "scharten sich," the middle, on which see *Thes.* 1771, and comp. Syr. of Exod. xxxii. 1, 26 where the meaning cannot be passive. Hence, the passage appears to be a preparation for the much more definite "*running*" toward the Messiah—whose action is described though the title is not mentioned—in the final Ode, xlii. 21 "those who had died *ran* toward me." "Head," being a title given to a "chief" man, priest, or nation, and even to God in 2 Chr. xiii. 12 (Gesen. 911 *a*), might be applied to the Messiah by any Jew. Probably the writer is referring to Christ's baptism—but from a Jewish point of view—in Ode xxiv. 1 "the Dove fluttered over *the Anointed* (so R.H., but s. Appendix IV) because He was her Head." There the Dove (to a Jew) might naturally mean Israel, resting on "her Head," that is, her King and Deliverer. But the Dove might also suggest the thought of the Holy Spirit (3712).

[3819 *b*] These are the first three mentions of "the Anointed." It occurs again in Ode xxix. 6, and then in xxxix. 10, xli. 3, 16. In xxxix. 10 the poet appears to liken our Jesus to the first Jesus, *i.e.* Joshua, crossing the Jordan of death with "footprints" that are "not effaced," so as to make a path for His followers. Finally xli. 16 "The Anointed, in truth, is One," indicates that the Anointed, whether "humbled" or "exalted," is "one" with Himself, and "one" with "the Light" that (*ib.* 15) "is gone forth from the Word that was beforetime in Him."

[3819 *b*₁] It has been shewn (*Son* 3062 (ii)—(iii)) that "the Messiah" is not at present known to be used absolutely, as a name, *till the Apocalypse of Baruch, written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era*; and that the Psalms of Solomon, in the four instances in which they mention Χριστός (one of which is in a Psalm-title) *never use it absolutely*. Attention was also called (*Son* 3062 (iv) *b—c*) to Luke's way of introducing the title so as to prepare the way for its absolute use. Being, therefore, a test of date as well as a test of doctrinal or theological attitude, the uses of "*Christ*" in the Psalms of Solomon and in the Odes may with advantage be compared here.

(1) "*Christ, or 'Messiah,' in the Psalms of Solomon*"

[3819 *b*₂] Ps. S. xvii. 35—6 And a righteous king and taught of God [is] he [that reigneth] over them (*i.e.* Israel)...for all [shall be] holy and their *king is the Lord Christ* (χριστὸς κύριος).

[The Odes never mention the word "king" (3781 *z*, 3846 *a—b*).]

Ps. S. xviii. tit. A Psalm of Solomon touching *the Lord Christ* (τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου).

Ps. S. xviii. 6 The Lord cleanse Israel...when He shall bring up [from the hidden place, see *Notes* 2998 (lv) *d* on the Hiding of the Messiah] *His Christ* (ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ).

Ps. S. xviii. 7—8 The goodness of the Lord which He shall bring to pass...under the rod (*or*, sceptre) of the chastening of *the Lord Christ* (ὑπὸ ῥάβδου παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου).

The 18th is the last of the Psalms, so that the title occurs only in the last two.

(2) "*Christ*," or "*Messiah*," in the Odes of Solomon

Ode ix. 2 The word of the Lord...the holy design that He hath designed concerning *His Christ*.

Ode xvii. 14—15 They...received redemption....Glory [be] unto thee, our Head, the *Lord Christ* (*or*, *the Lord*, *the Christ*).

Ode xxiv. 1. The Dove fluttered over *the Christ* because He was her Head [so R.H., but see Appendix IV].

Ode xxix. 4—6 [The Lord] brought me up out of the depths of Sheol ...For I believed in *the Lord's Christ*.

Ode xxxix. 8—11 The Lord has bridged them (*i.e.* rivers) by His word, and He...crossed them on foot...the footprints of *our Lord [the] Christ* stand firm...and the way is established for those that cross after Him (3819 *b*).

Ode xli. 3 We live in the Lord through His grace, and we receive life in *His Christ*.

Ode xli. 14—16 The Son of the Most High hath appeared in the fulness-of-perfection of His Father...*the Christ* is in truth *One* (3819 *b*).

These extracts from the Odes shew the title of Messiah in a condition of transition, half way between "the Lord's Christ" and "the Christ," but inclining toward the latter usage, and on the point of becoming a proper name. They testify to an early date.

[3819 *b*₃] In the 42nd Ode, the last of all, "the Christ" neither calls Himself, nor is called, by that title. But He connects Himself with "the outspread tree"—that is, the Cross; He also speaks of Himself as rescuing the dead in Sheol; and He says concerning them (xlii. 21 foll.) "They that had died ran toward me, and they cried and said, *Son of God*, have pity on us...for thou art *our Redeemer*." This is a true climax, higher than "Thou art *the Christ*." For that might have been uttered by formal confessors, using the term "Christ" in a lifeless and technical sense. But this pathetic confession, extorted by anguish and hope, leaves the reader under a deeper impression of what the title meant than if the title itself had been uttered. It meant "Son of God," and divine "pity," and, as a consequence, "Redemption."

[3819 *b*₄] Some might have expected that whenever the poet spoke of "the Anointed" or "the Christ," the context would contain some mention of that divine "love" to which (according to the Synoptic Gospels) a Voice from heaven testified in the words "Thou art my *beloved Son*" when Jesus was anointed by the Holy Spirit from heaven. But it is not

so. "Love" is abundantly mentioned in the earlier Odes where there is no mention of "the Christ." But except in the 17th Ode, we may say that, where "the Christ" is brought forward, the word "love" is not used. That is, perhaps, because the poet feels that where he sings of *deeds* he should keep *words* in the background.

In this respect, too, the use of the term "love," the Odes differ remarkably from the Psalms of Solomon, where the noun "love" occurs only once (Ps. S. xviii. 4) "Thy *love* is toward the seed of Abraham," with which we may compare the use of the verb in Ps. S. ix. 16—17 "We are the people whom thou didst love...For thou didst choose the seed of Abraham." Elsewhere the verb, when expressive of the love between man and God, occurs only in Ps. S. iv. 29 "let thy mercy be on *all that love thee*," and in slight modifications of the same phrase, Ps. S. vi. 9 "who sheweth mercy to *them that love Him in truth*" (rep. x. 4, xiv. 1). All this is rather conventional. There is not much passion in it.

[3819 *b*₆] The contrast shews that the author of the Psalms and the author of the Odes are moving in two distinct spiritual atmospheres. Writing in Solomon's name, neither writer could very well mention any name later than Solomon. And the Psalms, though frequently mentioning Jerusalem and Israel, and, once, Egypt, speak but sparingly even of such persons as Abraham, David, and Jacob. But the Odes do not mention the name of a single person from beginning to end. Yet a central Person—first as the Beloved and then as the Word or the Christ—appears to be always in the poet's thoughts. He is as silent as Paul in the Pauline Epistles about the acts of Jesus on earth, about His signs of healing, and about His teaching to the Twelve; but the sacrifice implied by the "sign" of the "outspread Tree," and the Descent to Sheol, and the Ascent to heaven with captivity led captive, have filled him with just such a "love of Christ" as Paul calls "constraining." And a passionate devotion to "Christ crucified," and an ecstatic exultation in the "constraining love of Christ," may be traced in many Odes where neither "the Cross" (under the title "Tree") nor "love," nor "Christ," is definitely mentioned.

[3819 *b*₆] Such a contrast may explain many things in the Odes if we suppose that the author knew the Psalms of Solomon and wished to continue them in the light of the new Revelation of "the Christ." In the first place it would enable us to understand why a Christian poet of such nobleness of thought sheltered himself (so to speak) under Solomon's name, attempting to shew how Solomon, like Abraham, "saw" the Day of the Son and "was glad." Other Christians have interpolated the apocryphal Books of Enoch, Baruch, and Ezra; this Christian (on our hypothesis) preferred supplementing to interpolating. On this hypothesis, for example, our poet, finding in Solomon's Psalms reiterated phrases about "loving God *in truth*," that is, "without hypocrisy," might reflect

battle, and this is part of the Plan, revealed in old days to Abraham, but not made generally known till now:—

1. Open your ears and I will speak to you ; give¹ me your souls² that also I may give you my soul—

2. The word of the Lord³, and His good-pleasures⁴, the holy design that He hath designed⁵ concerning His Anointed⁶.

thus: "But this is not enough. The Lord Christ brought into the world a new kind of love; (Ode vii. 8) 'Like my nature He became that I might learn Him'; He saith unto us (Ode viii. 11—14) 'Guard my secret...; know my knowledge, ye that in truth are knowing me; *love me with fervent-love, ye that are loving*.'" Both "truth" and "love" would appear to the author of the Odes as having been lifted to a higher plane than the plane of the Psalms by the Christ who became like us that "we might learn Him."

Incidentally, if it should appear probable that our poet supplemented the Psalms of Solomon, which are known to have been written in Hebrew, it would also appear that he too would have a motive for writing in Hebrew, as being the language most likely to commend a work that he presented to the world as a supplement or continuation of those Psalms.

¹ "Give." The text has sing. imperative. *Thes.* 1565 shews that the sing. imperat. is sometimes used adverbially, but that would not explain it here.

² [3819 c] "Give...souls." Comp. Prov. xxiii. 25—6 "Let thy father and thy mother be glad...My son, *give me thy heart*, and let thine eyes delight in my ways," where the Midr. says that the "father" is God, and the "mother" is Wisdom; and *Numb. r.* (on Numb. vi. 2, Wü. p. 204) says that "my son" means Israel (Deut. xiv. 1) and "give me thy heart" refers to the circumcision of the heart (Deut. x. 16) (comp. Ode xi. 1 "my heart was circumcised"). The poet is speaking like a prophet in the name of the Lord ("that I also may give you my soul") introducing the New Law, and using language like that of 1 Thess. ii. 8 "we were well pleased to *impart unto you*, not the gospel of God only, but also *our own souls*." This agrees with the Hebrew doctrine of God as Nursing Father. God's "soul" is often mentioned in O.T. (*Son* 3427 g) but not often in such context as this. The Targums generally represent it by "Word." Here we find, not "Word" but "word" in the context, "my soul—the word (*i.e.* utterance) of the Lord...concerning His Messiah." We cannot exactly say that the writer represents God Himself as saying "I give you my soul," but he suggests it.

³ [3819 d] "The word of the Lord." This is the first mention of "the word of the Lord." "Word" is *pithgām*, rare in O.T. (Gesen. 834 a) and

meaning *edict, decree*, but in Onk. used in the first mention of (Gen. xv. 1) "*the word of the Lord*" (coming to Abraham) and (Brederek p. 24) regularly thus used. "Word," without "Lord," has been used previously in Ode vii. 9 "*the Father of knowledge is the Word of knowledge*," and viii. 9 "*Hear the word of Truth and receive the knowledge of the Most High*." Here it seems to mean the utterance of God concerning the Messiah.

[3819 *e*] A different word is used in Ode x. 1 "*The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word (or, Word)*," a form (*milthâ*) of the Heb. *millâh* (Gesen. 576). This also occurs in Ps. xxxiii. 6 (Syr.) "*By the word of the Lord were the heavens made and all the host of them by the breath (or, spirit) of his mouth*." Here Jerome says "*The Majesty of the Trinity is most manifestly declared—Lord, Word, Spirit of the Lord*," and Christians might apply it in this sense. Our author uses *pithgâm* in Ode xii. 1, 3, 5 to describe the penetrating influence of God's Word, but *milthâ* in *ib.* 8 "(?) in the word" (which in 1 Cor. iv. 20, Col. iii. 17 (Syr.) means "in word [as distinct from power or deed]"). In the later Odes *milthâ* is much more freq. and especially in phrases denoting power and action (xv. 9, xvi. 20, xxix. 9, 10, xxxix. 8) *by the Word*. The nearest approach to the Johannine use is in Ode xli. 15 "*Light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him*," preceded by (*ib.* 11) "*His Word is with us in all our ways*" (*milthâ* in both cases).

[3819 *f*] The last mention of "word" is *pithgâm* in an utterance apparently of the Messiah (xlii. 20) "*my word shall not be void*."

These facts, and others that would appear on a further examination of the text of the Odes, are important as shewing, 1st, an elastic use of the two terms, 2nd, no traces of imitation of the Fourth Gospel.

[3819 *g*] As regards Jewish Targumistic tendencies to personification of "the Word," Hastings *Dict.* iii. 134 *b* says "*Jerus. Targ. explains Gn xlix. 18 of deliverance, 'not through Samson or Gideon, but of the redemption through thy Word'.*" But the natural rendering of the Targ. (so Walton and Etheridge) is (in Jer. II—but Jer. I is different—) "*Of the redemption of which thou hast said in thy word that it shall come forth...*"—which is very different from the phrase I have italicised. Concerning the Word, there is little in the Odes, if anything, that goes beyond what a non-Christian mystical Jew might write.

In Rev. xix. 11—13, concerning the "Faithful and True," who "in righteousness doth judge and make war," it is said that "his name is called the Word of God."

⁴ [3819 *h*] "And His good-pleasures." The verb "be well-pleased with," or "delight in" occurs (*The.* 3352) in Numb. xiv. 8, Deut. x. 15 of the Lord "taking-delight" in bringing Israel into the Land of Promise.

⁵ "Design...designed." See 3814 *t, u*.

⁶ "Anointed." See 3819 *a* foll.

3. For in the good-pleasure¹ of the Lord your life² exists, and His thought³ is the life that is for ever; and incorruptible is verily your fulness-of-perfection⁴.

¹ [3819 *i*] "Good-pleasure." R.H. "will" here, but "good-pleasures" in ix. 2. H. "Willen" (sing.) in both places. The word recurs in H.'s Index as follows "Wille des Herrn ix. 2 f, xiv. 4, xviii. 3—10" (to which add xxiii. 5):—xiv. 4 R.H. "Be my guide even unto the end according to thy good pleasure" (H. nach deinem Willen); xviii. 3 R.H. "Sicknesses removed from my body and it stood to the Lord by His will" (H. nach seinem Willen); xviii. 10 R.H. "Thy will is perfection" (H. Vollendung ist dein Wille); xxiii. 5 R.H. "His will descended from on high"—where R.H. Syr. 1st ed. has "Most High," but 2nd ed. tacitly substitutes "on high" (3922 *g*)—(H. sein Wille...vom Höchsten).

² [3819 *j*] "Your life." The poet began with "life" not his own—(Ode i. 3) "*thou* livest upon my head." This "life" is imparted to those who "delight" in it (iii. 11) "he that delighteth in Life, living shall he be." It springs from "grace" (v. 3) "Freely have I received thy grace, I shall live thereby." This "grace" may be described as "water" (vi. 17) "they lived by the living water," or as "milk" (viii. 17) "that they might drink my own holy milk, that they might live thereby." Those who are "kept"—*i.e.* living and safe—are (viii. 24) "in Him that liveth [for ever]." In the present Ode we are told that our life is (ix. 3) in the Lord's "good-pleasure," and that it is His "thought"; that is to say, the delight of the Lord, and the object of His desires and thoughts, is the everlasting life of men. On our side, our life exists in our sense of the Lord's "delight" (or "good-pleasure") and "thought," and in our respondent love, peace, and joy.

Later on, some of these metaphors recur. The Lord (Ode x. 1) "hath caused to dwell in me His life" or (*ib.* 8) the redeemed "walk" in it. Ode xi. 7 speaks again of "living water" and xvii. 1 of a "living crown."

[3819 *k*] R.H. has here txt "salvation," with n. "*lit.* life," and H. has "Rettung." *Theo.* 1254 shews that the Syr. does represent σωτηρία or σωτήριον in a few N.T. passages. But *Theo.* gives no instance from O.T. In Acts xiii. 47 (wrongly given in *Theo.* as iii. 47) quoting Is. xlix. 6, Syr. in N.T. has "*life*," but in O.T. "*redemption*." The Syr. "redemption," regularly used by the Targumists to represent Heb. "salvation," σωτηρία, is also very frequently used by our author. Since therefore he uses the two distinctive Syriac words corresponding to ζωή and σωτηρία, it seems best to give them their two distinctive meanings, and to render the former "life," leaving the context to explain that the meaning is "spiritual life," that is, "salvation."

³ [3819 *l*] "His thought." This word occurs in a short form Heb. רְעָא in Ps. cxxxix. 2 "Thou understandest my *thought* afar off" and *ib.* 17 "And

to me how precious are thy *thoughts*, O God...!" Not occurring anywhere else in O.T. it has been regarded, in the second passage, by LXX, Targ. and other authorities as expressing the notion of "*companionship*," or "*liking*," which is perhaps at the root of this and many similar words (Gesen. 945—6). Its repetition in the Psalm, first of man's thought, and then of God's thought, may illustrate the meaning attached by our author to the derivative, which he uses here and elsewhere. In the first instance of it, he combines "thought" and "design" as follows:—Ode v. 7—8 "May their *thought* become a thick fog, and whatever they have planned-wisely [as they suppose] may it return on their own heads; for they have designed a *thought* and it hath not come to pass for them...." The middle of the verb "*plan-wisely*" (3731 *q*) alludes almost certainly to (Exod. i. 10) the "wise dealing" of the Egyptians with the Israelites and to its disastrous consequences as falling on themselves. *Mechilta* (on Exod. xv. 8, Wü. p. 133) says that God gave "cunning" to the waters that they might requite the Egyptian "cunning." And perhaps the "fog" alludes not only to the blind obstinacy of Egypt but also to the Egyptian "thick darkness," as at once a type, and a punishment, of that obstinacy.

[3819 *m*] But, beginning from Ode ix. 3, the Odes appear to use the word of God's "thought," as being a stream, so to speak, of beneficent meditation proceeding from God to give life to Man:—

ix. 3—4 "His *thought* is the life that is for ever...receive ye the *thought* of the Most High."

xii. 4 "[the aeons] the confessors of His design and the heralds of His *thought*."

xxviii. 12—18 (first mentioning Man's thought and then God's) "Corrupt is their *thought*...not to be forestalled is the *thought* of the Most High, and His heart is superior to all wisdom."

[3819 *n*] In H.'s Index, "Gedanke" represents some instances both of the Syr. "design" and of the Syr. "thought." The precise distinction that our author intends to draw between the two words is not always clear; but it is clear that he does sometimes distinguish. In Ode v. 8 "they designed a thought" may be a condensed way of saying "they designed a cunning design [the destruction of the Israelite children with the aid of the midwives] that was to give effect to their cruel and inhuman thought."

⁴ [3819 *o*] "Your fulness-of-perfection." See 3784 *f*. The Hebrew verb for "fill" means (Gesen. 570), in some forms, "fill [the hands of a priest]" *i.e.* "consecrate" him. It may also mean "accomplish," "complete." Hence the Syr. here rendered "fulness-of-perfection" (which is a form of Heb. "full") means (*Thes.* 2128, and comp. 4210) (1) "complement," (2) "perfection," (3) "consecration." In the second of these senses it represents (Deut. xxxiii. 8 (Syr.)) "Thummim," or "Perfection." *Thes.*

2128 gives, as its Greek equivalents in O.T., *τελειότης, τελείωσις, ἀναπλήρωσις, πληροφορία* &c., and (N.T.) *πλήρωμα*. It also quotes from An. Syr. 32, 14 "in the *filling-up-of* (*πληρώσει*) the mystery." Such a phrase might be applied, in a narrow sense, to the *completion* of any rite of consecration. But our author appears to have before him the thought of a full and perfect redemption of mankind in the course of which humanity is developed "to a full-grown Man" (comp. Eph. iv. 13) while still remaining a babe. This full-grown humanity, or "fulness of perfection," he cannot attain except by receiving it from the "fulness of perfection" of Him who (Eph. i. 23) "fillet all in all."

[3819 *p*] Comp. xvii. 7 "...and He who knew [me] and brought me up—[namely, *or*, is] the Most High in all His *fulness-of-perfection*."

xviii. 5 "...neither, because of their works, keep thou back from me thy *fulness-of-perfection*."

xviii. 10 "But there is [appointed] *fulness-of-perfection* [for men] as thy good-pleasure [toward them]." (For R.H. and H., s. 3819 *i*.)

xix. 5 "...and they that receive [it] (the Milk from the Father) in its *fulness-of-perfection* are those on the right hand," or (3809 *a*) "they that receive [it] are in the *perfection* of the right hand." Here the rendering of R.H. and H. ("Fulness," "Fülle") though correct, might lead some to suppose that the meaning is simply *plenteousness*. That is not the case.

xxiii. 4 "Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High (Codex N, of the Lord)...to...and to the *fulness-of-perfection* of His knowledge."

[3819 *q*] H. has "Vollendung," but R.H. "end" in:—

xxiv. 6 "For they (?) the generations of Noah) were corrupt from the beginning; and the (?) completion (R.H. *end*, H. *Vollendung*) of their corruption was life." Here the Syr. means "*completio*" (not "*finis*" or "*sequela*") as in iv. 12, vi. 4, vii. 17, xi. 4) and closely resembles the Syr. for "*fulness-of-perfection*." It is used in N.T. (*The*s. 4188) for "the *consummation* (*συντέλεια*) of the age(s)" (but not thus in O.T.). Possibly, though the word for "end" in Genesis is different, there may be an allusion to Gen. vi. 11—13 "the earth was *filled*...all flesh had *corrupted*...The *end* of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is *filled*...I will (lit.) *corrupt* (i.e. *destroy*)" (see 3781 *g*). In Genesis, "the end" (in Heb. and Syr.) is connected (Gesen. 893 *b*) with "cutting off," suggesting extermination. By selecting a different word here the author perhaps suggests an ultimate positive result. Comp. Gen. xv. 16 "the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet *full*." The "completion" of "corruption" for the antediluvians and for the Amorites might be regarded by our author, who is a single-minded optimist, as a preparation for an incorrupt life to be lived by others.

[3819 *r*] Odes xxvi. 7, xxxv. 7, xxxvi. 2—5 mention the Lord's "*fulness-of-perfection*," and the last of these says "He anointed-me [which might imply, made me the Anointed, *or*, Messiah] from His own *fulness-of*

§ 2. *Encouragement before the Battle*

[3820] After the unfolding of the plan and nature of the war, there naturally follows encouragement for battle. It is couched in the well-known language addressed to Israel by Moses and the first Jesus, "Be ye strong." About these words there is no difficulty. But before "strong" comes "rich"—"Be ye rich in God." What does this mean? That is to say, What did it mean in the first century for a Jewish poet who allegorized Scripture? According to Philo—who calls Abraham "not rich but altogether-riches"—it should mean "Be rich like Abraham, who is the first man called 'rich' in the Bible." Abraham was indeed "*rich in God*"; for he would not touch the riches of Sodom, but God said to him, "I am thy exceeding great reward." He also fought the first war recorded in the Bible. To Abraham God is not indeed declared to have said expressly "Be thou strong," but He said "Fear not, I am thy shield," which was equivalent to saying, "Be thou strong in me." With this preface—the

perfection." The final instance is (xli. 14) "The Son of the Most High hath appeared in the *fulness-of-perfection* of His Father"—which reads like a climax, and, probably, one deliberately intended.

[3819 s] While distinguishing the Syr. "*fulness-of-perfection*" from the Syr. "*completion*" used in N.T. for *συντέλεια* (*αἰώνων*), or "the end (of the world)," we may naturally ask what our author has to say about the latter. The only passage bearing on it is Ode xii. 7. R.H. and H. "as its work [is] so is its *end*." Prof. Burkitt, whom I consulted on this perplexing passage, pointed out to me that the Syr. means, not "*end*," but "*expectation*" (on which see *Thes.* 2623—4). R.H. 2nd ed. Engl. retains "*end*" and adds no note. R.H. 2nd ed. Syr. retains the Syr. "*expectation*" in txt, but adds in note that "it would be better to read" the Syr. *end*. The context, however, which mentions "dawn," appears to support the text "*expectation*," and to make that rendering at all events worthy of mention, if not of discussion. See 3848 *h*₁.

[3819 *t*] It should be added that in the present passage (ix. 3) R.H. txt has "and your end is immortality," with footn. "*or*, and without corruption is your perfection"; H. has "und unvergänglich ist eure Vollendung."

details of which will be substantiated in the footnotes attached to the following extract—the poet's meaning, though briefly expressed, may be fairly well understood. The purport of it appears to be "Abraham was both '*rich*' and '*strong*' in God. Believing in the revelation of God's Redemption, he went forth to fight a good fight against a great host with a little army, of which not one soul perished. Take courage, and do likewise":—

4. Be ye rich¹ in God the Father² and receive the thought of the Most High.

5. Be ye strong³, and receive-redemption (*or*, be-redeemed) through (*lit.* in) His grace.

¹ [3820 *a*] "Be ye rich." Comp. Ode xi. 9 "I *became-rich* through His giving," also *ib.* 14 "He brought me to His paradise where are the *riches* of the sweet-delightfulness of the Lord," and xli. 10 "for His *riches* begat me." On Rom. ii. 4 "the *riches* of his goodness," Wetst. quotes Philo (i. 50) who describes God as "shewing-forth His superabundant riches (τὸν περιττὸν πλοῦτον)" by giving even where the gift will be unused or misused. Abraham is the first Biblical character described as (Gen. xiii. 2) "*rich*," and also as using the word to the king of Sodom in declining the riches of the latter (*ib.* xiv. 23) "I will not take...aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram *rich*," upon which God says to him (*ib.* xv. 1), "I am...thy exceeding great reward." That is, God gives Himself. Somewhat similar is our author's view, but without any trace of borrowing from Paul. God is so "rich" in love that His "riches" are said to "beget (3817 (i) *h*)" the regenerate soul (R.H. has "*bounty*" for "*riches*," but *Thes.* 3012 gives no instance of this meaning, and H. has "Reichtum"). The soul is begotten when it receives His "thought"—that is, the thought of Redemption through His love (see 3819 *f* foll.). Philo i. 401 speaks of Abraham, the friend of God, as being "not rich, but altogether-riches (οὐ πλούσιος ἀλλὰ πᾶμπλουτος)," comp. 2 Cor. vi. 10 "as having nothing and yet possessing all things."

² [3820 *b*] "In God the Father." See 3717 *b* where it is pointed out that "God" (instead of Lord) is very seldom used in the Odes except in emotional expressions with "Father" or "my," &c. Here the meaning is perhaps almost the same as "in the Fatherhood of God."

³ [3820 *c*] "Be ye strong." This phrase is suitable for an Ode of Victory as may be seen from its militant use to Israel by Moses and Joshua in Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, Josh. i. 6, &c. It is accompanied by "fear not" in Deut. xxxi. 6 and Is. xxxv. 4. It is also suggested in Gen. xv. 1 by "fear not," and by "I am thy shield," addressed by God to Abraham.

6. For I (*emph.*) bring-tidings-of peace¹ to you, His pious-ones².

7. That all those who hearken³ may [be safe and] not fall in [the] war⁴, and that those again who have known-Him may not perish, and that those who have received⁵ may not be ashamed.

Hezek-iah (*Sanhedr.* 94 *a*) was said to be so called because *God strengthened* him, or because he *strengthened* Israel toward *God*; and the context (3820 *d*, "tidings of peace") would apply to Hezekiah.

¹ [3820 *d*] "I bring-tidings-of peace." Comp. Ode vii. 19 "And the Most High shall be known...[so as] (3792) to bring [the good] tidings—[known, I say] to them that have [in their hearts] psalms that [tell] of the Coming of the Lord." There is an allusion to Is. lii. 7, "publisheth peace, bringeth-good-tidings-of good." R.H. adds in 2nd ed. of Syr. txt "=*εὐαγγελίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν εἰρήνην*" cf. Is. lii. 7," but this must not be taken as implying that Is. has the active *εὐαγγελίζω*, nor should it be assumed that it would occur in a Gk original of the Odes if one ever existed. For the active does not occur in the Prophets and Psalms, nor in N.T. (exc. Rev. (*bis*)). The context in Isaiah implies in one verse (lii. 4) the two oppressions of Israel, by Egypt and by Assyria, and thereby suggests how our poet might combine the two deliverances—under Moses and under Hezekiah—in a vision typical of the future and final deliverance.

² [3820 *e*] "His pious-ones." R.H. "His saints," H. "seinen Heiligen." The Syr. is not the same as in Ode vii. 19 "shall be known in His holy ones" (R.H. "His Saints"). It represents (*Thes.* 1325) *ὁσιος* and the Heb. variously rendered in Ps. xvi. 10 (R.V.) txt "*holy one*," marg. "*godly, or, beloved*." The Heb. generally means "*full-of-loving-kindness*," and suggests gentleness, which "holy" often does not. The context implies a paradox—that these gentle souls will be "strong."

³ [3820 *f*] "Those who hearken." R.H. "*hear*," H. "*die [es] hören*." The meaning appears to be "*give heed*" or "*consent*," or "*obey*" (Gesen. 1034 *a*) as in Exod. xxiv. 7 "we will do and *hear* (*ἀκουσόμεθα*)," R.V. "*be obedient*," comp. Jn v. 25 "they that *hear* shall live."

⁴ [3820 *g*] "Not fall in [the] war." H. has "fall into, *or*, light upon, war" ("in Krieg geraten") which does not appear to be on the same level as "fall into, *or*, light upon, temptations," nor to be so agreeable to the context as "fall in war." Perhaps the only Biblical instance of a war of Israel in which it is expressly said that no Israelite has fallen is in Numb. xxxi. 49 "there lacketh not one man of us," quoted by Philo (i. 375, 413) and by Origen *ad loc.*, both of whom are influenced by the LXX for "lacketh," *διαφωνεῖ*, so that they regard the passage as illustrating the avoidance of "*discord*." But Origen also says "If then thou wouldst conquer the enemy...cleave to God and be concordant with Him, like him who said (Rom. viii. 35 foll.) 'who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation...or the sword?'" Comp. Lk. xxi. 16—18

"Some of you *shall they put to death...And not a hair of your head shall perish.*" The Heb. and Aram. of such a saying would prob. use "*fall*" as in 1 S. xiv. 45 (Heb., Aram., and Syr.) "if a hair of his head shall *fall on the ground.*" Presumably Paul would regard Ps. xxii. 20 "deliver my soul from the sword"—on which Rashi and Midrash and other Jewish traditions are remarkably silent—as having a spiritual meaning.

[3820 *h*] Though the Ode may be alluding to Numb. xxxi. 49, that does not exclude allusion to the above-mentioned first Biblical war, in which (Ode viii. 8) "peace was prepared" before the war. It is not indeed asserted in Gen. xiv. 14 that no one "fell," out of Abraham's little army. But from Christian as well as from Jewish tradition we may infer that there was an early belief of this kind. Barnabas ix. 8 infers that the "318" mentioned in Gen. xiv. 14 were *afterwards* (Gen. xvii. 23—27) circumcised, and regards the number as meaning "Jesus" and "Cross." "The Rabbis," says Rashi, took the "318" to mean Eliezer ("my God, helper") who composed the whole army. Both these beliefs obliged the believers to regard the victory as bloodless. Elsewhere Rashi, commenting on Is. xli. 3 "He pursueth them and passeth on [in] peace," says "He (*i.e.* Abraham) did not *utterly fall* (*non collapsus est*) when he pursued [the four kings and their armies]." *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xxiii. 10, Wü. p. 196) quotes Job v. 5 as fulfilled by Abraham ("the hungry") who "takes the harvest" of Nimrod ("the wicked") not by force of arms but by prayer, with Eliezer alone to help him. By a curious contrast Josephus says to the Jews on the walls of Jerusalem (*Bell.* v. 9. 4) "Did he [Abraham] defend himself from this injurious person" [Pharaoh-Necho, previously mentioned as "king of Egypt"] "by war, although he had *three hundred and eighteen commanders* under him and *an immense army under each of them?* Indeed, he deemed them to be no number at all without *God's assistance...*" Possibly Josephus was himself misled by a doctrine rather above him: "Abraham had 318 men. Each of these had a legion [of angels] under him. But they were all one in 'Eliezer,' *i.e.* 'God's assistance'." But the point for us is, that very early evidence, such as that of Josephus and Barnabas, when combined with tradition in Jewish writings, shews that in the first century there was probably a general belief that, *in the first Biblical war, Abraham fought a victorious battle in which "no man fell."*

⁵ [3820 *i*] "Those who have received." H. inserts "*it*" in brackets. And again in Ode xix. 5 "they that receive in its fulness," H. supplies "*it*" from the context. But there the context justifies the insertion. Here the writer seems to describe the "receivers" of God's grace as "receivers" absolutely. Otherwise, in the present passage, why does he insert the suffix after "known" but omit it after "received"? He is appealing to them in order that being (as they are) "receivers," they may not (comp. 2 Cor. vi. 1) turn out to have "received in vain," and may

§ 3. *Fighting for the Truth*

[3821] After this picture of a war in which none of God's militant "pious-ones" shall "fall," the poet abruptly turns to the praise of Truth. The abruptness may be explained by his assumption that the battle of life—if one is fighting for the Lord—must always be for what the Hebrews, in a wide sense, call Truth, as Ben Sira says, "Strive for the truth unto death and the Lord shall fight for thee¹."

[3822] According to Jewish tradition, which Jerome pronounces true, Abraham was miraculously delivered by God from the fiery furnace of Nimrod, who wished to coerce him into idolatry². He might therefore be called the first of those who "strove for the truth unto death"—for no such coercion or resistance is recognised by Jewish tradition in the case of Abel. "Truth," however, did not mean merely the belief in one God as distinct from many gods, or as distinct from the

(1 Jn ii. 28) "not be ashamed" in the Day of Judgment, when the question is asked, "Where is thy talent?"

[3820 f] Here, and in Odes v. 3, vii. 5, the author uses the word (*Thes.* 2392) equiv. to λαμβάνω in Mt. x. 8 (Syr.) "freely ye have received," but in vii. 12, viii. 9, and xviii. 7, he uses the word (*Thes.* 3468) mostly equiv. in N.T. Syr. to δέχομαι, i.e. "accept." For the difference between the Synoptic and the Johannine uses of these words s. *Joh. Voc.* 1689 c, 1721 f. So far as I have noted—without the usual aid of H.'s Index, which does not give "empfangen" or "annehmen"—"receive" does not occur in the first half of the Odes with a personal object except in vii. 5 "receive (λαμβάνω) Him," xviii. 7 "receive (δέχομαι) men from all quarters." *Thes.* 2392 indicates that the word here used occurs in Rom. xv. 7 (bis) προσλαμβάνεσθε...προσελάβετο, where the meaning is "receive [with love]," "take to yourselves [as members of the family]," and also in Jn i. 11 V.Hh. See 3781 f₃.

For the absolute use of "receive," comp. Rev. iii. 3 "Remember therefore how thou hast received, and didst hear; and keep, and repent," where "hast received," εἰληφας, is represented by the same Syr. as here, and "the word" must be supplied. The believer first "received" the word as a whole and then "heard" it in detail.

¹ Sir. iv. 28.

² See Jerome on Gen. xi. 28 ("the tradition is true").

heavenly bodies. It meant also moral truth, that kind of truth which no one can possess who looks on everything from the point of view of his own interest or pleasure, but which those possess who see themselves and their neighbours as parts of one social order in which it is the pleasure and interest of each to give as well as to receive. Abraham, recognising one God as the Head, or Source, or Centre, or All-sufficing Giver, of this social order, was regarded by the Jews as the antithesis of Nimrod¹, who was the type of antisocial order, or systematic oppression of the weak by the strong. It is in connection with Abraham that God's "kindness and *truth*"² are first mentioned. By God's "*truth*" is meant, not only adherence to a promise, but also a power to fulfil promise, and a wisdom enabling the promiser to promise that which is best. It was in this sense that Abraham (according to the best Jewish tradition) believed God to be the Truth, and a Truth for whom it was worth while to "strive unto death."

[3823] Abraham is not only a martyr striving unto death for spiritual truth. He is also its aggressive champion attacking the foes of freedom, who are consequently the foes of truth, and rescuing the captives from their hands. Not that those whom he actually rescues, the men of Sodom, or even Lot and his family, are symbols of truth. But they are symbols of the oppressed—of "the captivity" so often mentioned in connection with Israel, and mentioned for the first time in connection with Lot³. Therefore he goes forth along with a small band of "initiated" or "dedicated" souls to deliver them. And because he effected this deliverance in singleness of heart, rejecting the offers of reward from Sodom, lest they should "make Abram rich," therefore the Supreme Deliverer Himself promised to be His "reward," and made with him and his posterity a "covenant," that this self-sacrificing wanderer, who

¹ See 3820 *h*.

² Gen. xxiv. 27.

³ Gen. xiv. 14.

had given up his own home at the will of the Giver of all, should receive a home, not indeed for himself, but for his posterity after four centuries of trial¹.

[3824] The mention of "the true covenant of the Lord," soon to come before us in this Ode, suggests an allusion to the Covenant with Abraham. And this combines with the mention of "peace" and "war" to make it probable that the poet has here in view the thought of Abraham's War for the Oppressed, rather than—or at all events along with—the thought of the Exodus and Moses. The next Ode will also speak of "leading captivity captive"; and this will accord with the thought of Abraham returning with his train of rescued captives, quite as well as with the thought of Moses at the head of Israel rescued from Egypt. Probably in both Odes the poet is working up toward the climax in the final Ode where the Messiah descends to Sheol and leads out as His own captives, rescued for freedom, those who had been held captive by Satan. And in both Odes, Abraham, as well as Moses, underlies the poet's thoughts, as a type of the final Deliverer, who will bestow the crown of righteousness on His faithful followers:—

8. The crown that-is-for-ever is-verity Truth²; blessed are they that put it on their heads³.

¹ Gen. xiv. 23, xv. 1, 13, 18.

² [3824 *a*] "The crown...Truth." R.H. "An everlasting crown for ever is truth," H. "Die ewige Krone ist die Wahrheit." "Is" is expressed in the Syr. text, and is therefore emphatic. Comp. Ode xx. 7 on the "crown" that is to be made from the tree in Paradise (3664—6), which the believer is bidden to put on his own head. If "*the* crown" (as distinct from "*a* crown") is adopted, the meaning will be that this is the crown of crowns, the only real crown. Comp. 2 Tim. iv. 7—8 "I have fought the good fight...henceforth there is laid up for me *the crown of righteousness*, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day"—and note how there the writer proceeds to disavow any special claim to "the crown," or any claim to a "crown" of his own—"and not only to me but to all those that have fixed-their-love-[and-hope] on his appearing." This illustrates what follows in the Ode. The soldiers cannot "put the crown

9. A stone of great price¹; for indeed wars for the sake of this crown have-come-to-pass.

10. And righteousness has received² it and has given it to you.

on their heads" till the Lord of Righteousness has gone up to heaven and "received" gifts for men, bestowing the crown of His own Righteousness on those who are His own. In 2 Tim. iv. 8, A.V. has "a crown of righteousness." In Odes vi. 17, ix. 3, "that-is-for-ever" follows "the" in "the living water" and "the life."

³ [3824 *b*] "Put...heads." The phrase occurs in 2 S. xii. 30 (and parall. Chr.) on which see 3824 *d*. (In 2 K. xi. 12 and parall. 2 Chr. xxiii. 11, "head" is not inserted.)

¹ [3824 *c*] "A stone of great price." Either this must be exclamatory, or in apposition with the preceding "crown," or "it is" must be supplied (as by R.H. and H.). Perhaps the meaning is "yes, a crown, but not of many precious stones. It is all one stone of great price, like the pearl in the Gospel, for the sake of which a man sold (Mt. xiii. 46) all that he had." In that case we may illustrate from Clem. Alex., who speaks of (241) "a holy stone, the Word of God, which the scripture has somewhere called 'a pearl,' namely, Jesus the Translucent (*διανγῆ*) and Pure (*καθαρόν*), the Eye that in the flesh beholds [the things of the Spirit] (*ἐπὶ ὀπτην*), the Word that is imbued with light (*τὸν λόγον τὸν διαφανῆ*)..." Our poet may have regarded the parable of the pearl as teaching that we are to seek the Kingdom of God not through our own several acts of righteousness but through the one Righteousness of Christ, not through our own little pearls, but through Christ, the One Pearl. This doctrine he may have desired all the more to emphasize because some might pervert metaphors speaking of (Rev. xxi. 12) "*twelve gates*," afterwards called (*ib.* 21) "*twelve pearls*," through which a believer might enter the New Jerusalem.

[3824 *d*] *Aboda Sara* 44 *a* (alluded to in *Sanhedr.* 21 *b*) describes the crown taken from Ammon in the wars of David, and placed on the head of David and his successors (2 S. xii. 30, 1 Chr. xx. 2) as having in it a precious stone with a gold talent, and as being, by its weight, a test of each new king's worthiness. There is no evidence (known to me) that this story was very widely spread in Jewish literature, but it is worth recording in view of the rarity of Biblical instances of the phrase used here, "put the crown upon their heads"; and, both in the Bible and in the Ode, the "crown" is one for which there has been "war." For the metaphor of "war," used in the Gospel to illustrate the entrance on Christian life, see Lk. xiv. 31 "or what king as he goeth to encounter another king in war...?" This follows metaphor, or hyperbole, about the need to "hate" one's own father and mother, to take up the cross, and to count the cost of the tower.

² [3824 *e*] "Received." R.H. "taken," H. "genommen." If that is

11. Put-ye-on the crown in the true Covenant of the Lord¹.

§ 4. *The Roll-Call after the Battle*

[3825] The Ode concludes with a brief and abrupt mention of what may be called the Roll-Call of the Army of Martyrs. God Himself is to "write" the names of those who have been victorious. This "writing" is said to be, of itself, their "victory"—apparently because the victory is regarded, not negatively, as the conquest and destruction of evil, but positively, as the conquest and attainment of good. And what good thing can be greater than to be "written" by God, so to speak, on God's own heart as one of His own beloved soldiers?²

the meaning, it may be illustrated by the use of the same Syr. word in 2 S. xii. 30 (Syr.) "He (*i.e.* David) *took* the crown of their king from his head...and it was placed on David's head." But the word means "receive" in the preceding verse (Ode ix. 7) "those who *have received* may not be ashamed." And it makes good sense here, if we regard the Saviour, our Righteousness, as having, after His Ascension, "received" from the Father the crown to transmit to each of His followers. In any case, "righteousness" is not personified by itself, but is identified with Christ.

¹ [3824 *f*] "In the true Covenant of the Lord." So R.H. 1st ed., but H. dissented on the ground that the Syr. had "*truth*," not "*true*." R.H. 2nd ed., however, while unchanged in the Engl. text, now reads "true" in Syr. text, with n. ("sic cod."). Apparently, R.H. Syr. 1st ed. "truth" was an error of transcription. The meaning might perhaps be "*the Covenant of truth* and loving-kindness, first made with Abraham and then fulfilled in Christ." But something more seems needed to explain why the writer does not say "*of truth*," if that is what he means. Probably we must give to "*the true*" an emphasis, as meaning "not the temporary substitute, not the Law of Moses, but the *real and original* Covenant, the Covenant of Grace and Truth, which began with Abraham's faith." Comp. Jn i. 16—17 "From his fulness we all received, and grace succeeding grace; for the Law was given through Moses, [but] *Grace and Truth* were through Jesus Christ." "Covenant" occurs only here.

² [3825 *a*] Comp. Cant. viii. 6 "Set me as a seal *upon thine heart*," and Philipp. i. 7 "I have you *in my heart*." The metaphor is well known in Greek (Aesch. *Prom. V.* 789 *μνήμοσιν δέλοις φρενῶν*) and probably common to many languages. But among Jews a special reason for such a metaphor, especially in connection with intercession, might be found in Exod. xxviii. 29 "And Aaron shall *bear the names of the children of Israel*

Just so, in Luke, Jesus tells the Seventy to exult, not because they have power over serpents and scorpions, but because their names are "*written in heaven*," that is to say "*in God*¹." We must be careful not to lose the emphasis thus laid on "*writing*" by introducing the comparatively commonplace notion of a "book." In Hebrew, and for the most part in Syriac, "*writing*" and "*book*" are expressed by two different words, as when Moses speaks to God about the "*book*" that He has "*written*²." Our author could have used these two words if that had been his meaning. Apparently that was not his meaning. He appears to have a bolder and more original conception. It is like the thought in the Johannine Epistle, "*This is the victory that has been-victorious-over the world, namely, our faith*," combined with the thought in the Gospel, "Be of good cheer, I have been-victorious-over the world³."

[3826] Taken together, these two Johannine sayings mean, for Christians, "Christ is our Victory—Christ on whose heart we are written through His love, and through our faith." That "writing"—that is to say, the prize, or reward, of "being written" as one of Christ's soldiers, on Christ's heart—a poet might call "our Victory." And then he might go on to say—not personifying Victory, as Greeks and Romans did, but identifying it with Christ—that "our Victory" looks forward to our success, and wills that we, too, should be victorious. None but a very original poet could

in the breastplate of judgment *upon his heart*, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually." See 3718 a.

¹ Lk. x. 20.

² [3825 b] Exod. xxxii. 32—3 "blot me, I pray thee, out of thy *book* which thou hast *written*...him will I blot out of my *book*," comp. *ib.* xvii. 14 "*write* this for a memorial in a *book*." In these passages both Onk. and Syr. render the Heb. *sēpher*, "*book*," by the corresponding Aram. or Syr. word; and Onk. (Brederick, p. 81) never renders it by "writing." Also *Thes.* 1851 gives few or no instances (apart from titles) of Syr. "writing" used for Heb. "*book*" (not even mentioning Ps. cxxxix. 16 (Syr.) "in thy writing").

³ 1 Jn v. 4, Jn xvi. 33.

form such a conception or express it in such language. But our poet, besides being himself original, belongs to a nation whose originality—or at least whose difference from Western thought—conspicuous in many spiritual conceptions, is nowhere perhaps more conspicuous than in its views of “victory.”

[3827] Else, why is it that in the whole of the historical books of the Hebrew Bible the words “victory,” “gain the victory” or “be victorious,” practically—as will be seen below—never occur? Among us, Gentiles, many histories are almost made up of military events, and in page after page “victory” is prominent. Such a Gentile history may be found in the 4th book of the Maccabees, a product of Greek thought. There the Greek verb “gain-the-victory” or “be-victorious” occurs about fifteen times. But in the whole of the Canonical Old Testament it occurs but thrice¹.

[3828] An explanation of this paradox is suggested by a Pauline quotation of the only instance in the Psalms, “That thou (*i.e.* God) mightest be justified in thy words and mightest *be-victorious* when thou comest to judgment².” This is from the LXX. But the Hebrew has “That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, [and] *be-clear* when thou judgest.” This implies the answer we are seeking—namely, that the Hebrew conception of the thought expressed by the Greek *Niké*, “Victory,” does not imply superiority to *another*, or striking down *another*. It is “clearness,” “brightness,” “purity,” such as Clement of Alexandria, in a passage quoted above, assigned to the one translucent and pellucid Pearl,

¹ [3827 *a*] “Thrice.” Ps. li. 4, Prov. vi. 25, Hab. iii. 19 have *νικάω*. *Νίκη* occurs in 1 Chr. xxix. 11 *σὺ* (AR *σοὶ*) *κύριε*,...*ἡ νίκη*, but the Heb. word resembles that in Hab. iii. 19, and means (Gesen. 663—4) pre-eminence. In 2 S. xix. 2, xxiii. 10, 12 R.V. txt has “victory,” but the lit. Heb. is (R.V. marg.) “salvation.” In 4 Macc., *νικάω* is never intransitive except once; in Ps. and Hab. it is intransitive.

² [3828 *a*] Rom. iii. 4, quoting Ps. li. 4, LXX *νικήσης*, Aq. *ὑπερκριθῆς* (?). The root is *zac*, found in Zacchaeus, “the pure.”

Jesus Christ¹. In that spirit, the Book of Wisdom says that Moses "was victorious over" the Destroyer, not by force of arms but with a word; and then it goes on to speak of the "four rows of the stones" (on the High Priest's robe) and "the crown" on which God's Majesty was written, as having intervened to save Israel². And a Talmudic tradition says that whosoever, like Moses, takes upon himself the pain of the sins of the community, "is *victorious*, or *attains the prize of victory*, and shall see the Consolation of the community³."

[3829] This also explains another paradox, namely, that in the New Testament, the few mentions of "victory" are mostly accompanied by mentions of what the world would call defeat, such as "tribulation" or even "death"; and the Johannine Epistle, after speaking of the "victory" that "is victorious," proceeds to insist on the mystery of Redemption as being accomplished by blood—"not with the water only but with the water and the *blood*⁴." Such is the

¹ [3828 *b*] See 3824 *c*. The Syr. word from *zac*, regularly used for "be-victorious," occurs (besides 1 S. xiv. 47 Vulg. *superabat*, LXX *ἑσώξετο* (by error), Heb. "vexed [them]") in 1 S. xvii. 9 &c., representing the Heb. "prevail" (Gesen. 408 *a*) *lit.* "be able," "have-power," which has no connection with "brightness," "purity" &c. In New Heb. and Aram., Levy i. 533—4 gives two forms of *zac* as meaning "shine forth," "conquer," "win one's case at law," or "win so as to attain," "be judged righteous," "cause to appear righteous." Comp. Gesen. 269 *a* on *zac* as connected with *bright, clear, justified*.

² [3828 *c*] Wisd. xviii. 22, referring to Numb. xvi. 5, 46—8. In Numb. xvi. 46, Moses bids Aaron "take the censer" and "make atonement," and it is Aaron that (Numb. xvi. 48) "stood between the dead and the living." But in Wisdom the whole action is attributed to Moses, who is said (Wisd. xviii. 23) to have "parted the way to the living."

³ *Taanith* 11 *a*, quoted by Levy iv. 167 *b*, whose rendering of "is victorious...see" is "ist so glücklich zu erleben."

⁴ [3829 *a*] Comp. Jn. xvi. 33 "In the world ye [shall] have *tribulation*, but be of good cheer, I have *been victorious over* the world." There is a consistent insistence on the fact that Christian "victories" are not to be like Greek or Roman or Egyptian or Babylonian victories, for self-aggrandisement: Rom. viii. 37 "nay, in all these things (*i.e. nakedness, peril, sword, 'we are killed all the day long'*) we are *more than victorious*

conception of "victory" that appears to be latent all through this Ode, emerging—we might almost say, exploding—at its conclusion, in order to prepare the way for the next Ode which exhibits the issue of victory—namely, the Leading of Captives into Freedom.

[3830] We must beware of supposing that the "writing" of God implies a fixedness that is incompatible with growth. The doctrine of the Odes is that God is not only the IS, but also the WAS, and the COMING, and that there never was a time when the Logos was not TOWARD God. God is not rest, but restful MOTION¹. To be "written" therefore in His heart is like having one's name written, not on a rock but on an undying tree, so that it is always living and always growing. This "writing" is identified both with God's foreordained decree and with God's (and Man's) foreordained triumph—that is, both with Providence and with Victory. Victory, being identified with Providence, may be regarded as both "seeing" the future victors "before itself" (*i.e.* before its face) and as "willing" their redemption. This may explain the quasi-personification in the following extract:—

through him that loved us," *ib.* xii. 21 "*Be victorious over* that which is wicked (τὸ κακόν) by that which is good," 1 Jn ii. 13, 14 "ye have *been victorious over* the evil one," *ib.* iv. 4 "ye have *been victorious over* them (*i.e.* over the *antichrists*, whose type is Cain)," *ib.* v. 4—6 "This is the *victory*... This is he that came... not by water only but by water and blood."

[3829 *b*] It is in Revelation that the thought of victory is most frequent. There, it is the prize of (ii. 2—7) "endurance," or of being (*ib.* 10) "faithful unto death," or of (*ib.* 13—17) "not denying the faith" in the days of the "faithful martyr Antipas"; and, though this is not definitely stated to each of the seven churches, it is implied in the message to Philadelphia, which speaks of (*ib.* iii. 10) "the word of my [hopeful] endurance," and "the hour of trial which is to come upon all the world." Concerning every "victory" of the saints it is implied that it cannot be gained without at least a willingness to die for Christ (*ib.* xii. 11) "They *were victorious over* him (*i.e.* Satan) because of the blood of the Lamb... and they loved not their lives even unto death."

¹ See *Son* 3390 *a*, and *Notes* 2998 (xxviii) *f*.

12. And all those who have been victorious shall be written in His writing¹.

13. For their writing (*i.e.* the writing of men's names by Him) is victory—which is for you [also to achieve]²; and it sees you before itself, and wills (*lit.* has-as-its-good-pleasure)³ that you shall be redeemed. Hallelujah.

¹ [3830 *a*] "Writing." R.H. and H. "book," on which s. 3825. The poet's originality in the use of "*writing*" may be illustrated by his originality in the use of "*letter*" in Ode xxiii. 5 "His design was like a *letter*, His good-pleasure descended from on high." There it is the "*letter*" that is God's "good-pleasure." Here "the writing" has "a-good-pleasure," which is God's. See 3814 *d*.

² [3830 *b*] "For you [also to achieve]." Comp. Origen (Lomm. xv. 308, *Hom. Jerem.* xvii. 4) "Thou art thyself the causer for thyself that thy name should be *written in the heavens*." Jeremiah (xvii. 11—13) speaks merely of the man that is "a fool," who "getteth riches and not by right," whose name "shall be written in the earth." He does not mention "*writing in heaven*" but merely contrasts the earth-grubber with the "glorious throne, on high from the beginning...the place of our sanctuary." But Origen perceives the implied contrast between earth and heaven, and says "*All human beings are written* (πάντες ἄνθρωποι γράφονται), the saints in heaven, the sinners on the earth," and then quotes Lk. x. 20. Jeremiah's implied suggestion, that a "saint" is "written in the throne of glory," may be illustrated by Targ. Jer. I, and Jer. II, on Gen. xxviii. 12, where angels say about the sleeping Jacob, "Come, see Jacob the pious, whose likeness is inlaid (Jer. II om. inlaid) in the throne of glory." "Likeness" expresses the fact better than "name"—unless we remember that "name," for a Jew, does not mean what *we* call name or surname. It means "spiritual essence." Concerning a human being who so passes through the battle of life on earth that he has left his character imprinted on the Mind or Heart of God, or his spiritual likeness "inlaid in the Throne of heaven"—metaphors, both, and both pointing to the same inexpressible reality—it may well be said "His 'portrait,' or his 'writing,' is a victory." On γράφω, "portray," see *Son* 3493 *n*.

[3830 *c*] The identification of this "*writing*" with "*victory*" in the Syriac text may also be illustrated by the fact that the Syriac "*victory*" represents (*Thes.* 1121) δικαίωσις, "justification," in Rom. v. 18, and "righteousness" in Is. v. 23, &c. In English, we see no difficulty in such a saying as "This writing, document, &c., shall be your *justification*," and in Syriac this might be expressed as "This writing shall be your *victory*."

³ [3830 *d*] "Wills (*lit.* has-as-its-good-pleasure)." R.H. and H. "wills." The same Syr. expresses θέλει in 1 Tim. ii. 4 "who *willeth*

[3831] It was a saying, and perhaps a common saying, with the poets of the West, that they would "live" in their writings. "Living I fly on the lips of men," says Ennius about his posthumous self; and Horace speaks of being, even after death, "fresh-born in praise," with "a monument more durable than brass." But this—though a noble conception if we substitute "heart" for "lips" and for "praise"—is poor and thin compared with the Hebrew thought of a human life, independent of human "praise" and human "lips," because it has been prolonged into eternity, by being taken into the divine life and written on the heart of God. Such a life may be seen, though obscurely, to have been recognised by Christ, in the words quoted above from Luke ("written in heaven") and in a saying peculiar to Luke about the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as not being the God of the dead, but of the living ("all live unto him"). Somewhat similarly in spirit, though paradoxically in letter, concerning the saying in Scripture "*They died before the Lord*," Philo says "That is, '*they lived*,' for it is not lawful that a corpse should come *into the sight of God*¹." But this may be, in part, suggested by Greek sayings about the visible life as "perhaps being death," and visible death "perhaps a passage into invisible life."

[3832] Nothing in Philo, and nothing perhaps in Greek or Hebrew literature, blends the thought of "victory" with the thought of "writing," so tersely and closely as this Ode does, and in a form so well adapted to dissipate popular fallacies about the "writing" of "the Recording Angel" (leading us

(*θείλει*) that all men should be saved." But it also expresses (*Theo.* 3352—3) forms of *εὐδοκεῖν* meaning "it-is-my-good-pleasure," or "I-am-well-pleased." In 1 Tim. there is no thought of the elect. Here there is. And it is emphasized by "sees you before it," which suggests a "foreseeing" that amounts to "providing." This, and the general use of the word in the Odes, make *εὐδοκέω* more likely than *θέλω* to be the meaning here.

¹ Philo i. 555, quoting Lev. x. 2. In the same context he quotes loosely Deut. xxx. 20 thus: "This is thy life...to love the Lord thy God" (comp. Jn xvii. 3).

to suppose that this "writing" is a mere keeping of accounts, debiting the soul with so many sins, and crediting it with so many righteous acts, and then writing it down, if the balance permits, in the Book of Life). The "writing" of which our poet speaks, although it implies a conflict and a victory of the purer over the baser self, is primarily a steadfast and persistent clinging to and longing for the Father, the Supreme Good, on whose heart each purified human soul is regarded as having the power to imprint or "write" itself, as earthly children "write" themselves on the hearts of their earthly parents.

ADDENDUM ON "THE AMBIGUOUS FUTURE" IN THE ODES

[3832 *a*] Several passages in the Odes shew the ambiguity of the Syriac future, especially with a negative, and the need of supplying, from the context, the guidance that is not afforded by Syriac idiom, so that we may ascertain whether, for example, in Ode v. 2, the Odist is saying to God, "*Thou wilt not forsake me.*" or "*Do not thou forsake me.*" The former might be called "a future of confident appeal." The latter is simply an entreaty. The former implies faith amounting to knowledge—"Thou wilt not, [I know it, because I know thee]." The difference is great, and must greatly affect our estimate of the poet's attitude toward God.

Hebrew, besides having jussive and cohortative forms of the future, has two distinct negatives, a prohibitive שׁל and a deprecatory אִם, e.g. Exod. xx. 15 ('prohib.') "*thou shalt not steal*"; Gen. xlii. 3 (deprec.) "*thou shalt not fear.*" Syriac has none of these distinctions, and, like Heb., it cannot use the imperat. with negative (Nöldeke § 285) but is forced to use the ambig. fut., e.g. "*thou shalt (or wilt) not kill.*" Even in Hebrew, the future is frequently ambiguous, or at all events has been variously translated by A.V. and R.V., e.g. Ps. xli. 2—3 and cix. 28—9:—

A.V.

Thou wilt not deliver (marg. *do not thou deliver*) him unto the will of his enemies. The Lord *will strengthen* him...*thou wilt make*...

A.V.

Let them be ashamed, but *let* thy servant *rejoice*. *Let* mine adversaries *be clothed* with shame, and *let them cover* themselves with their own confusion...

R.V.

Deliver not thou him unto the will of his enemies. The Lord *will support* (marg. *the Lord support*)... *thou makest*...

R.V.

They shall be ashamed, but thy servant *shall rejoice*. *Let* mine adversaries *be clothed* (marg. *mine adversaries shall be clothed*) with dishonour, and *let them cover* themselves (marg. *they shall cover themselves*) with their own shame...

[3832 *b*] Other passages might be quoted, *e.g.* Ps. lxxi. 8 A.V. "*Let my mouth be filled with thy praise,*" R.V. "*My mouth shall be filled...*" but these suffice to illustrate the following variations in renderings of the Odes, where the future will be used in each case as the literal rendering. The non-future rendering, even where it might be called precatory, or optative, will, for convenience, be called imperative.

v. 2 "*Most High, thou wilt not forsake me.*" So R.H., but with note, "*Or, as in the Coptic, do not thou forsake me.*" H. "*verlass mich nicht.*"

v. 4 "*My persecutors will come and not see me.*" So R.H. and H., but R.H. adds note, "*Or, as in the Coptic, let my persecutors come.*"

v. 5 "*A cloud of gloom shall fall on their eyes, and an air of thick darkness shall darken them.*" So R.H. (without note) and H. But the Coptic still has the imperative in both cases.

v. 6 "*And they shall have no light to see—that they may not take me.*" So R.H. (without note) and H. But the Coptic still has the imperative.

In v. 7, R.H., H., and the Coptic, all have the imperative. But, so far as the Syr. fut. is concerned—apart from questions of order or rhythm in the Syriac—the English future might be used without detriment to the sense :—

v. 7 "*Their thought shall become a thick-fog, and whatever they have planned...it shall return on their own heads.*" The future would also harmonize with "*for*" in what follows :—"For they have designed...and it hath not come to pass for them"—the thought being "*Their own trap shall catch them [in the future]...for their trap has failed in the past.*" R.H. (p. 23, but not in note on the Ode) shews that also in the next verse the Coptic has the imperative, "*meditati sunt consilium neve esto* [P et non factum est] (W.-M.-S. *neve succedat*) iis," where the Syr. has the perfect :—

v. 8 "*They have designed a thought and it hath not come to pass for them.*"

The author of the *Pistis*—perhaps influenced by the framework of affliction in which he sets this quotation from the Odes—seems to have completely misunderstood the feeling of the Odist, which is one of profound trust in God's help. It may be reasonably questioned whether we ought not to render *all* the futures in this Ode as futures.

[3832 *c*] In the following, the hopefulness of the opening verse suggests that all the Syr. futures might be rendered into English futures :—

xiv. 1 foll. "*As the eyes of the son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times toward thee....* (3) *Thou wilt not turn* (but R.H. and H. *imperat.*) *thy loving-kindnesses from me, O Lord, and thou wilt not take* (R.H. and H. *imperat.*) *from me thy sweet-graciousness....* (5) *I shall* (R.H. *let me*) *be well-pleasing before thee....* (6) *I shall* (R.H. *let me*) *be*

preserved from evil.... (9) And according to the multitude of thy loving-kindnesses, so *wilt thou give* (H. *imperat.*) unto me....”

No doubt, the imperative rendering seems at first sight favoured by a real and passionate imperative at the conclusion of this Ode (not to speak of others of a calmer nature) beseeching God to “hasten” :—

xiv. 9 “And *hasten* to give our petitions, and thou art able...”

But such a use of the imperative addressed to God, and the abrupt transition from “me” to “our,” may indicate a transition, either of the person speaking, or else of the thought of the person speaking. The instances of transition of thought are more common—the *person* (e.g. David) remaining the same but his *thought* being, not of himself, but of Israel whom he represents, e.g. Ps. xl. 3 “He hath put a new song in *my* mouth, even praise unto *our* God.” The mouth is the mouth of David, but the God is the God of Israel (comp. Ps. xvii. 11, xviii. 31, xxii. 4, and see *Son* 3206 *a* quoting R. Jehuda’s saying “All that David says about himself he says also about all Israel”). But there are also instances of dramatic transition of person, e.g. Ps. cxviii. 21 foll. (*Son* 3241), and comp. Ps. xx. 5—6. Here, adopting the latter view, we might punctuate thus:—“‘So wilt thou give unto me.’ ‘[Yea.] and hasten, so as to give our petitions’”—the congregation taking up the prayer of the speaker. Comp. the imperatives in Ode xlii. 21—2 “And those who had died ran toward me, and they cried and said ‘Son of God, *have pity* on us, and *do* with us according to thy kindness, and *bring* us out from the bonds of darkness and *open* to us the door...’” Such imperatives addressed to God suit the cry of captives, not the calm of our poet, who represents the redeemed soul. The contexts of the few instances elsewhere breathe trust in the Giver (e.g. iv. 10 “sprinkle thy dew upon us,” xiv. 4, 7, 8 “be my guide,” &c.). They are very few, compared with the score or more in the Psalms of Solomon ii. 24, 28, v. 8, vii. 1, 3 &c.

[3832 *d*] In the following passage, the Odist uses a particle (*Thes.* 1983) corresponding to the Latin *num*, and to the interrogative μή implying impossibility, e.g. Rom. xi. 1 “*Is-it-possible-that* (μή) God hath cast away his people?” (comp. Rom. iii. 3, ix. 14 &c.). This is equivalent to “It is not possible that.” [*Thes.* alleges Ps. xciv. 9—10 as using it (thrice) to mean *nonne*, but this is an error. The Syr. retains the meaning “*is-it-possible-that*?” but adds “*not*,” as a separate word, “He that planted the ear, *is-it-possible-that* he shall not hear?” Walton renders the *two* words twice by “*an non*,” and once by “*nonne*.”] The Odist appears to use this word *num* in the sense of “it is not possible that,” as follows :—

xviii. 1—5 “My heart was lifted up in the fervent-love of the Most High.... (3) ...because His kingdom is true. (4) O Lord,...*it-is-not-possible-that...thou wilt take* from me thy word, (5) *no-nor* (*Thes.* 327) *wilt-thou-hold-back* from me thy fulness-of-perfection....”

Here R.H. and H. have imperatives. In the next verse, R.H. has "let not," followed by "nor let"—perhaps meaning almost the same thing as H., who has "soll nicht...auch nicht." The Syr. has the ordinary "not" with the future followed by "no nor" (in two words):—

xviii. 6 "[*There*] shall not be conquered light by the darkness, *no, nor shall truth flee* from falsehood."

In the following verses R.H. and H. agree in future renderings except that R.H. gives an alternative optative in the first clause.

xviii. 7—8 (R.H.) "*Thou wilt appoint* me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand (with note, *Or*, To Victory may thy right hand bring our Salvation). And *thou wilt receive....* And *thou wilt preserve....*"

These instances are instructive as shewing how freely the Odist uses what we have called "the future of confident appeal" in addressing God. It might also be called "the future of faith," or "the future of prayerful expectation." It means, in effect, "Thou wilt do this or that, because this or that is right, and thou art righteous and (xiv. 9) 'able'."

[3832 *e*] The future of prayerful expectation is most familiar to us in Ps. xvi. 10 "*For thou wilt not leave* my soul to Sheol, neither (*lit.* not) *wilt thou suffer* thine holy one to see corruption." But here the Syr. has the *past* (rightly rendered in Walton "*Non destituiti...neque permisisti...*"). Also in Acts ii. 27, where these words are quoted, the Syr. uses the *present* (wrongly rendered in Walton by the future "*non derelinques...nec dabis*"); and in Acts xiii. 35, "thou wilt not give thy holy one," the Syr. has the *past* (where Walton again wrongly renders by the future). Similarly in Ps. li. 17 "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, *thou wilt not despise*," the Syr. has "God *doth not despise*" (and so Walton "*Deus non despicit*"). The Syrian translators—whatever may have been their motive—seem in many cases to have deliberately rendered these "confident futures" by presents or pasts (comp. Syr. of Ps. xvii. 6, xxxviii. 15 and lxi. 6).

But, if so, why is the "confident future" so frequent in the Odes? Is it as a consequence of translation from idiomatic Greek? That is unlikely. Greeks seldom used the "confident future" in appeals to God. Also, in idiomatic Greek, a 2nd pers. sing. future, with negative, would mean either (1) simple prediction, *e.g.* "you will not succeed," or (2), if interrogative, a sharp command, *e.g.* "won't you be quiet?" The LXX, no doubt, contains instances of "the future of confident appeal"—as in "thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol"—but they are probably in every or almost every case the direct results of translation from Hebrew, or the indirect results of Hebrew influence. The occurrence of this future in the Odes may perhaps be best explained in the same way—as *the result of faithful translation from a Hebrew original*. (Comp. Syr. of Ps. v. 12, xvi. 11, xviii. 28, where the Heb. fut. is retained.)

CHAPTER X

LEADING CAPTIVITY CAPTIVE*

§ 1. "*Leading captive*" for "*freedom*"

[3833] The following Ode appears to have its subject defined by the phrase "leading captivity captive." This occurs in what may be called the Psalm of Ascension, "The Lord is among them, [as in] Sinai, in the sanctuary. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led [thy] captivity captive; thou hast received gifts among men, yea [among] the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell [with them]¹." This was applied by Jews to Moses, who ascended Mount Sinai and received the gift of the Law, in order that the Law might be "among men," and that the Lord God might "dwell" in the Tabernacle with Israel. This is assumed by Rashi to be the Rabbinical interpretation. Elsewhere, commenting on Proverbs, "A wise man *scalesh the city of the mighty*," Rashi assumes it again:—" *This was Moses, our Teacher, who ascended among the angels, who are mighty in strength*²." The angels were supposed to be jealous, and would fain have kept the Law in heaven; the "captivity," or spoil, was the Law; the Law was also the "gifts among men." This may seem to some forced, or even absurd, but there does not appear in Rashi (and in a great mass of Jewish

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 17—8, R.V. txt, s. below.

² Prov. xxi. 22.

literature) a trace of any other interpretation¹; and critics who think it absurd would perhaps find it difficult to suggest any that would not seem absurd to some of their fellow critics².

[3834] If Jews in the first century applied the Psalm of Ascension to Moses, it would be natural and almost inevitable, that Christians, accepting this application, should add—"but to Moses as the type of Christ." That it was applied to Christ we know from the Epistle to the Ephesians, which says that God, "*even when we were dead through our trespasses, quickened us together with Christ...and raised us up with him, and made us to sit with him in the heavenly places, in Christ Jesus*³." Later on, it expressly quotes a version of the Psalm of Ascension, "When he ascended on high (*lit.* to the height) he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men⁴." The Epistle to the Colossians closely agrees with the first part of this, "*Ye were also raised with him...and you being dead through your trespasses...did he quicken together with him*⁵." But instead of going on to quote, or allude to, the Psalm of Ascension, the Colossian Epistle passes off to the Cross, and to an obscure mention of "principalities and powers," which, according to

¹ [3833 a] The Midr. on Ps. lxviii. 17—18 applies Prov. xxi. 22 to Moses, as Rashi does. For other passages, see *Son* 3036, 3152, and add *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xxiv. 2, Wü. p. 218) which implies that Prov. xxi. 22 "...bringeth down the strength of the confidence thereof" means that Moses brings down to Israel the "*strength*" of the Law, *on which the angels had placed "confidence" as being their own possession*. This helps us to understand how Moses might be regarded as bringing down "spoils" from the Mountain (comp. *Deut. r.*, Wü. p. 99 (on Deut. xxxi. 14) which describes "angels" as "trembling" before Moses).

² [3833 b] Historically, the Psalm of Ascension might in some respects apply to David going up to Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, and dispossessing them; or to the restoration of the Jews, after the Captivity, to the Holy City. But the only point that claims our attention is the interpretation likely to be given to the Psalm in the first century and the beginning of the second.

³ Eph. ii. 5—6.

⁴ Eph. iv. 8.

⁵ Col. ii. 12 foll.

R.V., Christ "put off from himself," but according to A.V., "spoiled," *i.e.* despoiled. For Greeks and Jews before Christ's time, the Cross implied humiliation, not exaltation or ascension. But in the Epistle to the Colossians—as also in the Fourth Gospel, where to be "crucified" is to be "lifted up"—the Cross is the place in which Jesus was exalted on high, triumphing over the powers of evil ("triumphing over them in it"). Hence we may say that, in effect, *both Epistles describe Ascension*. But the Ephesian describes *the Ascension to heaven*; the Colossian describes *ascension, or lifting up, on the Cross*.

[3835] Now these two interpretations of "ascension" are precisely what Origen gives in his comment on the words in the Psalms "*Having ascended to the height, he led captivity captive*." There he refers to Paul, but only to the Epistle to the Ephesians. (1) "The 'captivity' of Christ," he says, "means the return of the *logos-nature* [of man] from vice and ignorance to virtue and knowledge. And Paul says (Eph. iv. 8) '*Having ascended....*' Thus, having shewn the descent of the Saviour [in the incarnation] and the pulling-down of the [power of the] devils, he [now] shews Him ascending [to heaven] and [fresh from] having-freed those who were before captives." Then Origen gives an alternative:—(2) "*Or also he means [by] 'height' the [height] of the Cross*, on which having ascended, He tore-down the devils in the air, the spirits of wickedness, from their place of pomp. Then, [turning to] the souls that had been taken captive by them through their evil practices, and had [consequently] revolted from God, He drew them up, like a kind of captive train from the depths of Hades, and made them free."

[3836] These remarks shew that both the Ephesian Epistle and the Colossian may have had in view an "ascending," or "lifting up," of the Messiah, as predicted in the Psalm of Ascension. But the former quotes the Psalm expressly and takes it as an Ascension to the Sanctuary in heaven, though

without any clear explanation of the difficult phrase "lead captivity captive." The latter, while avoiding any quotation of the Psalm, appears to attempt to explain the difficult words in it, by a mention of hostile "principalities and powers," and of some kind of "triumph" on the part of the Messiah.

[3837] These facts indicate the likelihood that "leading captivity captive" would be a subject of first-century discussion between Jews and Christians, as also among Christians between one another¹. What was to be the "captivity"? A thing, or persons? If a thing, what thing? If persons, what persons? Saints or demons? If saints, how could they be led captive by Christ? Or was it that they *had* been led captive by Satan and were *now* led as liberated captives—a "good captivity," a "captivity for freedom"—in the triumphant train of the Messiah? Our author, without touching on comparatively unimportant matters, goes to the root of the one

¹ [3837 a] Col. ii. 15 "having put off from himself (*ἀπεκδυσάμενος*) the principalities and powers (*τὰς ἀρχὰς κ. τὰς ἐξουσίας*)" might well give rise to conflicting interpretations, especially if it was felt from early times that a "despoiling" or "captivity" of some kind was implied. When Jesus "crucified the old man," and "put off from himself" the "body of the flesh," which was regarded as the very panoply of Satan, He left it, nailed to the Cross, while He Himself went down as Conqueror to free the souls of the sons of Adam from Satan in Sheol. By this act Christians were called on to see, in that which was left nailed to the Cross, not Christ's pure body, but the armour of Satan, taken from Satan as spoils, and set up by the Messiah as a trophy of Satan's defeat. It was very easy to confuse this "putting off [from himself]" with "taking away [spoils from Satan]," when the former was so used as to imply the latter. Origen sees in Col. ii. 15 (*Hom. Levit. ix. 5*) an allusion to the scapegoat, and elsewhere (*Hom. Josh. vii. 3*) an illustration of (Mk iii. 27, Mt. xii. 29) "the strong man bound" (where the parall. Lk. xi. 22 mentions "spoils"). In the latter passage he recognises the difficulty of the Pauline mysticism ("symmystes Christi...") "ex his verbis illud intelligo"), and, though he speaks of "potestates exutas potestatibus suis," it is by no means certain that he does not regard "*exutas*" as referring to the result of Christ's "*having put off from himself*," which probably in *Cels.* i. 55, and certainly in *Cels.* ii. 64 (and probably elsewhere, see Lightf. on Col. ii. 15) he assumes to be the meaning.

really important matter when he briefly says here that the captivity was "good" and for "freedom." Later on, as the climax of his Odes, he will shew us the Messiah actually rescuing captive souls from Satan, and proclaiming over them "they are free men and they are mine."

[3838] The Ode begins with an apparent allusion to the opening of the "mouth" of Moses both before and after the leading forth of Israel from the captivity in Egypt:—

1. The Lord hath directed my mouth¹ with His Word (*or*, word), and hath opened my heart² with His light³, and hath-caused-to-abide⁴ in me His life that dieth not.

¹ [3838 *a*] "Mouth." For allusions to the "mouth" of Moses as being naturally slow of speech, s. 3793 *b—d*, 3803 *i*. The thought passes from the outside to the inside, from the effect to the cause, from the "mouth" of man to the "life" in God, (1) "mouth," (2) "heart," (3) God's "light" opening the heart, (4) God's "life" bestowing "light." Contrast the order in Jn i. which passes from the cause to the effects, (1) "the Word," (2) "life," (3) "the light of men," (4) "there came a man named John." But to make the contrast exact, the Ode should not have mentioned, till last, the "Word," or "word" (which is here designated by the Syr. equiv. of Logos, s. 3819 *e*).

² [3838 *b*] "Opened my heart." Gesen. 835 *a* gives instances of "open" with "eye," "ear," and "mouth," but not with "heart." But comp. 2 Macc. i. 2—4 "God be gracious unto you and give you all a heart [inclined] to reverence...and *open your heart* in His law," and Lk. xxiv. 45 "then *opened he their mind* (*voûv*)..." These facts shew that the phrase was current in the first century. Ode viii. 1 called on men to "open" their own "hearts." But the poet here implies that the complete "opening" is not to be achieved by man alone.

³ [3838 *c*] "Light." This would apply to Moses on Horeb (Exod. iii. 2) enlightened by the flame that burned but did not consume.

⁴ [3838 *d*] "Caused-to-abide." Comp. xxxii. 1 "light from Him who *abideth* in them"—the only other instance of "wohnen" in H.'s Index—and xxii. 12 "the *abiding-place* of the saints." *Theos.* 2918—9 gives the active of this verb in Jn xiv. 17 "it (*i.e.* the Spirit of truth) *abideth* (*μένει*) with you and is-indeed in you," and the causative in Ps. iv. 8 "makest-me-*dwell* in safety" (and in phrases signifying giving in marriage). Perhaps the first Biblical instance of the Syr. word is in Gen. vi. 3 (Syr.) "my spirit shall *not always abide among men*" (where the LXX and Onkelos also read "*abide*," but Onk. applies it to "men"). John (i. 32—3) alone of the Evangelists, describes the Spirit as "abiding" (*μένειν*, but not

2. And He hath granted unto me that I might speak the fruit of His peace¹.

the same Syr. as here) on Jesus. Origen (*Hom. Is. iii. 2*) quotes Jn with Gen. (LXX) as above, and says "*Unum vidit Joannes solum in quo permansit.*" Our author seems here to anticipate Origen's view. Comp. Jn v. 26 "As the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself."

¹ [3838 *e*] "Speak *the fruit of His peace.*" This expression can nowhere be found in the Bible, which mentions (Gal. v. 22) "the fruit of the Spirit" as being "love, joy, and peace," but nowhere speaks of the "fruit of God's peace." Applied to men, however, it occurs in Heb. xii. 11 (Syr.) "But afterwards it (*i.e.* chastisement) renders...*the fruits of peace* and righteousness (*fructus pacis et justitiae*)" apparently meaning "the fruits consisting in peace and in righteousness." But here, "the fruit that consists in God's peace" presents very great difficulty, especially as it comes after "speak" (not after "render"). Would it not make better sense to take "of" as signifying "from" (as would be usual after "fruit")? Yet even then what is the force of "fruit"? Why not say, in the language of Isaiah, "that I might publish *the gospel of [His] peace*"?

Possibly the poet may have before him the vision of that eternal "peace" which—he has said above (3809 *b, c*)—was "prepared before war." This he may regard as a seed invisibly sown from the beginning, and destined to produce a harvest of Redemption, which he has been enabled to perceive and which he has been commanded to proclaim to the world.

[3838 *f*] But the combination of "fruit" and "peace" in an Ode bearing on the redemption of the Gentiles leads us to ask whether O.T. contains any such combination—not identical but similar—as might be used by Christians to bear on the same subject. Such a passage occurs in Isaiah lvii. 19 "I create *the fruit of the lips: Peace, peace*, to him that is far off and to him that is near, saith the Lord." Jewish interpretations vary (see Rashi *ad loc.* and Breithaupt's notes). They regarded "the fruit of the lips" as meaning man's expression of penitence, resulting in "peace" proclaimed by the Lord. But some say that (*Numb. r.* on Numb. v. 6, Wü. pp. 128—9) it came to proselytes ("far off") as well as to Jews ("near") and to proselytes first. Others (as Rashi) say that the "far off" were sinners. The connection of "peace" in Isaiah is not quite clear. The Epistle to the Ephesians emphasizes the fact that the peace originates not from the redeemed but from the Redeemer (ii. 13 foll.) "Now, in Christ Jesus, ye that once were far off are made nigh...For *he is our peace*...so making *peace*...and he came and *preached peace* to you that were far off and to them that were

3. [So as] to turn [toward Him]¹ the souls of those who are well-pleased to come toward Him, and [so as] to lead-captive a good captivity² for freedom.

nigh...." The Fourth Gospel, in its reiteration of "peace," probably alludes to the same prophecy, and with the same intention (Jn xiv. 27) "Peace I leave unto you, my own peace (*Joh. Gr.* 1993, 2609 *b*) I give unto you."

[3838 *g*] In the preceding context of Isaiah, God says, referring to the deluge (lvii. 16 foll.) "I will not contend for ever (Gen. vi. 3) neither will I be always wroth...I have seen his ways and will heal him." This context our author appears to have in view as explaining "the fruit of the lips," which results in "peace." He is carried away by a simultaneous view of Destruction and Redemption, War and Peace. Some people see in it a chaos. He sees a harvest. This is his Gospel—that the world is fruit not blight, peace not war. So instead of saying "that I might speak His gospel" he says "that I might speak the fruit of His peace."

[3838 *h*] The probability of this allusion makes it impossible to pin the author down to any one definite grammatical meaning such as we find in Eph. v. 9 "the fruit of the light." An eternally foreordained and ideal peace may be regarded both as an origin and as a goal, a seed and a fruit. Not improbably the writer has both these thoughts in view.

¹ [3838 *i*] "To turn [toward Him]." This word occurs in Mal. iv. 6 (Syr.) (and in Lk. i. 17 (Walton)) of Elijah "turning" the hearts of the children (where Heb. has a word more definitely signifying "turn-back" *i.e.* "repent"). *Theo.* 3169 shews that it is often used to imply conversion, though not often (in Biblical Syriac) absolutely.

² [3838 *j*] "Lead-captive...captivity." There are the following reasons why a Jew might connect this phrase with Moses. Ps. lxxviii. 18 says "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts among men, yea, [among] the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell [with them]." This is preceded by an apparent reference to the Exodus and Sinai (*ib.* 7—8 "O God, when thou wentest forth before thy people...yon Sinai..."), and by a mention of (*ib.* 17) "thousands upon thousands" of the "chariots of God." The latter might well be identified (as they are by Rashi) with "the holy ones" mentioned in Deuteronomy xxxiii. 2 "The Lord came from Sinai...He came from the *ten thousands of holy ones*: at his right hand was a fiery law unto them." There follows, in the Psalm, a reference to the passage of the Jordan and the Red Sea (Ps. lxxviii. 22 "from Bashan...from the depths of the sea").

[3838 *k*] Some Jewish traditions declared that "angels" (*Son* 3036, 3152 &c.) opposed the giving of the Law to Man, and that Moses, as

it were, forced his way up to God and brought down the Law in spite of them. Rashi may perhaps imply this view in his paraphrase: "Although the Chariot of God was manifested in twenty thousands of angels...yet also thou, leader of His people, Moses, son of Amram, didst ascend on high, *didst lead captivity captive, namely, the Law, and didst receive* (or, *take*) *gifts from those above* (accepisti munera a superioribus) that thou mightest give them to the sons of man." Then he adds, "Also thou, O Moses, didst afford cause why the Holy One, Blessed be He, should dwell in a habitation in the midst of the people, who had been rebellious and disobedient and had provoked Him to anger." But the Targum (see Walton and Levy *Ch. i. 138 a*) paraphrases the last words thus, "the disobedient, who become proselytes and repent with repentance, upon them there rests the Shechinah of the glory of the Lord."

[3838 *l*] Some traces perhaps of the Jewish conception of Moses contending against angels before the throne of God may be found in the Epistle to the Ephesians, which first describes Christians as being (i. 3) "in the heavenly [places] in Christ," like Moses on Mount Horeb, and then as (vi. 12) "*wrestling*" against "*the spiritual [hosts] of wickedness in the heavenly [places]*." And Irenaeus (ii. 20. 3) after applying to Jesus the words "led captivity captive, gave gifts to men," says that He conferred on those that believe on Him (Lk. x. 19) "*the power to tread on serpents and scorpions and on all the power of the enemy*"—as though these special "gifts" brought down from above were displayed in opposing, or rather in crushing, the powers of evil.

[3838 *m*] In favour of the Jewish interpretation is the fact that "lead captivity captive" (Gesen. 985 *b*) appears to have in Hebrew *no such meaning as "leading as one's own captives those who have been already taken captive by others."* See Gesen. 985 *b* on the "acc. cogn." in Judg. v. 12 (*lit.*) "thy captivity," compared with Ps. lxxviii. 18, 2 Chr. xxviii. 17 &c. A Christian writer, therefore, who applied Ps. lxxviii. 18 to Christ, as ascending to heaven, and as leading the souls of men in His train as captives, did well to explain that he regarded men as rebels from the King, whom the King's Son "took captive as it were against their will." Origen blends this view (which is consistent with the Psalm) with the view of recapture (which is not implied in the Psalm) thus (*Hom. Numb. xviii. 4*, Lomm. x. 227) "The 'captivity' of the human race which the devil had taken with a view to its destruction, He (*i.e.* Jesus) led captive again and recalled from death to life. Therefore I would that Jesus Christ *would always have me as His captive and lead me as His prey* (et me ducat in praedam suam) *and that I may be held bound in His chains...* as Paul (comp. Eph. iii. 1) boasts concerning himself."

[3838 *n*] These last words amount to this, "Jesus Christ leads us into a captivity that is for our good, that we may serve God, not Satan—

§ 2. *Freedom*

[3839] It is characteristic of our author that he introduces his first and almost unique mention of "*freedom*" by a mention of "*captivity*." Of this antithetical method we have had abundant specimens above¹. But in this particular case there is more than custom of style, there is an employment of antithesis in order to draw out the true meaning of a word almost universally misunderstood, "*freedom*," which he regards in the Pauline aspect, as being service—not servitude but *service, some kind of obedience*. For beasts it is otherwise. They do not "obey" when they are "free." They do as they like. But as to men Paul assumes that we know that we are, and must be, in some sort, servants:—"Know ye not that to whom ye present yourselves as servants unto obedience, his servants ye are whom ye obey²?" Life is the school in which we must learn to obey the right Master. By obeying, we find Him our friend. Then merging our will in His, we find ourselves doing our own will as well as His, so that we are free, even while we serve, and because we serve. This doctrine, but only an imperfect version of it, is taught by Epictetus. This Philo also teaches, on a basis of scripture and philosophy. In Philo's view, Abraham may be described as the first free

a captivity that is really the service of God, which is freedom." And that is what our author expresses in the words "good" and "for freedom" here:—"to lead captive a *good* captivity *for freedom*."

¹ [3839 *a*] "Antithetical...above." See *Joh. Gr.* 2587, 2591, 2598 foll., on the method of expressing thought by positives combined with negatives, and note:—Odes i. 3 "not...withered...but thou livest," v. 5—6 "darkness...no light," *ib.* 9 "my hope...I will not fear," *ib.* 10 "I shall not be shaken...I stand firm," vii. 24 "no-knowledge...knowledge"; comp. viii. 6 "despised...lifted up," *ib.* 8 "peace...war" (where see note). Many other instances might be given. In part, it is characteristic of all Jewish poetry; in part, of a special kind of Jewish poetry; but in part, of special writers, *e.g.* the author of the Fourth Gospel and the author of these Odes.

² Rom. vi. 16. Comp. Mt. vi. 24 "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

man, or rather as the first "king," because he was so trustful and faithful a servant of God that he earned the title of God's friend¹ (3719 a).

[3840] We must not be misled by the rarity of the word "freedom" in these Odes to suppose that the subject is subordinate in the author's mind. If he seldom mentions it, that may be because the Bible seldom mentions it². But he, like the Bible, often implies it. It might well be said in Jewish tradition that the very first of the Ten Commandments converted a nation of slaves into a nation of free men, "I am the Lord thy God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage³." Leviticus represents the Lord as

¹ [3839 b] "God's friend." Philo (ii. 442—3) describes Abraham as rising above the level of his ancestors to the state of the "wellborn (εὐγενής)" so that he becomes "fellow-born (συγγενής)" with the true God, leaving the "evil-birth (δυσγένεια)" of the worshippers of false gods, and becoming regenerate and transmuted, in body as well as spirit (comp. *ib.* i. 373). Hence he is "the first called 'believer,'" and is also called by the children of Heth (Gen. xxiii. 6) (LXX) "king." In Philo's view (ii. 444) every virtuous man (πᾶς ὁ ἀστέιος) is "free." But Abraham is also "king."

[3839 c] Elsewhere (i. 419) he says that the firmest freedom is the service of the Only Wise, to whom His followers must ascend, in thought even to ethereal height, "taking Moses, the God-loved race, as leader on the path (Μωϋσῆν, τὸ θεοφιλὲς γένος, προσθησαμένους ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ)." This would seem to mean that Moses, the "God-loved," still lives in the God-loved race of Israel that acts as his interpreters. And in a passage probably referring to Exod. vii. 1 "I have made thee a god unto Pharaoh" he says (ii. 451—2) that the Jewish lawgiver has claimed for men an even "more audacious (νεανικώτερον)" title than "friends of God," since he calls "one wholly-possessed by [the passion of] the divine love (ἔρωτι θείῳ), and serving solely that which is," no longer "man," but "God"—"the God however of men, not of the elements (μερῶν) of Nature."

² [3840 a] "Seldom mentions it." It is not (*Son* 3553 a) in the gospels nor in canon. LXX exc. Lev. xix. 20.

³ [3840 b] Exod. xx. 2. Jer. Targ. has "I am the Lord your God, who freed you and brought you out *free* from the land of Egypt from the house of the bondage of slaves." Comp. *Aboth.* vi. 2 "The tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God *graven* (Exod. xxxii. 16) on the tables; read not CHARUTH, *graven*, but CHERUTH, *freedom*...." The reason is not given in a form that would commend

adding on that occasion "I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you go upright," and the Targum is justified in using the word "freedom" in its paraphrase "I brought you out from them, *as sons of freedom*, and led you forth with erect stature¹." Similarly one of our Odes said above, "Rise up, and *stand erect, ye that sometime bowed-down [as slaves]*"²; and that, and other passages, mentioning the casting off of "bonds" or deliverance from "darkness"—for darkness imprisonments—keep before the reader the thought of the God of the First Commandment, the Deliverer from Bondage, until at last the climax arrives in the words of the Messiah at the conclusion of the last Ode, "And I heard their voice, and my name I signed (*but Codex N* put, s. Appendix IV) upon their heads, for they are *free* men, and they are mine. Hallelujah³."

itself to Philo or to our author: "For thou wilt find no free man but him who is occupied in learning of Torah..."—supported by a fanciful reference to Numb. xxi. 19 "Bamoth," *i.e.* high places, or exaltation. But both writers—if "Torah" was regarded as being, in the deepest sense, the Law of Liberty—would accept the conclusion. See 3651 *a* for the tradition that all the Israelites were "crowned" when they accepted the Law at Sinai.

¹ Lev. xxvi. 13.

² Ode viii. 4.

³ [3840 *c*] Ode xlii. 25—6. R.H. 1st ed. Eng. "my name was heard over their heads," but Syr. txt has "*signed*" (for "*heard*") with n. stating that "*heard*" is the reading of "*cod. ut videtur*." H. has "*wrote*," without note ("*ich schrieb*"). R.H. 2nd ed. Eng. has "*my name I sealed*," without note, and Syr. adds that the mistake ("*heard*") was made "probably under the influence of" a preceding "*heard*" ("I heard their voice"). The MS. of R.H. (App. IV) omits a clause contained by N.

[3840 *d*] The Syr. for "*signed*" Heb. *râsham* Gesen. 957 *a*, Aram. *ib.* 1113 *a*) is distinct from "*wrote*," as may be seen from Dan. vi. 8 (Aram.) "*sign* (*râsham*) the *writing* (*châthab*)" (rep. *ib.* 9, 10). It often implies inscribing indelibly, formally, or truthfully, *e.g.* Dan. x. 21 "*inscribed* (*râsham*) in the *writing* (*châthab*) of truth." It is rendered by Etheridge "*sealed*" in Gen. iv. 15 (Jer. Targ.) "and the Lord *sealed* upon the face of Kain the mark of the Name great and honourable," but Walton has more literally "*et constituit* (? leg. as from *sûm*) Dominus super facies Caini *signum ex nomine*," *i.e.* "a *sign*, or *letter*, from the Name...." Comp. also Ezek. ix. 4 "*mark a thau* on the foreheads..."

[3841] The prayer in the Song of Songs¹ "Set me as a seal upon thine heart" is connected by the Midrash with the "freeing" of Israel at Mount Sinai; for when Israel pronounced the words "We will do," God called the Angel of Death and said that though he was to be the World-ruler over creation at large, yet he was not to be ruler over Israel, for "this Nation" was to be "free." Earlier in the same Song, the mention of the "chariots" of "my princely people" (Heb. "ammi-nadib") called forth from commentators a mention of the various princes of Israel, when released from slavery and made a nation of "priest-princes²." The word "prince" means radically "liberal" in every sense, a volunteer in all well-doing, such as Abraham was both in peace and in war, and pre-eminently in war—when he extemporised the first volunteer army on record and went forth, not like a common king, to conquer, but to rescue. Accordingly the Targum paraphrases the text thus:—"I will place them (*i.e.* the Israelites) high in the chariots of kings because of the merits of the righteous of that generation who in their works are like unto Abraham their father." This and the Midrash help us to realise the way in which Jewish commentators, who were often genuine poets without knowing it, superimposed picture upon picture, and (so

Syr. "*sign a signature.*" *Thes.* 3985—6 gives, as the usual meaning, *indelible* writing ("exaravit"). This would imply, here, indelible attestation of ownership. "*Put*" would be the special act of Jehovah on His Temple (App. IV). But both "*put*" and "*sign*" would imply ownership—"They are mine." See 3667 *b*, 3814 *d*.

¹ [3841 *a*] Cant. viii. 6. According to R. Meir, the Israelites said to God, "Do unto us that which is in thy heart," and God's reply was to free them from death. The context contains a play upon "engraved" and "free" (3840 *b*), defining the "freedom" as being (1) from death, (2) from the yoke of the kingdom of the world, (3) from suffering.

² [3841 *b*] Cant. vi. 12. See Levy iii. 475—6 on the "Priesterfürsten." Among these the Midrash mentions (1) Joseph, released from (Ps. cv. 18) "fetters," (2) David, brought back from exile, (3) Mordecai, raised from sackcloth to purple, (4) the later Israel (Mic. vii. 8 "when I fall I shall arise"). Another explanation of "ammi-nadib" took *ammi* as "with me," so as to give the meaning, "The princely-one with me."

to speak) hero upon hero, in illustrating the history of their people as guided by God's redeeming and controlling hand.

§ 3. *The "gathering" of "the peoples that had been scattered"*

[3842] We pass now to an aspect of the Messiah that transcends the type of Moses. Moses delivered Israel, but this Deliverer—we are now to be told—"led-captive *the world*," and by Him "there were gathered together *the peoples that had been scattered*." Taken together, the two phrases point to the Messiah—nearly as conceived in some passages of Isaiah where He is either regarded as a Person or identified with the exiled and scattered Israel—"gathering together into one," as the Fourth Gospel says¹, "the children of God that are scattered abroad"—those whom the Petrine Epistle² calls "the Dispersion," that is, the *real* Dispersion, not of Israel after the flesh, but of Israel after the spirit. These the Epistle to the Ephesians describes as "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of the promise," as "sojourners," and "far off," but now "made nigh in the blood of Christ³." All this our poet expresses, briefly and (to all appearance) quite independently, by "led captive *the world*" and "gathered together *the peoples that had been scattered*."

[3843] If the writer has in view any scriptural type of the Messiah in this section of his Ode, it is probably Abraham. Isaiah mentions a conqueror "raised up from the East," whom the Rabbis identified with Abraham⁴. The Rabbis also believed that Abraham was the High Priest "after the order of Melchizedek"; that the office of High Priest passed to him from Melchizedek when the latter blessed him in the name of God Most High; and that the bread and wine brought by

¹ Jn xi. 52.

² 1 Pet. i. 1, see Hort's note p. 15.

³ Ephes. ii. 12 foll.

⁴ Is. xli. 2, see 3870 *b*.

Melchizedek to Abraham were symbols of God's divinest gifts (this also was the belief of Philo and of Jerome, Origen's comment is not extant)¹. The scene might well attract a poet writing on the first War for Liberty—Abraham, the future Father in whom all the peoples of the world were to be blessed, ascending with a long train of rescued captives toward the gates of Salem, that is, Jerusalem, whence issues the High Priest of the Most High God bringing him "gifts" of mysterious efficacy, "bread and wine," and virtually saying to the Patriarch, "Thou art henceforth my successor. Thou art High Priest of the Most High. Receive His gifts. Be strong. Take captive the world in a good captivity for freedom."

[3844] The ninth Ode gave the command to God's soldiers, "Be strong," which appeared to contain an allusion to Abraham, who led forth his little army to liberate captives. The following extract begins with "I was made strong," uttered by the Leader:—

4. I was-made-strong and of-a-good-courage² and I led-captive the world.

¹ [3843 *a*] See *Gen. r.* on Gen. xiv. 18, Wü. p. 199. R. Samuel said that the bread and wine meant the Shewbread and the Drink offering, but "the Rabbis" said that they meant "Torah," as in Prov. ix. 5. Rashi says "Est autem Medrasch Aggadah...munera et libamina quae ipsius posterii ibidem essent oblaturi," where note "ibidem." Abraham's posterity were to offer up the same offerings *in the same place*, Salem, that is, Jerusalem. As regards the passing of the Priesthood to Abraham, see *Numb. r.* on Numb. iii. 45, Wü. p. 57, *Lev. r.* on Lev. xix. 23, Wü. p. 170. Philo says (i. 103) "Let Melchizedek offer (προσφέρτω) wine instead of water...for he is Priest, Logos, having, as lot, HIM WHO IS (ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ Λόγος, κληῖρον ἔχων τὸν ὄντα)." Jerome says (*ad loc.*) "Quod autem ait (Ps. cx. 4) *Tu es...Melchisedek*: mysterium nostrum in verbo ordinis significatur...oblato pane et vino, id est, corpore et sanguine Domini Jesu." On Salem, "peace," s. 3809 *b*.

² [3844 *a*] "I was...courage." See 3820 *c*. These two Syriac verbs (*Thes.* 1260, 3003) occur in Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23 &c. in the exhortation of Moses, first, to Israel, and then to Joshua, twice, to "be strong and of good courage" in the conquest of the Promised Land. The words would be appropriately used by the Messiah as representing the spiritual Israel

5. And it became for-me¹ to the glorifying of the Most High, and (*i.e.* even) of God my Father².

or the second Jesus, of whom Joshua, the first Jesus, was the type. But they would not be appropriate for Moses, to whom it was given, not to effect this conquest but only to encourage others to effect it. In prophecy, the word "make strong" is used by Isaiah (Syr.) of God strengthening the spiritual Israel (xli. 8—9) "But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend, thou whom I have (R.V.) *taken-hold-of* from the ends of the earth" (but Syr. "*roboravi*. Quod ab extremis terrae..."). This is preceded by a mention of a conqueror (*ib.* xli. 2—3) "raised up from the East," who "pursueth...and passeth on safely," whom (3843) the Rabbis identified with Abraham.

¹ [3844 *b*] "Became for-me." Comp. Philipp. i. 19 (lit.) "*this shall turn out for me* (ἀποβήσεται μοι) to salvation," and *ib.* 12 (lit.) "the things concerning me have rather come to the furtherance of the gospel," and we shall understand our author's condensed expression "It turned out to be for-me [the greatest of gains, not tending to my own glorifying but] to the glorifying of the Most High."

² [3844 *c*] "And (*i.e.* even) of God my Father." H. says "Mindestens die letzten Worte sind wohl christlich." This is very probably true, but we must not infer that the words are an interpolation or later addition. The poet seems to have been leading up to them by his mention of God's "*covenant*" toward the end of the preceding Ode (ix. 11) "in the true *covenant* of the Lord." It is not in our author's manner to drop an important *thought*, after just introducing it. Perhaps he henceforth (as H.'s Index indicates) avoids the word "*covenant*," as being ambiguous, or of disputable and sometimes sectarian meaning. But in Ode xi, without mentioning "*covenant*," he will be found to open with a mention of the circumcision of the heart, which clearly points to the "*covenant*" with Abraham. Also, in the Ode now under consideration, without mentioning "*covenant*," he utilises the Psalm (lxxxix) "of Ethan the Ezrahite" (*i.e.* (s. Rashi) according to the Rabbis, "Abraham") which exceeds every other Psalm in the frequency of its mentions of "*covenant*" (*ib.* 3, 28, 34, 39) and contains (*ib.* 26) a mention of "*my Father*," applied to God in a manner unique in the Bible (R.V. marg. gives no reference except 2 S. vii. 14 "his Father"). On "and," *i.e.* "even," s. 3763 *c*.

[3844 *d*] The subject of the Psalm is (*ib.* 1—2) the eternal kindnesses of God. According to a very ancient saying in the *Aboth* i. 2 (on which see *Son* 3601 quoting Dalman and Taylor) "the bestowal of kindnesses" was one of three pillars of the universe. But the Psalmist leads us to think of but *one* "pillar," namely, the King to whom Abraham looked forward, the "seed" of David, whose "throne" should be (*ib.* 4) "built up" for ever, so that He should be (*ib.* 20—21) "David" over again, "anointed," that is, "made Christ," and "made strong" by God's arm—

6. And there were gathered¹ together (*lit.* as one)² the peoples³ that had been scattered⁴.

and all this because he was able to cry unto God "*my Father*," being God's "*firstborn*." This was the Covenant for eternity, the Fatherhood of God, and this explains our author's sudden mention of "*God my Father*," as being the battle-cry of the Word of God, when He went forth conquering and to conquer.

¹ [3844 *e*] "There were gathered." Comp. Deut. xxx. 3 "the Lord thy God...will *gather* thee from all the peoples (A.V. and LXX *nations*)" where the Syr. for "gather" is the same as here. The corresponding Heb. (*kâbatz*) is regularly used (Gesen. 868 *a*) of Jehovah gathering His dispersed people, sometimes as a flock. But in two passages the "gathering" seems to be hostile and ironically mentioned. Mic. iv. 12, after previously describing God as gathering His own people (ii. 12, iv. 6) says, concerning the foolish "nations," which are assembled to destroy Israel, "They know not the thoughts of the Lord...he hath *gathered* them—[yes, but not as a flock or an army but] as the sheaves to the threshing-floor." Also Joel describes God as saying (iii. 2—13) "I will *gather* all nations...into the valley of Jehoshaphat; and I will plead with them there...Come, all ye nations...*gather yourselves together*," that is, gather yourselves that Jehovah may "plead" with you, sickle in hand, and cut you down like corn ("put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe").

[3844 *f*] Then the question arises, whether the meaning is hostile, as Gesenius and the Rabbis say it is, in the third instance, Is. lxvi. 18 "I will *gather* all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." On that passage, R.V. marg. refers to Is. ii. 2 describing the nations as "flowing" to Jerusalem to be taught God's ways. But the marg. also refers to Zech. xiv. 16, and there we find that *after* the nations have been (*ib.* 2) "gathered" by Jehovah "*against*" Jerusalem to battle, and *after* the Lord has (*ib.* 3) "fought against" them and (*ib.* 12) "smitten" them, then the remnant ("*everyone that is left of all the nations*") shall go up to worship. The signs of confusion and opportunities for diversity of interpretation are obvious. Rashi takes Is. lxvi. 18 as parallel to Zechariah's *first* and hostile "gathering." Jerome takes it as largely non-hostile. And non-hostility is clearly implied in the present Ode. See 2 Chr. xxx. 3 foll. for Hezekiah's attempt at "gathering."

² [3844 *g*] "Together." Our English versions sometimes render the above-mentioned Heb. "*kâbatz*" "*gather*," by Eng. "*gather together*," e.g. Is. xi. 12 "*gather-together* the dispersed of Judah," Jerem. xlix. 14 "*gather-ye-together*." For this reason the Syr. is transl. above in such a way as to shew that the adverb "together" is a part of the Syr. text. "As one" is too strong (though literal) but it represents the latent thought,

7. And I (*emph.*) was not polluted¹ by my fervent-love [for them]²

comp. Jn x. 1 foll. on the Good Shepherd. The parable mentions "scattering" by "the wolf" and implies daily "gathering" by "the Shepherd." But further it looks forward to a final gathering that is to include "other sheep," so that there may be (*ib.* 16) "one flock, one shepherd."

³ [3844 *h*] "The peoples." See *Thes.* 2904 on the double meaning of "people," so that an author, using severally the sing. and the pl., sometimes "mystice designat Judaeos et ethnicos," and comp. *Son* 3353 (*i*), 3423 *f*, 3442 *b, f*, 3468 *d*, &c. on the differences, and confusions, between *ἔθνος*, "nation," and *λαός*, "people." R.H. has "the Gentiles," and H. "the (heathen-) peoples," "die (Heiden-) Völker." By rendering it "*peoples*" we prepare the way for the repetition of the word in Ode x. 8, "they were redeemed and became *my-people*." See 3844 *i*

⁴ [3844 *i*] "Scattered." The Syr. "scattered" is used (*Thes.* 454) in Gen. xi. 8, 9 of the "scattering" of Babel, and in Deut. iv. 27 of the "scattering" of Israel. The prophets, when they mention "scattering" and "gathering" in the same context, seem to speak almost always exclusively of Israel. But a wider meaning is suggested in Jn xi. 50—2 "...that one man should die for the *people* (*λαοῦ*) and that the whole *nation* (*ἔθνος*) perish not"...he prophesied that Jesus should die for the *nation*, and not for the *nation* only, but that he might *gather together into one*"—where note the emphasis on "together" referred to above (3844 *g*)—"the widely-scattered children of God (*διεσκοπισμένα*)."
Origen's comment on this extremely difficult passage—a passage, on the surface, full of manifest inconsistencies—regards "the children of God" as including all the righteous, past as well as present. The evangelist's meaning is certainly mystical. He represents Caiaphas, like a second Balaam, as speaking the truth perforce, calling the whole of Israel after the flesh a "*nation*," and those for whom Christ effectually dies "*the people*," and further, as admitting that outside the "*nation*," Israel, there lie "widely-scattered children of God," who do not belong to the Jewish Dispersion. Apparently he regards them as belonging to a kind of Gentile Dispersion, which began with Babel and the Confusion of Tongues, and which ended in the New Jerusalem, with the new "gift of tongues," whereby one and the same utterance made the hearers, though of many nationalities, exclaim (Acts ii. 11) "We do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God."

¹ [3844 *j*] "Polluted." Comp. Mal. i. 7—12 "Ye say, Wherein have we *polluted thee*? In that ye say, The table of the Lord is contemptible... For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same *my name is* (marg. *shall be*) *great among the nations*; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for *my name is*

(marg. *shall be*) *great among the nations....But ye profane it.*" Gesen. (146 a) gives only this instance of "pollute," applied to Jehovah. [Also, under "profane," Gesen. 320 a indicates the rarity with which that word is applied to Jehovah, e.g. Ezek. xiii. 19 and xxii. 26.] Rashi (on Mal. i. 7) represents Jehovah as saying "Hac in re *polluitis me*," and, on *ib.* 11, "Est hoc mihi, quoniam per vos nomen meum venerabile est inter gentes, vos autem *polluitis me et nomen meum.*"

[3844 k] As regards "the nations," Rashi states the view of the Rabbis somewhat obscurely. It will be best to give Breithaupt's Latin version: "Dixerunt Rabbini nostri: quod (gentes) appellaverint illum (Jehovam) Deum Deorum, etiam is, qui habet idolum, novit, quod ille (Jehova) sit Deus, quod ipse sit super omnia illa et quod in omni loco sponte offerant nomini meo etiam gentes." But he adds words indicating another interpretation, namely, that the "offering" consisted in the study of the Law and the prayers of the Israelites in every part of the world. And he quotes the Targum, which makes the statement about the "offering" future:—"whenever ye (*i.e.* Israel) *shall do* my will, I receive [*v.r.* I will receive, see Breithaupt's note] your prayers..."

Rashi's exposition as to the belief of "the nations" that Jehovah was "the God of Gods" may be illustrated by the confession of the idolater Nebuchadnezzar, in whose mouth is put the first mention of "God Most High" in Daniel (iii. 26) "ye servants of *the Most High God*, come forth," and again (iv. 2) "it hath seemed good unto me to shew the signs and wonders that *the Most High God* hath wrought toward me." Then the king offers to the God of the Jews under this appellation the sacrifice of praise (*ib.* iv. 3) "How great are his signs! And how mighty are his wonders! His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation."

[3844 l] Justin Martyr (as also Iren. iv. 17. 6) repeatedly quotes Malachi's words (*Tryph.* xxviii, xli, and cxvii) endeavouring to refute the Jewish contention that the "pure offering" was from those of their own nation in the Dispersion. His remarks indicate that this view had been maintained by Jews ("you and your teachers") for some time, and strengthen the inference that the Malachi passage was often and early discussed between Christians and Jews.

² [3844 m] "By my fervent-love [for them]." R.H. "By my love [for them]," H. "in meiner Liebe." R.H. 2nd ed. Eng. adds n. "*i.e.* erasing the plural points, so as not to read 'by my sins.' Barnes suggests the emendation 'by their sins.'..."

H. has the following note "Harris bezieht diesen Vers darauf, 'that the reception of Gentiles has not polluted Christ. Such language does not belong to the Hellenic world, nor, we think, to the second century. But it is quite natural in a Judæo-Christian community in Palestine in the first century.' Allein der Gedanke, dass der Christus trotz der

because they made-acknowledgment (*i.e.* gave glory)¹ to me in the

Heidenmission unbefleckt sei, scheint mir eingetragen zu sein; denn dass speziell die Liebe zu den Heiden gemeint sei, ist nicht gesagt. Allerdings bleibt es unklar, weshalb der Verfasser hier auf die Unbeflecktheit der Liebe des Messias kommt, zumal da die Begründung: 'weil sie mich verkündeten auf Höhen' (auf hohen Plätzen), ganz dunkel ist. Vielleicht ist etwas ausgefallen oder der Text ist sonst nicht in Ordnung."

[3844 *u*] "Pollution" is certainly implied, for Jews, as resulting from eating with Gentiles, in Acts xi. 3 "thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them." Peter does not reply, "The Lord Jesus ate with sinners, (Mk vii. 19) 'purifying all food'." Apparently Luke regards Jesus as having done nothing of the kind. Peter's "eating" with Gentiles was (in the Acts) a new departure, authorised by a special vision and revelation. It seems probable that "I was not polluted" is uttered by the Messiah here, not merely as looking back to His life as Jesus on earth, but in a twofold aspect. First, He speaks in the Person of the Word or Son, looking back to the love that He felt for Man, designed to be in God's image from the beginning. Secondly, He speaks of His life in the Church, as fulfilling the prophecy of Malachi.

[3844 *o*] There is also one passage in O.T. that Christians might allege as textually proving that God had "fervent-love" toward the Gentiles: Deut. xxxiii. 3 (R.V. txt) "Yea, he *loveth* the *peoples*; all his saints are in thy hand; and they sat down at thy feet; [everyone] shall receive of thy words." Here, for the word rendered "peoples" (R.V. marg. "tribes") Rashi gives two meanings, (1) *tribes [of Israel]*, (2) *peoples of the world* ("populorum mundi"). Onkelos substitutes "*tribes*." Targ. Jer. I and Jer. II, besides mentioning Israel, introduce in the context a mention of the sons of Ishmael and of Esau—apparently *contrasting them with the "peoples"* (*i.e.* *tribes*) that "*he loveth*" (comp. Gen. xxvii. 29 where Targ. Jer. I and II introduce "sons of Esau" &c. in a tacit contrast with the seed of Jacob). The Heb. has a strong word for "loveth" which Rashi paraphrases by "*abundanti amore dilexit*," and Aquila's rendering of it, as preserved in Syr., leads Field to suspect that it means the love of wedlock (see *Theo.* 2875). LXX has "he *spared* (his people)." Syr. has "He *caused them to be loved* (by the peoples)." These differences illustrate the confusion in the text of our Ode x. 7 where the same strong word meaning "love," owing to its difficulty, appears to have been, by a slight alteration, corrupted to "sin."

¹ [3844 *p*] "Made-acknowledgment." R.II. "confessed me." H. "mich verkündeten." *Theo.* 1550 indicates abundant instances of this form meaning "confess, or acknowledge, God to be in the right, to be glorious, supreme, &c." but few or none where it represents *κηρύσσω*. In Mt. x. 32, Lk. xii. 8 "confess me," it is followed by the prep. "in." But here the prep. is "to," and it seems best to take it as in Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21 (R.V.

highest (?)¹ (*lit.* in the high places); and the footprints² of the light were set upon their heart.

txt) "I *thank thee*, O Father" (where Burkitt also has "thank"). It implies *εὐχαριστία*, or *eucharist* (which is also implied in Mal. i. 7—11 quoted in 3844 *f*).

¹ [3844 *q*] "In the highest(?)." The Syr. has the sign of the pl., as in Is. xxxiii. 5 "in excelsis," where Heb. and LXX have sing. (yet, in Is. xxxiii. 16, Heb. has pl. but Syr. sing. *in excelso*). It appears to represent *ἐν [τοῖς] ὑψίστοις* or *ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*, as in Ps. cxlviii. 1, Mk. xi. 10, Mt. xxi. 9, Lk. xix. 38 "Hosanna, or, glory, *in the highest*," Lk. ii. 14 "Glory to God *in the highest*" (comp. Sir. xxiv. 4). Schöttgen and Wetstein give little or no illustration of this use of "in the highest" in utterances of praise. *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxi. 9 paraphrases thus: "Now we sing *Hosanna to the Son of David; save us, we beseech thee, O thou [who dwellest] in the highest, save us by the Messiah*"—but quotes no illustrative passages. In the parall. Jn xii. 13 "Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," the omission of "in the highest" is remarkable. Lk. xix. 38 inserts "in heaven peace and glory" before "in the highest," as though he distinguished "in the highest" from "in heaven," possibly taking the former to mean "in the heaven of heavens," or "in the highest degree." Some doubt about the meaning may explain the Johannine omission.

[3844 *r*] SS. always has the sing., rendered by Burkitt "in the highest." Etheridge and Murdoch vary:—Mk xi. 10 Eth. "in the heights," M. "in the highest [heavens]," Mt. xxi. 9 Eth. "in the heights," M. "in the highest" *i.e.* "places" or "the heavens," Lk. xix. 38 Eth. "in the highest," M. "on high," Lk. ii. 14 Eth. "in the heights," M. "in the highest [heavens]." The only scriptural passage that bears directly on the phrase is Ps. cxlviii. 1 "Praise ye the Lord, praise ye the Lord from the heavens, praise him (R.V.) *in the heights*." Rashi has no comment. The Targ. has "Praise the Lord, ye holy creatures from the heavens; praise Him, *all ye armies of the angels of the heights*." The Midrash here and elsewhere says little about the distinction (if any) between the two celestial classes; but on Ps. xxii. 11 (Wü. i. 204) it appears to liken Esther—when (*Esth.* v. 1) going through the seven chambers to Ahasuerus, in peril of death—to a soul in extreme peril sending up prayers through the seven heavens; and it adds a tradition of R. Levi, that David composed the prayer for her in the hour when "*the upper [powers] and the lower [powers]* before the Holy One...offer up praise [saying] 'Hallelujah! Praise the Lord from *the heavens...in the heights*'." This seems to indicate a distinction between "*the heavens*" and "*the heights*," such as (above) appeared possible in Lk. xix. 38.

[3844 *s*] This word "height," "highest," "high-place" (Heb. and Syr. *mâroûm*) must be distinguished from the "height," "high-place" (Heb. *bâmâh*) freq. connected in O.T. with idol-worship as in Ezek. xvi. 16, but also found in Deut. xxxii. 13 "He (*i.e.* God) made him (*i.e.* Israel) ride upon the *high-places* of the earth."

² [3844 *t*] "Footprints." R.H. "traces," H. "Spuren" (not in Index). This word (Gesen. 784 *a*, "heel," "footprint," "hinder part") occurs in Ps. lxxvii. 19 (R.V.) "thy footsteps were not known," lxxxix. 51 (R.V.) "reproached the footsteps of thine Anointed." The latter appears to mean, pointed after Him in ridicule; but Targ. has "they reproached the *slowness of the footsteps* of thy Messiah (*tarditatem vestigiorum pedum Christi tui*)." And *Sota* 49 *b* uses the phrase "*at the heels of the Messiah*" to mean, according to Buxtorf, "*fine dierum Messiae*," but according to Wagenseil "*paulo ante adventum Messiae*" (s. Wagens. pp. 973, 1008, *Son* 3583 *a*). Perhaps the different interpretations may be illustrated by Shakespeare's *Hen. V.* Prol. describing Famine, Sword, and Fire, as being "at the heels" of the king, "leash'd in like hounds." The evils that were to come "at the heels" of the Messiah might be regarded as always in close attendance on Him; but sometimes as straining at the leash and coming just before His arrival, sometimes as following immediately after His entrance into the world but before He had conquered the Kingdom. The Syriac is the same as the Hebrew.

[3844 *u*] The Syr. (Gk *ἵχνος*) occurs in 1 Pet. ii. 21 "Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example that ye should follow his footsteps," Rom. iv. 11—12 "He (*i.e.* Abraham) received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith...that he might be the father of all them that have-faith...and the father of circumcision to them who not only are of the circumcision but also walk in the footsteps of that faith of our father Abraham which he had in uncircumcision," and 2 Cor. xii. 18—always denoting a *path*, followed, or to be followed.

[3844 *v*] The phrase "set the footprints of the light" has occurred previously in Ode vii. 16—17 "To knowledge He hath appointed His way...and He *hath set* upon it the *footprints of His light*," and there it is said that the going therein (3784 *g*) is "from the beginning even unto the end." Paul takes back the "footprints" past Moses to the faith of Abraham, but our poet takes them back to the time when (Jn i. 4) "in him (*i.e.* the Logos) was life and the life was the light of men." Apparently he does not mean that "the footprints" were "set" on the hearts of the Gentiles for the first time after the Gospel had been preached to the Jews, or after the Word had become incarnate, but rather that those who loved the Light, Gentiles as well as Jews, came to the Light, and thereby shewed the footprints of the Light (Rom. ii. 15) "written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith"—the "writing," begun in the first Creation, being completed in the second.

8. And they walked in my life¹, and were redeemed, and became my people² for ever and ever³. Hallelujah.

[3845] We have seen above that this Ode resembles the Epistle to the Ephesians in two important points, the quotation from the Psalm of Ascension, and the emphatic mention of the Gentiles as included in the Plan of Salvation. At the same time the Ode seemed to throw light on the difference between the Epistle to the Ephesians and that to the Colossians. And indeed in at least one fundamental matter it takes its tone from the Colossian rather than the Ephesian Epistle. For the Ode is an Ode of "freedom," and the Ephesian Epistle makes no mention of spiritual "freedom," either positively or negatively, whereas the Colossian makes a strong protest, though a negative one, in its appeal to Christians not to

¹ [3844 *w*] "In my life." R.H. 1st ed. "in life," H. "in my life." R.H. 2nd ed. "in my life," with no note. The Syr. in both editions has "my life," and this makes much better sense. The Logos is speaking concerning Himself (Jn xiv. 6) "the way, the truth, and the life" and (*ib.* viii. 12) "the light of the world," and expressing in the first person what is stated in the third person in Jn i. 3—4 "Without him not one thing came into being. That which hath come into being in him was life, and the life (*i.e.* that life) was the light of men." The O.T. speaks of (1) "*walking in the Law*" and (2) "*having the Law graven, or written, on the heart.*" The same two metaphors are used here about the Logos, which is the life and the light of men, and which—when represented by the Son acting for the Father through the Spirit—takes the place of the Jewish Law for Christians. The seal of its light is to be "on" our hearts, and we are to walk "in" its life. Comp. Ode xxxiii. 11 "my elect walk in me."

² [3844 *x*] "My people." Comp. Ode xxxi. 11 "in order that I might bring-redemption to *my people* (comp. Ps. lxxvii. 15) and possess-it-as-an-inheritance." H.'s Index gives only these two passages as mentioning the "people" of God. The writer prob. has in mind the freq. repeated "Ammi" and "Lo-Ammi," that is, "*my-people*" and "*not-my-people*," in Hos. i. 9—10, ii. 23. This is expressly referred to in Rom. ix. 25 "As he saith also in Hosea, I will call that *my people* which was *not my people*," where it is applied to the calling of the Gentiles.

³ [3844 *y*] "For ever and ever," *lit.* "for the aeon of aeons" (*Theo.* 2899), used in Ps. ix. 5, Mt. vi. 13 &c.

"*subject themselves*" to "ordinances," and also gives a vivid description of Christ "*blotting out the bond*" that caused such subjection¹.

[3846] We are now to prepare ourselves for finding at the very beginning of the next Ode another similarity to the Colossian Epistle. Not probably that the poet borrows from it, but that he is thinking those thoughts and seeing those pictures of the history of Israel which were also present to the writer of the Epistle—thinking in his own way, and seeing with his own vision, as a Jewish believer in Christ. The Colossian Epistle lays great stress—wholly absent from the Ephesian Epistle (3858*d*)—on "circumcision," that is, of course, spiritual circumcision, as constituting the true purification and regeneration of human nature. Our author has been leading us up to this thought for some time. He came close to it when he wrote "Put on the crown in the *true covenant* of the Lord²." For what else could that mean for him, except the Covenant of Promise, made with Abraham and fulfilled in Christ—the Covenant of spiritual circumcision, suspended (so to speak) for a time, but not to be supplanted for ever by the temporary ordinances of the Mosaic Law? Again, when he wrote in the last verse of the present Ode, "*they walked in my life...and became my people*," the poet could hardly fail to think of God's precept to Abraham, "*walk before me* and be thou perfect, and I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly³." The Jews interpreted the words "be thou perfect" as referring to the precept of circumcision, which immediately followed. These facts should do something towards diminishing the unexpectedness of the opening words of the next Ode, "My heart was circumcised"—following, as

¹ Col. ii. 14, 20.

² Ode ix. 11.

³ Gen. xvii. 1—2.

they do, an Ode that appears to deserve to be called "an Ode of Freedom¹."

"KINGS" AND "SHEPHERDS"

¹ [3846 *a*] "Freedom." In connection with "freedom" it is to be noted that the Odist never uses the words "king" (3781 *z*) and "shepherd." Why? Both are Hebraic and both are Homeric—well known in such phrases as speak of Jehovah the King and Shepherd of Israel, and king Agamemnon "shepherd of peoples." But Epictetus (iii. 22. 34—5) expressly sneers at this metaphor of the Shepherd applied to Agamemnon. Not indeed that he derides the reverence for a true "king." All Stoics recognised that every wise man was a true king. But Agamemnon, weighed down with the burden of his anxieties for the Greeks in their hour of peril, called forth the philosopher's derision—"When the Greeks are being destroyed, is the Door shut against *you*? Is not death open? 'It is.' Why wailing then? Bah (οὐᾶ)! [Wailing,] a king! And a king, too, with the sceptre of Zeus! An unhappy king [*i.e.* really king] is no more possible than an unhappy god. What [really] are you then? A shepherd in all truth (ποιμήν ταῖς ἀληθείαις). For you weep just like the shepherds when a wolf snatches one of their sheep. And truly sheep they are—those that are [simple enough to be] governed by you."

Such attacks as these on the pastoral view of the relations between God and Man and between king and subject were almost certainly current long before Epictetus gave them expression. But they would naturally acquire fresh force when the Church took up Isaiah's metaphor of the Shepherd feeding His flock, and attempted to scatter it broadcast through the Roman Empire. The attacks are by no means easy to meet even now. But they are much more easy to meet now than then, because we can now fall back upon the unknown writer whom we call John, who took up the metaphor in detail and expounded it in the Fourth Gospel.

[3846 *b*] There we see the objections implied by Epictetus—namely, that the shepherd used the sheep for himself, and was as selfish in using the sheep as the sheep were silly in obeying the shepherd—answered in detail, or at all events an answer suggested, in the Parable of the Good Shepherd. For the details of it, and for its relation to Synoptic doctrine, the reader is referred to *Son*, Index, "Shepherd," and esp. 3091, 3278, 3432, 3438—43. Here it must suffice to indicate that the introduction of "the wolf" brings in a new aspect of "the shepherd." The title is to be qualified. Jesus says, without qualification, "I am the light of the world," and "I am the resurrection and the life," and "the truth," and "the door"; but He nowhere says "I am *the shepherd*." It is (Jn x. 11) "I am *the good shepherd*" (comp. 3817 (i) *g* on Jn xv. 1 "I am the *true* Vine"). And this is immediately followed by "*the good shepherd layeth down* (or,

deposits, see *Son* 3432—3, 3548—9) *his life for the sheep*." The "depositing" is an act done deliberately and in the spirit of a conqueror—a sufferer, certainly, but a conquering sufferer. We have not here Agamemnon, "shepherd of peoples," tossing on a sleepless couch, moaning and tearing his hair for fear of Trojans. We have the Good Shepherd, depositing His life as pledge that He will give battle for the sheep and not desist till He has brought them, and "other sheep" too, all into "one flock" under "one shepherd."

When John had done this for them, Christian preachers among Gentiles, and writers for Gentiles, could return with impunity to Isaiah's metaphor of the Shepherd. But until it was done, an apostle of tact might well feel that in going forth to the Greek world he had better leave behind him all reference to the Hebraic Shepherd carrying the lambs in His bosom. And this we find to be the case with the great apostle of tact who became "all things to all men." The Epistle addressed to the Hebrews indeed once mentions Christ as (xiii. 20) "*the great Shepherd of the sheep*" whom God "raised from the dead." Also the Petrine Epistle, addressed to (1 Pet. i. 1) "the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion," says (1 Pet. ii. 25) "ye have now returned to the *Shepherd* and Bishop of your souls." But in the whole of the Pauline Epistles there is not one mention of "shepherd" as applied to Christ.

The same statement applies to the Odes. The Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 23—45), speaking at great length of the Son of David, the King of Israel, describe Him finally as "*shepherding the flock* of the Lord in faith and righteousness." But the Odes never do this. Nor do they even approach it. The poet's thought is fixed, not on sheep wandering, but on men taken captive by sin. And he sees Jesus raised from the dead, not to be the great Shepherd, but to be recognised as the triumphant Liberator, whom the captives acclaim as Son of God, and who, enrolling them under His name as God's army of sons and volunteers, utters the words (xlii. 26) "They are free men and they are mine."

CHAPTER XI

THROUGH VICTORY TO PARADISE *

§ 1. *The growth and budding of the soul*

[3847] In no part of the Odes is the importance of close verbal examination of the text so conspicuous as in the opening words of the one now to be considered:—"My heart was *circumcised*." R.H. has "cloven," with footnote "*or, circumcised*," H. "aufgeschnitten." Professor Harnack appends a note stating that the word may mean "circumcised," that it may possibly be intended to suggest circumcision in a spiritual sense, and that "circumcision of the heart" is a notion current "from the prophets" downwards¹. If no more than this "possibility" could be safely asserted, then from the use of this single Syriac word (*gəzar*, which I have ventured to render, without alternative, "circumcised") very little of importance could be inferred. For, in that case, it might be merely a strong way of repeating the previously used expression "*open the heart*"². But it will be found that

* For the continuous translation of this Ode see Appendix III.

¹ [3847 a] "An allen drei Stellen in v. 1—3 kann man auch 'beschneiden' übersetzen. Dass an die Beschneidung gedacht ist, aber in geistlichem Sinn, ist möglich. Die Ode ist zweifellos jüdisch; die Beschneidung des Herzens ist ja ein geläufiger Gedanke von den Propheten her gewesen."

² [3847 b] Ode viii. 1 "*Open ye, open ye your hearts*," comp. ix. 1 "*Open your ears*." The fact that "*open the heart*" is a recognised expression, meaning "*open the door of the heart*," and has already been used by our author, makes it all the more improbable that he should use *gəzar* to mean the same thing only with more emphasis, without any allusion to the regular Syriac use of *gəzar* in the sense of "*circumcise the heart*."

"circumcise" is used in connection with "the heart" in Deuteronomy also. That book, far more than "the prophets," would certainly influence Philo. It would also probably exert a special influence on our author, as being a spiritual summary of the Law, with sayings specially adapted for Messianic or Christian application, as may be seen from Christ's quotations from Deuteronomy in the narrative of the Temptation given by Matthew and Luke. Moreover, when used with "*heart*," *gēzar* always means "circumcised" in the Syriac versions of the Bible. Also, it can be shewn that *gēzar* is hardly ever applied to persons in the Bible (Syr.) except in the sense of "circumcised," and that it is regularly used absolutely in this sense. In view of these facts, given below¹, it appears probable that the author is thinking of the prototype of the "circumcised in heart," namely, Abraham.

Some weight is also due to the considerations alleged at the end of the last chapter, indicating that the author was gradually leading us up to the thought of Abraham. This we inferred from his mention of "the true covenant" in

¹ [3847 c] Comp. Deut. x. 16 "*circumcise the foreskin of your heart*," LXX περιτεμείσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν (Philo ii. 258 περιτέμνεσθε τῆς σκληροκαρδίας) ὑμῶν, *ib.* xxx. 6 "the Lord thy God will *circumcise* (LXX περικαθαρίει) *thine heart* and the *heart* of thy seed," where Aq. has περιτεμεῖται. In these two passages Onk., who regularly elsewhere (Brederek p. 63) renders the Heb. "circumcise" by the Aramaic *gēzar* (which in Heb. *gāzar* means "cut") has a paraphrase (as also has Jer. Targ.) *but the Syr. has gēzar*. So, too, in Jerem. iv. 4, where Targ. has "convertimini ad cultum Domini," Syr. has "*circumcidite (gēzar) vos Domino*." In Acts vii. 51 "*uncircumcised in heart and ears*," the Syr. has the negative with *gēzar*. *Thes.* 699--700 gives, as the only two Biblical instances of *gēzar* applied to persons and not meaning "circumcised," Is. liii. 8 "cut off" (where the Heb. has *gāzar* meaning "cut") and li. 1 "the rock whence ye were *hewn*." *Thes.* 700 gives the verbal noun from *gēzar* as meaning "*circumcision*" in Exod. iv. 26, Jn vii. 22 &c. and as *having no other meaning*.

The use of the expression "*uncircumcised in heart*" by Philo ii. 258, and by Stephen the "Grecian Jew" in Acts vii. 51, indicates its currency in the first century, even among Greek-speaking Jews. Schöttgen on Acts vii. 51 shews its frequency in Jewish literature.

Ode IX, and the inclusion of the "peoples" (*i.e.* Gentiles) in Ode X, and, in the same Ode, such phrases as "they walked in my life and were redeemed and became my people," and from other contextual allusions. These details add not a little to the very great strength of the verbal evidence that the author is speaking, not of the opening, but of the "circumcision," of the heart.

[3848] We may therefore enter on the discussion of this Ode with the belief that the poet has Abraham in mind—a belief strengthened by the emphasis that will be found to be laid in the opening words on "fervent-love," on "peace," on "the way" of truth, and on the "knowledge" of God, all of which expressions will be found to be connected very closely with the one Patriarch who is called "the lover of God."

1. My heart was circumcised and its stem¹ appeared, and grace budded in it, and it brought forth fruit for the Lord.

¹ [3848 α] "Stem." R.H. "flower," H. "Blüte." But *Thes.* 2836—7 gives the meaning as "ramus, cacumen ramorum," and no instance of "flos." In Ps. lxxx. 10 (11), Ezek. xxxi. 6, 8 it means "cacumen." Ezek. xxxvi. 8, like the present passage, combines "*branches*" and "fruit." In the plural, it may mean "shoots" and "branches" in general, but in the sing. it mostly means "topmost branch."

The error of substituting "flower" for "stem," "topmost-branch," or "shoot," may be partially illustrated—not completely, for the Syr. has not the same word as the one we are considering—by the error of the LXX in Is. xi. 1 "There shall come forth a shoot (A.V. rod) out of the stock (A.V. stem) of Jesse, and a *branch* (LXX *flower*) out of his roots shall bear fruit (LXX shall go up, A.V. shall grow)." Aquila has the right rendering, ἀκρέμων, *i.e.* "tip," a shoot, or stem that may become a trunk, springing either from the ground, or from the "root" or "stump" (R.V. stock) of a felled tree. (Comp. Is. lx. 21 "the *branch* (Aq. ἀκρέμων) of my planting.") Job xiv. 7—9 says "There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again...through the scent of water it will bud, and put forth boughs like a plant," and this "although the stock die in the ground"; and this is applied by *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xxv. 1) to Abraham, who is described in the Epistle to the Hebrews as being (xi. 12) "as good as dead."

Philo connects circumcision and husbandry in the only passage

2. For the Most High circumcised me¹ with His Holy Spirit, and (*lit.*) uncovered toward-Himself my reins² and filled me with His fervent-love.

in which he quotes the divine precept to circumcise the heart (ii. 258) "There are certain persons uncircumcised in heart." He defines "the act of circumcising heart-hardnesses (*σκληροκαρδίας* pl.)" as the "cutting away" of the "superfluous growths (*φύσεις*)" which have been sown by the ungoverned passions, and "planted by that Bad Husband-man of the soul, Aphrosyné." All these associations were missed by me in *Son* (3501 *i*—*j*) in consequence of accepting "*flower*," instead of "*stem*," in the present passage.

¹ [3848 *b*] "Circumcised me." R.H. "I clave my heart," with n. "*lit.* clave me *or* circumcised me," and 2nd ed. adds "cf. Rom. ii. 29." H. has "hat mich durchschnitten," *i.e.* presumably, "pierced the heart" with the Holy Spirit. But see 3847 *c* for the absence of any instance of such a meaning in phrases connecting *gēzar* with "the heart." *Gēzar* is not used in Heb. iv. 12 (Syr.) to denote the sharpness or piercing power of the Spirit.

² [3848 *c*] "Uncovered...reins." R.H. "searched my affection towards Him," H. "hat meine Nieren aufgedeckt zu sich hin." This difficult phrase recalls the unsolved verbal difficulties in Heb. iv. 12—13, which attempts to describe the searching influence of the Spirit. There *τομώτερος* and *δικνούμενος* are followed by *γυμνὰ κ. τετραχλίσμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ*, and the meaning appears to be that the "cutting" and "piercing" power of the Spirit results in a complete and prostrate subjection of the soul to the eye of God. So here apparently the preposition "toward Himself" does not go with "reins" (meaning "affection"), but goes with "uncovered," the sense being "uncovered so as to be clear before His eyes."

[3848 *d*] Gesen. 480 *b* speaks of the "reins" as the "seat of emotion and affection," and "hence, as involving character, the obj. of God's examination, alw. parall. to heart." But *Theo.* 1740 quotes as "notatu digna," from Ephr. ii. 316 *c* "cogitationum sedes sunt renes, et in iis inest discernendi facultas, quippe qui verum a falso distinguunt, et quid turpe, quid autem probum sit judicant," and adds "Hinc illustrari possit Ps. xvi. 7, et cf. *ib.* vii. 9, et Apoc. ii. 23."

These facts shew that the combination, in the Ode, of "reins" and "heart" follows Biblical precedent. Further, concerning "my reins" in Ps. xvi. 7 "my reins instruct me in the night seasons," Rashi says "Our Rabbis explained this as referring to Abraham." This explanation (mentioned in *Gen. r.* on Gen. xxv. 1 and xvi. 28, and by R. Nathan on *Aboth* v. 4) is detailed in the Midrash that applies Ps. i. 1 "Blessed is the man &c." to Abraham (Wü. i. 11):—Simeon ben Jochai taught

3. And His circumcision [of me]¹ became to me for redemption ;

that Abraham's "two reins" were like "two buckets"—others say "two teachers"—full of Wisdom and Torah, which the Lord gave him because he had no father to teach him the Law. The same Midrash dwells on other points connected with this Ode, *e.g.* the "way" that Abraham avoids, the "knowledge" that God has about him, the resemblance between him and a "tree," and the "planting" of the tree in "Paradise." Of course, in all such traditions, there is the likelihood of a fanciful excess. *E.g.* Ps. i. 3 "fruit" and "leaf" are explained severally (Wü. i. 11) as referring to Ishmael and Isaac, apparently because the "fruit" is "[merely] in its season [and temporary]," but the "leaf doth not wither." Nevertheless the Midrash as a whole may be safely accepted as indicating that in early Jewish tradition Abraham was associated with the thought of the righteous man, who is "like a tree planted by the streams of water."

[3848*e*] Returning to the words "uncovered toward Himself my reins," we must of course recognise that objectively there was no "uncovering toward God"; but there may be a real uncovering of a man's most secret thoughts *on the side that he had supposed shut off from all observation because he did not know that God was there.* This "uncovering," felt by the human soul as God's act, which it is, may be called—even apart, perhaps, from anthropomorphism—"an uncovering toward (or, in the direction of) God." When a man feels that he is thus "*uncovered toward God*," and yet tolerated, or even loved, by God, there comes to him, along with the sense that God "knows" him through and through, a sense also that in some new way, though very imperfectly, he "knows" God. It is this sense that is contemplated in the Pauline words (Gal. iv. 9) "But now having known God, or rather having been known by God." And this thought prepares the way for the following words in the Ode (xi. 2—4) "filled me with His *fervent-love*...I have received His *knowledge*." Comp. Wisd. i. 6 "*Wisdom* is a Spirit that *loveth man* (φιλόανθρωπον)," preceded by a precept to seek God in "singleness of heart" since He "*is manifested* (ἐμφανίζεται) to those who do not *disbelieve* Him." Abraham is a type of "single-heartedness" (Son 3487—8). He is also the first to whom God (Gen. xii. 7) "appeared," and the first that (Gen. xv. 6) "believed." On the connection between the φιλόανθρωπία cf God and the φιλόανθρωπία of Abraham see *Joh. Gr.* 1935, to which add Philo ii. 13, 16, 21. The "man-loving" Spirit loves and attracts "man-loving" men.

¹ [3848*f*] "His circumcision [of me]." R.H. "His opening [of me]," with n. "*or, circumcision*," H. "sein Schneiden." See 3847. *Thes.* 700 gives the noun as meaning "circumcision" several times, and nothing else.

and I ran [the full course] in the way¹, in His peace², in the way of truth.

¹ [3848 *g*] "Ran in the way." R.H. 1st and 2nd ed. "in His way," but Syr. "in the way" (H. "auf dem Wege"). See 3755 *b* foll. Comp. Ps. cxix. 32—3 "I will *run the way of thy commandments* when thou shalt enlarge my heart; teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes and I shall keep it [*unto*] *the end* (lit. *heel*)" where "[unto] the end" is om. by Syr. and rendered "usque ad complementum" by Targ., but is parall. to *ib.* cxix. 112 "*for ever [even to the] end* (lit. *heel*)." Jerome gives a Christian application to part of this, turning it into the past, thus:—"I have run the way of thy commandments *when thou didst enlarge my heart*," i.e. (1) "when in the amplitude of the Holy Scriptures thou didst insinuate [into my heart] the mystery of the blessed Trinity," (2) or, "enlarge my heart, i.e. in the enlargement of charity, in hope, and in faith." He gives no grounds for the former interpretation. But the first mention of "running" in the Bible is (Gen. xviii. 2) that of Abraham to the "three men" whom he addresses as "my lord," or "O Lord," and of whom Origen says (ad loc.) "*Tribus occurrit et unum adorat*," and Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 126) alleges the passage as one shewing that "Christ" appeared to the Patriarchs. A reference to Abraham would explain Jerome's seeing a connection between "running in the Way" and the doctrine of the Trinity.

[3848 *h*] This passage rather favours the retention of the text in Ode vii. 17 "*I have gone* [therein] from the beginning even to the end," instead of the conjectural "*His goings* [therein are]...." For "running" may mean, not "running the course of human life," but "running, in the spirit of Abraham, from the creation of Man to the incarnation of the Son of Man, the full course of the Plan of Redemption." See 3784 *h*, and add Origen (on Jn viii. 39) on Abraham's journeying "with the ascent of the mind."

It is fair, however, to add that I have found little or no Rabbinical allusion to the "running" of Abraham. *Gen. r.* on Gen. xviii. 1 records a saying of R. Abuhu that the tent of Abraham was like the *δρόμος* (s. Levy i. 425—6 on this Hebraized word as here used) (Wü. *Rennbahn*) i.e. open on all sides that he might see guests coming. Wünsche adds a tradition of R. Judan that it was like a "Laufbahn," and that, when he saw guests coming, he "ran" to them. But the precise connection between Abraham's "running" and his tent, or *δρόμος*, is not clear. This, however, is clear, that when he "ran" to entertain the three strangers, he was running in the "way" of hospitality, i.e. the way of the commandments of God. All Jewish traditions assume that Abraham attempted to make his guests—but not, of course, the "three" supernatural "men"—proselytes, so that his "running" might be taken by some to mean simply zeal for proselytism, and there may be an allusion

4. From the beginning and even to the end¹ I have received His knowledge².

§ 2. *The Water*

[3849] Before passing to new metaphors in the next extract, it should be noted that, in the last one, the words "running in

to this view in Mt. xxiii. 15 "ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte." Philo (ii. 39), when describing Abraham's faith, speaks of "hastening" on the Way to God (see 3855 c). Also, when commenting on Gen. xviii. 16 "Abraham went with them (*i.e.* the three guests) to bring them on their way," Philo (i. 463) implies that Abraham, at first, needed the companionship of the *logoi*, or "the leading *logos*"; but presently, "arriving at the height of knowledge, he will *run-on* as quickly as his former guide (*συντόνως ἐπιδραμὼν ἰσοταχῆσει*)." But from the passage where the Scripture actually says that Abraham "ran" he draws no moral about "running" except (*Quaest. Gen.* ad loc. "videns procurrit") that men "must not *run* till they have *seen*."

² "Peace." For the connection between "Abraham" and "peace," s. 3809 b foll., 3820 d—h, 3843 a.

¹ [3848 h₁] "From...end." Grammatically, this should refer to the subject "I" ("I did this from first to last"). But probably the poet is thinking, not of himself but of the Way, which is "peace" and "truth." Full of the revelation of this Way, and of its harmony, he speaks of it (as of the unchecked progress implied in Odes vi. 4, vii. 17) as being consistent from first to last (comp. xiv. 4).

In view of the frequency of the word "end" in English renderings of the Odes, it is worth noting that the Syr. never uses the eschatological word employed by the prophets, and especially Daniel (Gesen. 893 b, "of time of Antiochus' persecution, foll. by A.'s death") and used (*Thes.* 3700) in Dan. xi. 35, 40, 45 (Syr.). That word, etymologically meaning "cut," means (*Thes.* ib.) *decisio*, *abscisio*, *finis*, *terminus*, and then *finis vitae*, *mors*, *dies ultimi iudicii* &c. But the Odist uses a word meaning simply "sequel," and sometimes (*Thes.* 130) "a good sequel," *e.g.* Prov. xxiii. 18, xxiv. 20 (Syr.). This agrees with the Odist's general use of the word, *e.g.* iv. 12 "and the end [of all things] was open-and-visible to thee," vi. 4 "thus was it from the beginning, and [thus will it be] even to the end" (comp. xiv. 4). It is a "goal" toward which things progress, or a continuous "sequel" of effects following causes—not a "cutting short" of evil nor a "decree" of final judgment. See 3819 s.

² [3848 i] "His knowledge." That is, (1) the knowledge that He gives, which is also (2) knowledge about Him. On this use of the genitive, s. 3722 b, 3742 n.

the way...in the way of truth" might cover several metaphors describing the soul as fulfilling its course on the way toward Truth. For example, the soul may be imagined as a well-watered field or garden or tree, "going up," in fruit, to God. The Hebrew for "to water," in this sense, is literally "to give to drink," and it is so rendered by the LXX. Also the Hebrew for "*going up*" might mean "*growing*."¹ And the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks of "walking-in-the-path-of-truth (*or, dealing-truthfully*) in love," so that we "may *grow-up* in all things into him who is the head, [namely] Christ²." Elsewhere Paul says "I planted, Apollos watered³," meaning "gave water to the soul."

[3850] Again, the destruction of the obstacles that check the growth of the soul may be likened (as it is by Philo) to circumcision. But the same destruction may also be likened to a contest for Truth against "the wiles of error"—the prize being the Crown of Truth. The very first Ode mentioned "a Crown of Truth": and the ninth Ode—of which the subject was "the Victory of the Lord"—said to us "Put on *the Crown* in the *True Covenant* of the Lord⁴." Thus the parable of the Battle for Truth implied in previous Odes is really equivalent to a parable of the Good Husbandman, contending for the good seed and the seedlings of Truth against noxious weeds and overgrowths of Error. By some such transition as this, from the Soldier to the Husbandman, we may explain the sudden passing of the poet from pictures of Abraham at war, and of Abraham victorious, to a picture of Abraham preserved by God's grace from the noxious "wiles of error" in Ur of the Chaldeans, and subsequently "growing up," like a tree in the Garden of the Lord, into the semblance of the Tree of Life.

¹ Gesen. 748.

² Eph. iv. 14—15 "walking-in-the-path-of-truth (*ἀληθεύοντες*)," R.V. txt "speaking truth," marg. "dealing truly."

³ 1 Cor. iii. 6.

⁴ Ode ix. 11, s. 3824*f*.

[3851] In the metaphors introduced by this new picture in the next extract, the principal one is "water," here called "speaking water." "Rock" is also mentioned, but quite subordinately. Both of these, at first sight, seem much less appropriate for Abraham than for Moses. And it is true that neither metaphor is definitely connected with the former by the mention of these two words. But if "rock" means the immutable truth of God, and if "to be set firmly" on that Rock means "to have a sure and certain faith" in that Truth, then Abraham may well be said to be the first of the Worthies of Israel who was established spiritually on that Rock, and Moses to have been only the second, although the literal "rock" is connected with Moses alone¹.

[3852] The same thing holds true about the "water." Moses alone, literally, drew "water" from the rock. But according to Jewish tradition, Torah, that is, Law (or, more properly, instruction), is a recognised interpretation of metaphorical "water²." Now it was Abraham, not Moses, who first, by his faith, drew down from God that Promise which, according to the Jews, contained the germ of the Law of Moses, and, according to Christians, contained the germ of a higher Law than that of Moses, the Law of Christ, the Law of Liberty, the Law of the Spirit. Both Jews and Christians might unite in saying that the redeemed soul, under the type of Abraham, tasted of the Water of God's Word, the "speaking Water."

[3853] Perhaps the poet goes back even further than Abraham. Paul, when he says about Israel in the Wilderness "they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them" and adds "and the rock was Christ³," goes back in thought to the pre-incarnate Logos, or Word, who was from the beginning watching over the destinies of Man, the spiritual Israel, even before the name of Israel existed. So our poet, after

¹ Exod. xxxiii. 22.

² Lev. iii. 98 *a*.

³ 1 Cor. x. 4.

a brief mention of the rock, passes perhaps to the thought of the "water out of the rock of flint" in Deuteronomy¹ and then further back to the very beginning of the gift in Genesis—"a river went out of Eden to water the Garden²." Why are Rashi and the Rabbis generally so comparatively silent about this "river" and about the "four heads" into which it is divided? Perhaps it is because they regarded the "four heads" as meaning the Four Empires. At all events the Midrash recalls a saying of R. Joshua, playing on the similarity between "Eden" and "Judgment," that God purposed to give to the Four Empires, the oppressors of Israel, "a cup of staggering," by way of retribution³.

[3854] No such difficulty presented itself to Philo. To him, the Logos, or Word, was the "river," and the four virtues were the tributaries. To illustrate this, he, who rarely quotes the Psalms—less than twenty times throughout all his works⁴—quotes them thrice in less than a page, to bid us "fare-delightfully in the Lord" on the draughts derived from the Logos, which is "the river of God, filled with water," so that "the flow of the river maketh glad the City of God⁵." Very similar to this, resonant with the joy of a spacious and all-inviting Redemption, is the tone of our poet as he passes from the thought of the Rock to the Fountain, and to the Water of the Word, the Speaking Water, after which, by an easy transition, he will lead us into the Paradise or Garden, where the

¹ Deut. viii. 15.

² Gen. ii. 10.

³ *Gen. r.* on Gen. ii. 10, 14, Wü. p. 71. See also *Lev. r.* on Lev. xi. 1, Wü. p. 87, where "den Taumelbecher," called in *Gen. r.* "den Giftbecher," might with advantage have been printed in both passages as a quotation or allusion (e.g. to Is. li. 22—3).

⁴ Mangey's Index (ed. Richter) gives about eighteen passages from the Psalms (two quoted more than once).

⁵ Philo i. 690—I, quoting Ps. xxxvii. 4, lxx. 9, xlv. 4. Note especially Καλεῖ δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντος σοφίαν, Ἐδέμ, ἧς ἐρμηνεία τρυφή. Διότι, οἶμαι, ἐντρυφήμα καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, καὶ σοφίας θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται, Κατατρυφήσον τοῦ κυρίου." Κάτεισι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας, ποταμοῦ τρόπον, ὁ θεῖος λόγος....

trees, watered by the stream from Eden, bring forth fruit to the Lord.

[3855] For the present, however, he is not thinking of the soul as a tree, but in its own character, as a human creature, athirst for the living water of the Holy Spirit which is to enable it to "grow up" into Him who is "the Head":—

5. And I have been firmly-fixed on the rock of the firm-truth¹, where He hath established me².

6. And speaking water³ touched my lips⁴ from the fountain⁵ of the Lord that is [poured forth] without grudging⁶.

¹ [3855 *a*] "Firmly-fixed...firm-truth." R.H. "I was established...truth," H. "habe fest gestanden...Wahrheit." The verb and the noun are from the same root signifying firmness. *Theo.* 4299 gives the Ethpa. as *firmus factus est, stabilitus est*. It corresponds exceptionally to ἐνίσχυσας in Gen. xxxii. 28, but much more freq. corresponds to passives, στηρίζεσθαι, βεβαιοῦσθαι &c.

² [3855 *b*] "Hath established me." The thought is the same as that in Heb. v. 6, vi. 17—19, that the soul of the speaker is "established" on God's immutable Promise, called "the immutability of the counsel of God." This is a Rock. It is nowhere *said* concerning Abraham, but it is everywhere *implied*, that he was thus "established." Heb. v. 6 quotes, concerning Jesus, Ps. cx. 4 "a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek." Rashi says that the Rabbis regarded this Psalm as pointing to Abraham, who is addressed in Ps. cx. 1 "sit thou on my right hand," and who received from Melchizedek the priesthood. This he passed on to his descendant, Levi; but Christians might say, "ultimately to his descendant, Jesus." Other expressions in the Psalms about "the rock" might well be connected with the primary faith of Abraham, who himself was called "the rock" for which God had waited in order to build up His people upon it (*Son* 3595—6).

[3855 *c*] Philo, in his comment on Abraham's faith, says (ii. 39) that faith is the improvement of a soul "firmly-fixed (ἐπερηρπισμένης) on the Causer of all." Those who thus "hasten (σπεύδοντες)" to God "go a straight, and safe, and unshakeable way." The LXX (*Son* 3596 *b*) avoids calling God "a rock," but Philo here expresses all the "firmness" that would be implied by saying that Abraham was "established upon a rock."

"SPEAKING WATER"

³ [3855 *d*] "Speaking water." The water is that of the Holy Spirit, which this writer regards as gushing forth in a bubbling and never-failing spring. The Heb. "gush" (Gesen. 615 *b*) is used figuratively of speech,

as it is also in Aramaic. It is rendered by LXX ἀναγγέλλω, ἀποκρίνομαι, ἀποφθέγγομαι, and φθέγγομαι. Sometimes it is rendered "belch (ἐρεύγομαι)" or "belch forth" as in Mt. xiii. 35 (quoting Ps. lxxviii. 2) "(lit.) I will *belch* things hidden from the foundation of the world." In Mt. the Syr. (SS., but Walton keeps the Syr. *belch*) has "I will *speak*, or, *say*"; and the Syr. of Ps. has "I will *say*." The Syr. has "*speak*" (not, as Walton, *effutit*) in Prov. xv. 28. The Heb. (or Aram.) "*gush*" is used by Delitzsch, and by Syr. (Walton) concerning the Water of the Spirit in Jn iv. 14 "*leaping* (ἀλλόμενον) to life eternal." But SS. has "a spring of water flowing [Curet. om. flowing] to life eternal." This paraphrase resembles one in Lev. xiv. 5 "*living* (i.e. running) water," where Onk. and Syr. use the noun derived from "*gush*" meaning "a gushing fountain," Onk. and Jer. Targ. "aquas fontis," Syr. "fontem aquarum."

[3855 *e*] The Odes are pervaded with the feeling that this irrepressible "gushing forth" from a loving heart is man's due offering to God (Ode viii. 2) "let your fervent-love abound *from the heart and [even] unto the lips*," (x. 1—2) "He hath *opened my heart...and hath granted unto me that I might speak the fruit of His peace*," (xii. 1—2) "He hath *filled me with words of truth...and like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth*, and my lips shew forth His fruit," (xvi. 3) "His love hath nourished my heart, and even unto my lips it *sent-forth-in-a-bubbling-stream His fruits* (H. bis zu meinen Lippen sprudelte es hervor seine Früchte, R.H. even to my lips His fruits He poured out)." The "speaking water" forces its possessors to "speak," and to "speak" God's praise. Abraham, being the first defined "believer"—though he did not make extant psalms or songs, or eloquent discourses such as Philo sometimes attributes to him—must have at least made spiritual songs, "singing and making melody in his heart unto the Lord." Probably our author would not have accepted the LXX and Pauline (2 Cor. iv. 13) version of Ps. cxvi. 10 as correctly rendering the Hebrew; but he would have accepted the saying, "I believed, and therefore did I speak," as a truth that applied to all believers, not excluding Abraham the Pioneer of Faith.

[3855 *f*] Concerning Is. xxxv. 6 "the tongue of the dumb shall sing," Ibn Ezra says, "A figurative expression for *they will find water everywhere*"; it is the reverse of (Lam. iv. 4) 'the tongue of the suckling cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst.'" This, though worded prosaically, expresses part of our poet's meaning, and explains the origin of the expression. There may be possibly also allusions to personifications of the Well dug by Abraham, or to the Well dug in the Wilderness, to which the people sang (Numb. xxi. 17) "Spring up, O well." But the main and sufficient explanation seems to be the poet's own experience of the Water of the Holy Spirit. As he says later on, it made him "drunken." Drunkards talk folly. So he adds "my drunkenness was not that which is not-knowledge." The thought seems to be "I drank

of the water of the Holy Spirit, and it was like new wine forcing me to speak; it was a 'speaking water,' speaking the praises of God."

[3855 *g*] Everyone admitted that the Spirit might be described as a fountain of water. It was also regarded as not only speaking, but also conveying the gift of tongues. Why then do we find nowhere in early Christian writings, with one exception, this description of the Holy Spirit as "speaking water"? Apparently because it gave rise to early objections.

This at least is suggested by the (at present) unique exception, Ignat. *Rom.* § 7 "water living and *speaking* in me, saying to me from within, '[Come] hither to the Father.'" There is no various reading here. But the interpolator alters *καὶ λαλοῦν* to the Johannine (iv. 14) *ἀλλόμενον*, "*leaping up*." This he might do for several reasons. (1) Anacreon (see Lightf. *ad loc.*) spoke of a *λάλον ὕδωρ* consecrated to Phoebus; (2) there were "vocal fountains" (*Stat. Sylv.* i. 2. 6, v. 5. 2) at Castalia, and one was near Antioch, to which some suppose that Ignatius was referring; (3) improbable though this may be, the supposition indicates why the Church might set itself against the phrase "*vocal, or speaking, water*," as tending to superstition; (4) *ἀλλόμενον* might be substituted for *καὶ λαλοῦν* with all the more justice, if it was felt that the fundamental thought was not exactly "*speaking*" but "*bubbling up, or leaping, into speech*." Heracleon (in Origen, *Comm. Joann.* xiii. 10) explains Jn *ἀλλόμενον* as meaning that those who receive the Fountain from above will also "*bubble-over [so as to impart] to (ἐκβλῦσαι εἰς) the eternal life of others the [draughts] supplied to them*"; (5) Origen justly approves of this explanation, and it accords with Jn vii. 38 "out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"—which the evangelist thinks it necessary to explain to his readers as meaning the Holy Spirit; (6) an early saying in *Aboth* (ii. 10) distinguishes the "plastered cistern" from the "welling spring," *i.e.* from the vitalising teacher; and (7) many of Christ's sayings in all the gospels inculcate the doctrine that every teacher must bring to his teaching something from a wellspring of his own (Mt. xiii. 52) "things *new*," as well as "things old."

[3855 *h*] Our conclusion is that we have in this Ode a survival of a very early Jewish conception of the water of the Holy Spirit as not only "leaping" or "bubbling up" (to satisfy thirst) but also "bursting forth" into speech. In Hebrew, the two words (Gesen. 611 *b*) signifying "*prophesy*" and "*bubble up*," being severally *nāḇā'* and *nāḇā'*, are supposed by some to be connected. This would lend itself to a play on the two. But I have found no instance of such a play (except perhaps in a combination of "prophet" and "bubbling fountain" in the Targ. of Ps. xc. 12 (Walton) "Ad numerandos dies nostros [quis] sic diriget ut scire faciat? Certè *propheta* cujus cor *profundit* sapientiam," where the Heb. of R.V. "get," A.V. "apply," is the basis of the conflation "*propheta*" and "*profundit*"). Later Christian writers might think it necessary to explain the term, John by saying that it really meant "leaping up to

life eternal," and Ignatius by saying that it was "living" as well as "speaking"—not repeating words, like a lifeless machine, but putting forth new words to express old truths, and putting new life into old words.

[3855 *i*] In any case, there is no trace of imitation in our author's use of the phrase. It accords with a number of expressions, scattered through the Odes, indicating that he regarded the Holy Spirit as a "speaking" fountain within him, urging forth the praises of God from his heart to his lips.

It is worth mentioning that in 1 S. xxviii. 6 "the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, *nor by Urim, nor by prophets,*" the Syr. has "by dream, *by fire, and by water.*" Some corruption of the Syr. txt (*Thes.* 2080) has been suggested, not very satisfactorily, as an explanation of "*water.*" The error at all events harmonizes with the view taken above that auguries by "*water,*" or "*vocal fountains,*" were familiar facts in the first century. The translator, having mistaken augury from "Urim," *i.e.* "light," for augury from fire, may have been led by this familiarity to suppose that this was supplemented by auguries, or oracles, from "*water.*"

⁴ [3855 *j*] "Touched my lips." H. "Kam an meine Lippen," is certainly favoured, at first sight, by *Thes.* 3722—3, which indicates that the verb means "come near to," not "touch," except when the subject is a person.

But may not the "Speaking Water," the representative of the Holy Spirit, be here regarded as a Person? And is it not fairly probable that the poet has in mind the "touching" of the "lips" of Isaiah? *Thes.* refers to, but does not quote, Is. vi. 7, where the verb is employed twice, and, in the second instance, unusually, if not uniquely, with an impersonal subject: "And he *drew-near to* (*i.e. touched*) my mouth, and said, Lo, this *hath-drawn-near to* (*i.e. hath touched*) *thy lips*"—where "this" means a "coal" from the altar. When "this" has "touched" his "lips," the prophet's sin is purged, and he is filled with eagerness to be God's messenger—"Here am I, send me." The situation in Isaiah corresponds fairly to the situation in the Ode. And perhaps the phrases about "touching the lips" may also correspond.

[3855 *k*] The correspondence, if there is one, raises the question, "What did the poet think of purification, or baptism, 'by fire'?" The word "fire" does not occur in H.'s Index to the Odes. That may seem to shew that we cannot answer the question. But we must take the omission along with the Johannine omission of the Matthew-Luke doctrine of "baptism with fire," and with the Johannine omission of all reference to the doctrine of purification by fire (*Son* 3407 (xiii)). Then it will seem probable that our author omitted deliberately, and not

7. And I drank, [yea] and became drunken¹ from the living water that doth not die.

without good reason, a doctrine that was perverted by some and likely to be perverted by more.

[3855 *l*] According to this view, the meaning is, "My lips were touched, not by the purifying fire that touched the lips of Isaiah, but by the purifying Water of the Holy Spirit, which descended from the Fountain of the Lord in heaven." Comp. *From Letter 1042* quoting Jerome's extract from the Gospel "quod legunt Nazaraei" about "*the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit*" as descending on Christ at His baptism.

[3855 *m*] The hypothesis of an allusion to Isaiah would enable us to supply a link between the first verse of the Ode and the one we are now discussing. To modern readers there is apparent very little connection between "circumcision" and "speaking water touched my lips." But if the writer is alluding to the "touching" of the "lips" of Isaiah—who called himself (vi. 5) "a man of unclean lips," as Moses called himself (Exod. vi. 12) "of uncircumcised lips"—then we may imagine him as saying, like Origen (*Hom. Is. i. 4*) "If He purifies them (*i.e.* my lips) and *circumcises them from sins* (et circumciderit a vitiis)... I shall open my mouth with the word of the Lord."

⁵ [3855 *n*] "Fountain." This noun is derived from the verb, "bubble forth" &c. above discussed (3855 *d* foll.). It occurs in Ps. xxxvi. 9 (Syr.) "With thee is the *fountain* of life, in thy light do we see light" (which implies that (Jn i. 4) "the 'life' was the 'light' of men"). It means (*Theo.* 2272) "fons copiosior unde aqua cum vi erumpit" (comp. Gen. ii. 6, vii. 11).

⁶ [3855 *o*] "Without grudging." R.H. 1st. ed. has "without grudging," R.H. 2nd. ed. has "plenteously," without note; H. has "ohne Missgunst." Comp. Ode iii. 7 R.H. "no grudging," H. "keinen Neid," vii. 4 R.H. "without grudging," H. "ohne Neid," xv. 6 R.H. "without grudging," H. "ohne Neid" &c. The reiteration is like Philo's reiteration of ἀφθονος, *e.g.* i. 362 "no man, and perhaps not the whole universe, could contain" the ἀφθονον πλῆθος of God's gifts. Man is like a small cistern filled even to running over by the flow of the fountain of the graces of God (comp. i. 288, ii. 447 &c., and especially i. 5 where he quotes Plato's *Timaeus* (29 E) and says that God οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν). In the Odes, it probably has a doctrinal force—like the Pauline doctrine of the "free gift" of grace, as compared with the Law. But the thought pervades the Bible. Compare the early Jewish interpretation of the Abrahamic title of God, Shaddai the All-sufficer (see *Son* 3120 *a—c*, 3123 *a*).

¹ [3855 *p*] "Drank...and became-drunken." For "became drunken,"

R.H. has "was inebriated," H. "ward trunken." "Inebriated" has the advantage of warning the reader that the word is quite different from the preceding "drank." But "drunken" has the advantage of suggesting to the reader the only other passage, perhaps, where this precise phrase occurs in the past tense (Gen. ix. 21) "*drank* of the wine and was *drunken*." This refers to the drunkenness of Noah. Philo (i. 357 foll.) wrote a treatise on Drunkenness, with special reference to Noah, mystically indicating that it might signify a good and spiritual intoxication in one filled with the draughts of Wisdom. But there is nothing in the Ode to shew that our poet borrows from Philo. The thought is expressed in the Psalms (xxxvi. 7 foll.) "How precious is thy loving-kindness, O God...they (*i.e.* the children of Man) *shall-be-made-drunken* (μεθυσθήσονται) with the fatness of thy house, and the stream of thy delights thou shalt make-them-drink, for with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light." The Heb. (Gesen. 924 a) "*saturate*" is here expressed in Gk by μεθυσθήσονται and in Syr. by a word which, though similar to the Heb. "*saturate*," mostly means "make-drunken," and corresponds to forms of the Heb. *shâcar* "*become drunken*" in Gen. ix. 21, Deut. xxxii. 42 (Onk. and Syr.). See 3875 d₁.

[3855 q] In Ps. xxxvi. 8, R.V. txt has, not "made-drunken," but "abundantly satisfied," and adds, in marg., Heb. "watered." If that were implied as part of the meaning here, there would be latent the thought—to which we shall come in the Ode a little later on—of a well-watered tree (comp. Ps. i. 3). This would harmonize with the Heb. (in the Psalm) of "the stream of thy delights," *lit.* "of thy Edens," suggesting the trees in Paradise, which the Ode also will soon mention. The coming metaphor, of a tree, does not exclude the metaphor used here, intelligible both to Jews and Christians, of a human soul "made-drunken" with the wine, or water, of the Law or the Gospel. Comp. Eph. v. 18, which means, in effect, "Be not drunken with wine wherein is riot, but be filled [so as to become spiritually drunken] in (*or*, with) the Spirit." And so Origen on Ps. xxxvi. says, "This drunkenness (μέθη) is good," and "he that does not practise this drunkenness while really sober (ὁ ταύτην τὴν μέθην μὴ ἐκνήφων) does not act rightly."

[3855 r] Some Christian writers might call the draughts of the Spirit, by preference, wine, others water. Our poet prefers the latter, but at the same time suggests here a kind of compromise by speaking of the "fountain" as if it had the *effect* of wine. The compromise is developed in Jn ii. 6—10 where "the good wine" is water that has become wine.

It is not till a late Ode that the poet mentions the "drunkenness" that is not "good" (Ode xxxviii. 13) "the wine of their *drunkenness*" (a form of the word used here) that is, the wine of the Deceiver. The drinker of that wine is there contrasted with the "wise" man who (*ib.* 18 foll.) is a tree, "planted" and "watered" by the Lord.

8. And my drunkenness was not that which is not-knowledge¹, but² I forsook emptiness (*or*, vanity)³ and turned-my-face to the Most High, my God⁴.

¹ [3855 s] "That which is not-knowledge." *Thes.* 1560 refers to "not-knowledge" in 1 Pet. i. 14 "*ignorance*," and *Wisd.* xiii. 1 "surely vain are all men by nature who are *ignorant* of God." That—ignorance of God—seems to make good sense here, and to illustrate "forsook vanity" in the context. "The wrong drunkenness" appears to be identified with a state in which the fumes of human self-pleasure and self-conceit deprive the soul of the knowledge of God. R.H. has "not one without knowledge." H. has "war (mir) nicht unbewusst," apparently meaning, "I knew that I was drunken, but I knew also that it was the right drunkenness."

² "But" (*emph.*). The meaning is almost "on the contrary" (like ἐν μῇ in N.T.).

³ [3855 t] "Emptiness (*or*, vanity)." This word (*Thes.* 2747) corresponds to the Heb. "*empty*" or "*vain*" applied to the "meditations" of the peoples in Ps. ii. 1 "Why do the nations rage and peoples meditate *a-vain*-[*thing*]?" Comp. Hab. ii. 12—13 "Woe unto him that buildeth a town with blood and stablisheth a city by iniquity! Behold, is it not of the Lord of hosts that the peoples labour for the fire and the nations weary themselves for *vanity*?" The thought is more definitely expressed in *Jerem.* li. 58 "The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly overthrown, and her high gates shall be burned with fire; and the peoples shall labour for *vanity*, and the nations for the fire...." The Psalmist's use of "meditate" suggests a contrast. Ps. i. 2 foll. speaks of the man that "meditates" in "the Law of the Lord," day and night, the well-watered "tree," Abraham. Ps. ii. 1 speaks of peoples "meditating *vanity*." What are these "nations" and "peoples"? They are, says the Midrash (*Wü.* i. 22—3) "like grasshoppers (*Is.* xl. 22)" in the eyes of the Lord, like the Dispersion at the Flood, like all the nations of the earth that persecuted Israel, like "Nimrod and his companions who banded themselves against Abraham, and fell before him... (*Gen.* xiv. 15)." The Midrash concludes with two quotations and a contrast drawn by R. Aibu, who says that all the raging and troubling of the peoples is empty (*Hab.* ii. 13) but it is not so with Israel (*Is.* lxxv. 23, they shall *not* "labour for vanity"). These passages combine two meanings. The tower-builders of Babel build both *for* emptiness and *in* emptiness; *for* emptiness, to make themselves a "name" (*Gen.* xi. 4), and *in* emptiness, because the vessel, as it were, that they are filling, is emptied out by the Lord. It is "*in vain*" because it is "*for vanity*."

[3855 u] Other mentions of "emptiness" or "vanity" are in *Odes* xvii. 3 "I was loosed from *emptiness* and am not [any longer] one condemned," which might be applied to one who had passed by faith into a state of grace or justification; xviii. 10—11 "*Emptiness* thou knowest

not, nor does it know thee..." where the word is repeated (xviii. 15—16 "that empty thing," "they became empty," and xviii. 14 "stink," so H., refers (3855 *x*) to Gog and Magog). Levy *C'h.* ii. 192 *a* gives "barrenness," or "unfruitfulness" (of trees) as a recognised meaning of the Aram. "emptiness." The Odes often insist on the connection between "fruitfulness" and "life," and the writer probably associates "emptiness" with "death." But here it is a preparation for the picture of (Ode xi. 15—16) "the fruits" of God's "trees" in Paradise.

Philo often speaks of man's *οὐδένεια*, but he means "*nothingness*." Our poet means, in the Biblical sense, "*naughtiness*." Philo says (i. 172) that if we remember our own absolute "nothingness" we shall remember God's superexcellence; Abraham is at his highest in interceding with God when he remembers (i. 477) his own "nothingness," or (i. 586) "knows himself and the nothingness of the mortal race." Of course Philo means "man's nothingness apart from God's indwelling Spirit." But the Odist would probably have refused to regard the redeemed soul as "apart from God's indwelling Spirit." The soul is *not* to "remember its own *nothingness*," i.e. its past *naughtiness*, *hollowness*, or *emptiness*. Such an evil is something from which we are "loosed," something that "does not know God" and that "God does not know."

⁴ [3855 *v*] "Turned-my-face...God." "Turn-my-face" is regularly used (*Thes.* 3167) in the Syr. of Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 8 &c. in the phrase "he that turneth-his-face to God" to represent Heb. "proselyte." It would be suitably applied to Abraham, the first proselyte, and, according to tradition, the maker of proselytes. "Turn-one's-face" must be distinguished from the ordinary word for "turn," or "return," when used to signify repentance. The former occurs, as here, in Acts xiv. 15 "that ye should *turn-your-faces* from these vain things (*i.e.* from the worship of false gods) unto the living God." According to tradition, Abraham turned from the gods worshipped by his own father and the people around him to the true God, as a proselyte, not as a penitent.

[3855 *w*] "Most High God" occurs in the Bible for the first time in connection with Abraham (Gen. xiv. 18—22). Abraham never uses the words "my God," but God virtually allows him to use them when He says to him (Gen. xv. 1) "I am...*thine exceeding great reward*."

[3855 *x*] In Ode xviii. 14 (3855 *u*) "Ignorance appeared...like the *stink of the sea*," there is an allusion to the "stink" of the host of Gog. The Syr. (*Thes.* 2724) "stink" occurs in Joel ii. 20 (Syr.) "northern [army]...sea...*stink*." Comp. Is. xxxiv. 3, and Ezek. xxxviii. 1—xxxix. 11 (A.V.) "it shall stop [the noses of] the passengers." On the "ignorance" see Rashi on Ps. xiv. 1—4 "Have they *no knowledge*, devouring my people," and Ezek. xxxix. 6 "they (*i.e.* Magog) shall *know* that I am the Lord." Ezekiel alone in O.T. mentions Gog. It represents a coalition against Israel, comp. Ps. cxviii. 10 "all nations," Rashi "Gog and Magog."

§ 3. *The Light*

[3856] The last extract ended with the words "I turned my face to the Most High, my God." Whoever does that turns himself to the Light and reflects the Light, becoming in some degree like Moses, whose "face" was "illuminated." But that metaphor is seldom used¹. It is more common to regard this human participation in the divine light as of the nature of "clothing." The phrase "angel of light" appears to imply that such an angel is clothed in light. Saints also "put on the armour of light." Thus they would seem fitly to manifest their fellowship (if it may be so called) with Him whom the 104th Psalm describes as covering Himself "with light as with a garment."

[3857] In the following extract, Abraham seems alluded to in the phrase about "becoming rich"—in accordance with the Philonian tradition quoted elsewhere (3820 *a*) that this Patriarch was "not rich but altogether-riches." And we can easily understand that the words "I forsook the folly cast-forth upon the earth" refer also to Abraham, first forsaking idolatry, and then forsaking his native land where it was practised. But at first sight the words "renewed me in His clothing" and "purchased me by His light" seem quite inapplicable to the Patriarch. Reflection, however, on the Philonian tradition concerning the transmutation of Abraham in body as well as in mind when he was converted to the true faith, will shew us that even here the poet may be referring to the same character—taking Abraham as the type of the redeemed soul—and that the reference may be not a mere eccentric fancy of his own, but a brief poetic allusion to an established allegorical tradition (3858 *f*).

[3858] We have seen above (3849—50) that there appeared to be, at this stage in the Odes, a twofold aspect of the scene

¹ Comp. however Acts vi. 15 "And all that sat in the council...saw his face as it had been the face of an angel."

of the progress or development of the soul. Truth was contending against error, sometimes in a battle-field, sometimes in a harvest-field. So it is in the Ode now under consideration. The extract that will come next after the present one will describe the soul as expanding in the sunlight and growing like a plant. But the one now to be placed before the reader describes the soul as a soldier of the Truth, "renewed in the clothing of the Lord" and "purchased by His light":—

9. And I became rich through His giving¹, and I forsook the folly² cast-forth upon the earth³; and I put it off⁴, and cast-it-forth from me.

¹ [3858 *a*] "Rich...giving." "Rich" (Gen. xiii. 2), not through the "giving" of the king of Sodom (*ib.* xiv. 23), but through God, who said (*ib.* xv. 1) "I am...thy exceeding great reward," see 3820 *a*.

It is worth noting that "poor" does not appear in the Index to the Odes, which may be contrasted with the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, where *πτωχός* and *πένης* together appear six times, and *πενία* four times. In the Odes, every believer is regarded as "rich through God's giving."

² [3858 *b*] "Folly." The Syr. corresponds (*The.* 4131) to many Heb. and Gk words. It occurs, about the men of Sodom, in Wisd. x. 8 (Syr.) "they left behind them in the world their *folly* as a memorial," which immediately follows (*ib.* 5) the description of Abraham. It may be assumed that here, as in our Eng. versions of the Bible, "folly" means moral, and not merely intellectual error. H.'s Index does not contain this word ("Torheit") except under "Unwissenheit" (3870 *a*₁).

³ [3858 *c*] "Cast-forth upon the earth." R.H. 1st ed. "Which is diffused over the earth." H. has "die...hingeworfen ist," and adds that the word does not mean "diffused." R.H. 2nd ed. adds n. "*lit.* cast. U.-S.: 'die auf Erden lagert'." The rendering "lagert" is somewhat like rendering "jactus" as though it were "jacens." "Jactus" can, of course, sometimes amount to "jacens," because what is "thrown down" may be said to "lie down"; but there is no context here that favours such a paraphrase. The Syr. part. pass. here used occurs (*The.* 4064) in Tob. ii. 3, 1 K. xiii. 24, Epist. Jer. 70 of corpses "cast out" unburied. Also the active is used (*ib.* 4063) of "casting," or "casting out," venom. Perhaps the poet intends to suggest that the moral evil, besides being "[spread] over the earth," was indecent and foul—like the exposure of unburied and putrefying corpses. The word is repeated at the end of the verse—"I cast-it-forth from me." That is another reason for keeping the literal rendering "cast-forth" here.

⁴ [3858 *d*] "I put-it-off." The connection, in this Ode, between

10. And the Lord renewed¹ me in His clothing² and pur-

"putting-off" and the "circumcising" mentioned in the first verse, is illustrated by Col. ii. 11—12 "In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the *putting-off* (*ἀπεκδύσει*, Syr. as here) of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with him in baptism...." Circumcision is not mentioned in the parall. Eph. iv. 22—4 "that ye put-away (*ἀποθέσθαι*) as concerning your former manner of life, the old man, which waxeth corrupt...and that ye put on the new man." Nor does the Ephesian Epistle ever mention circumcision (except casually in Eph. ii. 11 "circumcision in the flesh made by hands"). Yet it must be, if not mentioned, at all events implied, if we are to understand the origin, and associations, of the phrase "the old man." To a Jew, "the old man" would mean the fleshly, unpromised, uncircumcised nature described as (in the Ode) "*folly*," (Coloss.) "*the body of the flesh*," (Ephes.) "*the old man*." It may seem, at first sight, as if the Ode, too, were defective, because it does not mention "the new man." But this is implied in the very next words, "And the Lord *renewed* me in His clothing." Thus the Ode covers the ground covered by the Colossian Epistle. For it began with "*circumcision*"; it regards the true circumcision—what the Colossian Epistle calls "the circumcision of Christ"—as a "putting-off" of "*folly*," *i.e.* of "the body of the flesh," or "the old man"; and then, assuming that the soul must put on a new garment after putting off the old, it speaks of a "garment" of "*renewal*," subsequently implied to be "*light*." On this, see below.

[3858 *e*] In Zech. iii. 4 "Take the filthy garments from off him," there is an instance of a high priest unclothed and reclothed. But if that picture, unique in the Bible, was before the writer of this Ode, it probably suggested to him not likeness but contrast. Abraham, the virtual high priest of the Gentiles, "after the order of Melchizedek," had, no doubt, been infected by the universal "*folly*" in which he had been bred up as a child; but, while recognising the "giving" of God as indispensable, he could yet say that the filthy clothing had been "put off" by himself, not "taken" from him:—"I forsook...I put it off and cast it forth from me."

Philo uses this very phrase about Abraham, after he had left his home at God's command (i. 221) "The Law says (Gen. xii. 7) '*God appeared unto him*,' shewing that He is manifested in His real nature (*ἐναργῶς φαίνεται*) to him that *has put off mortality* (*τῷ τὰ θνητὰ ὑπεκδύντι*) and has hastened upward to [the condition of] a soul that is bodiless [in respect] of this mortal body (*καὶ εἰς ἀσώματον τοῦδε τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴν ἀναδραμόντι*)."

¹ [3858 *f*] "Renewed me." So R.H., and H. "erneuerte mich." Comp. Ps. civ. 30 "thou sendest forth thy breath, they are created; and thou *renewest* the face of the ground." The Midr. asks "When are they created?" and replies "When thou renewest the face of the ground." The

chased-me (*or*, made me His own)¹ by His light²; and from above³ He caused-me-to-rest [a rest that is] in incorruption.

active (Gesen. 294 *a*, and *Thes.* 1206) appears mostly used of repairing buildings; but the middle is freq. used (*Thes.* 1207) in N.T., of spiritual "renewal." Gesen. gives one Heb. instance of the middle, in Ps. ciii. 5 (Heb.) "thy youth reneweth itself like the eagle" (which the Midr. applies to Job). H.'s Index omits "erneuern," but refers to this passage under "Neugestaltung." Apparently "regeneration" or "renewal" is seldom expressly mentioned in the Odes. But it is often implied, *e.g.* in Ode xv. 3—4 "In Him I have purchased (*i.e.* acquired) eyes...Ears have come (*lit.* have become) to me." This may be compared with Philo i. 373 where Abraham refuses to receive "seeing from the eyes, smelling from the nostrils &c.," being resolved to accept everything as from the Only Wise God, and *ib.* ii. 442, which represents Abraham as transmuted in form, complexion, stature, voice, and gait.

² [3858 *g*] "In His clothing." Comp. Ps. civ. 2 "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment." That which "covers" man hides him from men, but that which "covers" the invisible God may be conceived as making His nature visible—so far as it can be made visible—to men. The Psalmist says (xxxvi. 9) "With thee is the fountain of *life*, in thy *light* shall we see *light*." This assumes that the stream of "life" from God reveals itself as God's "light," and "light" of such a kind that, in it, men may "see" a "light" of their own. It environs them as well as Him. It is to be their "clothing," but it is also "His." In these Odes, "His" occurs before "faith," "joy," "peace," "love" &c., because the poet regards them, not merely as possessions of man, but also as gifts of God, from His own essence, to man.

Those who agreed that (1 Jn i. 5) "God is light" would feel that "putting on" the divine "light" was, in some sense, putting on God, or the Word—an expression used in Ode vii. 6 "that I might put *Him* on," on which s. 3760 *m* foll.

"PURCHASING," "POSSESSING," OR "ACQUIRING"

¹ [3858 *k*] "Purchased me (*or*, made me His own)." R.H. 1st ed. (see 3858 *j*) "possessed me," H. "nahm mich in Besitz." It recurs in Ode xv. 3 R.H. "In Him I have acquired eyes," H. "Ich habe durch ihn meine Augen erworben," Ode xix. 9 R.H. "And she" (*i.e.* the Virgin) "brought Him forth openly and acquired Him with great dignity," H. "Und sie gebar [ihn] in Beweisung und erwarb [ihn] in grosser Macht."

[3858 *i*] [The text is doubtful in Ode xx. 5, R.H. "Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by 'the price of thy silver'," H. "Du sollst keinen Fremdling erwerben um den Preis deiner Seele," where "thy silver" is a correction of txt "thy soul." Possibly the txt was "thou shalt not (*lit.*)

acquire [*the acquisitions of*] a stranger at the price of thy soul," and the noun "acquisitions" —owing to its similarity to the verb "acquire"—has dropped out. Comp. Prov. iv. 7 "First [is] wisdom. *Acquire* wisdom, and with all thy *acquisitions acquire* understanding." This is wholly omitted by LXX, perhaps owing, in part, to obscurity caused by repetition. For a curious combination of two forms of "acquisition" meaning (1) acquisition, (2) cattle, see Gen. xxxi. 18 (R.V.) "cattle of his getting," where the notion of laborious acquisition seems to have been missed by LXX. "Acquire acquisitions" would make good sense in the Ode without obliging us to suppose—a very improbable supposition—that the poet prohibited the buying of slaves. It would also harmonize with the doctrine of Lk. xxi. 19 "in hopeful-endurance (Syr.) ye shall *acquire* (κτησεσθε) your souls." The poet may imply an antithesis, "Do not, by *acquiring* other people's property, fail to *acquire* your own souls." If so, though he ostensibly uses *acquire* literally and materially, he does it with allusion to a metaphorical and spiritual meaning. See 3999 (ii) 3.]

[3858 *j*] As regards the two passages in which there is no doubt about the text, in Ode xv. 3 the thought appears to be of regeneration; in xix. 9, of the birth of the Messiah.

In the doubtful text of Ode xi. 10, R.H. 2nd ed., while retaining Eng. transl. as above, adds, in n. to Syr. txt, "we should probably read" (instead of "possessed") the Syr. word used in viii. 17 "I *fashioned* (R.H.) their members." Against this are the following objections.

(1) "Purchase" (as is shewn in *Son*, s. Index "Possessor") is very difficult, and "fashion" is very easy; and the conjectural substitution of an easy for a difficult word is in most cases to be *prima facie* suspected. (2) The writer appears to have views of his own about this word "purchase," and about its connection with the procreation of children. (3) It is closely connected with Abraham and the Abrahamic appeal to God as "Purchaser, or, Possessor, of heaven and earth." (4) It presented a difficulty to Onkelos, who paraphrases it both in Genesis and in Deuteronomy. (5) In the latter (Deut. xxxii. 6) "Is he (God) not thy father that hath *bought* thee (so R.V. txt, but marg. *possessed*, or *gotten*)? He hath made thee and established thee," Onk. has "thy Father, *and thou art His*," while Jewish comments generally confine themselves to "made" and "established." (6) Rashi tacitly attests the obscurity of the passage since, while quoting no Talmudic authority on it, he gives "made a nest for thee" as one of his explanations of "bought" (see Gesen. 890 *a*). (7) In Deut., the Syr. has "purchase" (for Heb. "purchase") and "fashion" (for Heb. "establish"). That is, it has both the word that is actually in the text of the Odes, and also the word that R.H. suggests as a substitute; and this favours the view that our writer would distinguish between the two.

[3858 *k*] Gesen. 888—9 says that the word in question is applied to

"God as originating, creating, Gen. xiv. 19, 22, Deut. xxxii. 6 (Israel), Ps. cxxxix. 13 (my reins), and Prov. viii. 22," where Wisdom says (R.V.) "The Lord *possessed* (marg. *formed*) me in the beginning of his way." Gesen. adds, as unique, Gen. iv. 1 of Eve "acquiring יָד," i.e. Cain, "with [the help of] the Lord," where, however, the text is "I have gotten a *man* (Heb. *ish*, i.e. *vir*, of which a regular meaning is (3695) *husband*) with Jehovah." On this the Midrash says, "As soon as a woman, or wife, sees that she bears children, she says, 'Now I have *gotten for myself* my man, or husband (nun habe ich mir meinen Mann *erworben*).'" And the context apparently assumes that Akiba accepted this explanation, or at all events expresses no dissent. According to Rashi, Eve says, "God at first made Adam and myself, but now, in this new creation, we co-operate (*v.r.* I co-operate) with Him." Philo *ad loc.* regards this as a misguided utterance of Eve, "deflectit a sano consilio qui dicit non a deo sed per deum factum esse quod factum est," i.e. Eve should have said "*from* God," or, "*as the gift of* God."

[3858 *l*] It can hardly be a mere coincidence that our poet (3858 *h*) applies to the Virgin, the Mother of the Messiah, the very same word that Scripture applies to Eve, the mother of Cain. And the phrase rendered by R.H. "with great *dignity*" but by H. "in grosser *Macht*" might well apply to the Mother of the Messiah as described in Rev. xii. 1—2 "a woman arrayed with *the sun, and the moon* under her feet, and upon her head *a crown of twelve stars*, and she was with child..." "*Might*," or *κράτος*, and especially imperial "might," such as that of Rome, is (*Thes.* 120—1) a freq. meaning of the Syr. noun. In Rev., the thought of imperial power is associated also with the Child, who (Rev. xii. 5) "is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron."

[3858 *m*] Bearing on this doctrine about the Lord as Possessor or Acquirer, there are traditions about His "possessions." *Aboth* (vi. 10) says they are five (*v.r.* four): (1) Torah, (2) Heaven and Earth, (3) Abraham, (4) Israel, (5) the Sanctuary. But Pesach. 87 *b* speaks of only three: (1) Torah, (2) Heaven and Earth, (3) Israel. Abraham has no *verbally* scriptural claim to be called one of God's "possessions." But the title might be loosely considered by some as implied in requital for his having called God the Possessor. A similar looseness characterizes the tradition that (*Numb. r.*, Wü. p. 348) Abraham was to "possess heaven and earth."

[3858 *n*] Our conclusion is that in Ode xi. 10 the author uses "possess" to denote a divine possessing such as might be called either "indwelling" or "clothing," or both, resulting in a regeneration of the soul; and he *deliberately uses a word that has scriptural associations with buying, or gathering with pains and labour, so that the "acquiring" is always at some cost.* The language of Scripture assumes that the possessions of men (apart from landed property, which is denoted by an entirely

different word connected with "grasping in the hand" (?) *mancipium*, Gesen. 28 *b*) are "chattels," mostly cattle. Our author perhaps wishes to suggest that God's "possessions"—the "chattels" that He cares for and spends Himself for—(Ezek. xxxiv. 31) "are men."

² [3858 *o*] "(Purchased me)...by His light." Comp. 1 Pet. i. 23 "Having been begotten again...through the Word of God..." and *ib.* ii. 9 "But ye are a *chosen* race, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people for a special *possession* (λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν) that ye may tell forth the excellencies of him that called you out of darkness into *his marvellous light*." All these italicised expressions are briefly implied by our author. The first utterance of God was through "the Word," and was, "Let there be light." "*Light*" was pre-eminently (*Son* 3375 *a*, 3480) "*good*," and Simeon ben Jochai (*Gen. r.* on Gen. i. 3, Wü. p. 11) commenting on Prov. xv. 23 "A *word* in its season, how *good* it is!" said that this referred to Light. "*Purchased by God's light*" is only another way—and not an imitative but an original way—of saying "begotten by God's Word," and of implying, at the same time, that the soul is environed, or clothed, in a transmuting and regenerating light. The Petrine phrase "kingly priesthood" applied to the spiritual Israel, would accord with Philo's view of Abraham as (ii. 442) "king" and with the tradition assigned (*Lev. r.*, Wü. p. 170) to R. Ismael that the royal priesthood passed to Abraham from Melchizedek (Ps. cx. 1 foll.) at the time of the blessing of the former by the latter.

³ [3858 *p*] "From above." This prob. implies, as often in Jewish literature, an antithesis between "above" and "below." Comp. Ode xxxiv. 4—5 R.H. 1st ed. "...there is nothing that is divided, the likeness of what is below: He is the one that is above"; but 2nd ed. without note "...there is nothing that is divided. The likeness of what is below is that which is above." H. has "...in dem ist nichts zwiespältiges. Gleich dem was unten ist ist das was oben ist," where, however, the Syr. might perhaps be better translated "*pattern*" (instead of "*likeness*") as it is in Exod. xxv. 9 "according to all that I shew thee, the *pattern* of the tabernacle," alluded to in Heb. viii. 5 "See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the *pattern* that was shewed thee in the mount." What the poet means is "The *pattern* (i.e. *type*, or *idea*) of everything [that is real] below is above [in the Mount of God]." This makes the next words clear, "For everything [that is real] is above [in the Mount of God, or, in the Mind of God]. What is below [so far as it differs from the pattern above] is nothing: it is [mere seeming]—what seems to those in whom knowledge has no existence." See 3999 *b* foll. and Appendix IV.

[3858 *q*] There is a similar antithesis, not expressed but implied, in the Johannine doctrine of regeneration and its sequel (Jn iii. 3—31) "born from above...he that cometh from above." And the poet implies here,

§ 4. *The Earth*

[3859] These last words take us back to the doctrine of "rest," introduced in the third Ode ("where His *rest* is, there also am I"), and recurred to in the seventh ("It hath *rest* in the Son")¹. There the divine "resting" seemed to be regarded as a part of the mystery of the Way of Knowledge, which is to result in Redemption. Here the Messiah—perhaps speaking as the High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, of whom Abraham was the type—says "He caused-me-to-rest from above in incorruption." The next instance is in the sixteenth Ode, apparently alluding to the "resting" of God after the six days of Creation², "And He rested Himself from His works, and created things run in their running."

[3860] It would need a special Appendix to deal with the remaining instances, which are very numerous in the latter half of the Odes. But the passage just quoted suggests, what is supported by an examination of all the passages, namely, that the author has in view the contrast between the Jewish "sabbath" and the Christian "rest," and the controversies arising out of it. Unfortunately, the Hebrew or Jewish *shâbath*—i.e. "cease," "desist," "rest"—is rendered in Syriac by the word that in Hebrew means "rest-peacefully," "be-quiet," which is the root of the name "*Noah*"³. This would tend to increase confusions and controversies as to the use of Greek equivalents of these words—such as *anapausis* meaning

about the gift of "rest," what John says about the gift of "peace" (Jn xiv. 27) "My Peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth..."; so here, "*From above* He gave me rest [and not the transient rest of the corruptible world, but rest] in incorruption."

¹ Odes iii. 6, vii. 18.

² Ode xvi. 13—14.

³ Onkelos renders *shâbath* in the same way in Gen. ii. 2, 3, Exod. xvi. 30, xxiii. 12 &c., but he retains *shâbath* as a technical word in Exod. xxxi. 17. Elsewhere he uses other equivalents.

"rest" or "refreshment," *catapausis* meaning "complete cessation," and *sabbatismos* meaning sometimes "sabbath-keeping after the Jewish fashion," but used in the Epistle to the Hebrews in no unfriendly sense.

[3861] Barnabas says about the sabbath, "It is written concerning the sabbath in the Ten Words... 'And hallow the sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and pure heart.' And in another [place] He saith 'If my sons keep the sabbath, then will I put my mercy (ἐλεος) on them¹.'" No such passages exist in Scripture. The writer is reading into Hebrew Scripture his Christian developments. These passages, taken together with the long arguments in the Epistle to the Hebrews about the "sabbatism" that "remaineth for the people of God²," and with the Pauline discussions about the sabbath as not being binding on Christians, shew that in the first century there must have been ample need and occasion for a spiritual doctrine of rest that would hold aloof from superficial controversies about the past, or predictions about the future, and go deep down to present and experienced fact. The controversialist Barnabas, for example, passes at once into arithmetical and disputable prognostications: "Therefore, my children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, all things will be finished.... When His Son, by coming, shall bring to naught the season [of the power] of the Lawless [One]... then shall He well-and-truly (καλῶς) rest-completely (καταπαύσεται) on the seventh day³."

[3862] Against this view, here and elsewhere, our poet seems to protest saying, "*Now* is the true 'sabbath,' *now* is the true 'rest.' And if you argue that rest cannot be attained till Paradise, then I say Paradise is here already, if you will only enter into it⁴." Accordingly he describes the speaker in

¹ Barn. xv. 1—2 (ed. Gebhardt and Harnack, see their note).

² Heb. iv. 9 σαββατισμός, unique in N.T. here.

³ Barn. xv. 4—5.

⁴ [3862 a] Comp. Philo i. 554 (on Deut. iv. 4 "to-day") "the [only]

this Ode as "carried into Paradise." Later on, he issues an invitation to the hearer to enter into Paradise: "Put on the grace of the Lord [which is] without grudging, and come into Paradise, and make thyself a crown from His Tree, and set it on thy head...and set-thyself-firmly on His *rest*¹." In some respects, his teaching appears to agree with the saying in Bacon's Essays "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in Charity, *rest* in Providence, and turn upon the poles of Truth²." But there is more in the "rest" of the Odes—there is a personal feeling that if a man thus "rests" in God, God also "rests" in him.

[3863] There may be also special reasons for introducing the thought of "rest" in this Ode about Paradise and in connection with "the earth" and its "fruits." For the Syriac (which is also Hebrew) here meaning "caused-to-rest" occurs for the first time, as a Hebrew word, in Genesis, thus:—"And the Lord God took the man and (lit.) *caused-him-to-rest* in the garden of Eden to labour-on (*or*, serve) it...³." The various explanations given by the Midrash as to the precise meaning of "caused-to-rest" indicate at all events that the temporary "rest" of Adam in that Paradise would be contrasted by some mystics with his permanent "rest" in the Paradise to come. It is true that in Genesis the LXX and the Syriac do not have "caused-to-rest"; and the LXX has the same word there as in the preceding statement "There he *put* the man whom he had formed." But Aquila would certainly have observed the distinction. And our author would probably follow the Hebrew rather than the Greek text.

name of *aeon* that is not false is '*to-day*' (τὸ δὲ ἀψευδὲς ὄνομα αἰῶνος ἡ σήμερον)." And see Jewish tradition on Ps. xciv. 7 "*To-day* if ye will hear his voice" (*Son* 3343 *d*).

¹ Ode xx. 7—8. See 3664—6.

² *Essays* i. 59.

³ Gen. ii. 15 R.V. "put" (as in ii. 8), but the lit. Heb. is "caused-to-rest" and is different from the Heb. in ii. 8. The intransitive is rendered ἀναπαύω by Aq. (even in Exod. x. 14).

[3864] Again, the verbal noun usually meaning "resting," or "resting-place," occurs in the Bible for the first time in connection with the "earth," or "land," in the blessing pronounced on Issachar, "He saw *a resting-place* that it was good, and the earth that it was pleasant¹. "Resting-place" is interpreted allegorically by Jewish tradition as referring to the Torah or Law. No doubt our author would give the text a similar interpretation, only taking Law in the Pauline sense: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil *the Law of Christ*²." In his view, it is a "rest" to bear such "burdens." It is also a "rest" to bring forth "fruits" to the Lord. The earth, when it is left free from drought and deluge, from blasts and blights, quietly and peacefully bringing, or preparing to bring, its offerings of fruit or harvest, is, in our poet's view—like Adam in his brief Paradise—"resting" as well as "serving."

It is apparently in this aspect that the speaker likens himself to the earth, as follows:—

11. And I became like the earth that shoots-up³ and exults⁴ in its fruits.

¹ Gen. xlix. 15. A similar form occurs in Gen. viii. 9 "the dove found no rest."

² Gal. vi. 2. We must not however suppose that either Paul or the author of the Odes agreed with the A.V. rendering of Gen. xlix. 14 "two burdens."

³ [3864 a] "Shoots-up." *Thes.* 4091 floruit, germinavit, ἀνέτειλε, ἀνέθαλεν, ἀνθήσει, ἀναφυήσει &c. The word occurs in Is. xlv. 8 "Drop down, ye heavens...let the earth open that they may bring-forth-the-fruit-of salvation, and let her (lit.) *cause-to-spring-up* righteousness together (Syr. (Walton) justitia simul egerminet)."

⁴ [3864 b] "Exults." *Thes.* 3845 exultavit, laetatus est, it. floruit (de arboribus &c.) This and "shoot-up" express the Messianic joy of the earth often described in Isaiah and the Psalms, e.g. Ps. lxxv. 9—13 "Thou visitest the earth...thou blessest the springing (lit. sprouting) thereof...the valleys...shout-for-joy (Syr. *exult*), yea, they sing." Here (as elsewhere) Rashi explains that the *real* "singing" comes from men thanking God for the (material) rain and the crops. In the Odes, the earth is man's heart, the rain is God's love, and the crops are man's thanks.

§ 5. *The Sun and the Dew*

[3865] The extract next to come before the reader speaks of "the Lord like the sun." The first mention of the sun in the Bible is in connection with Abraham describing how he received a revelation from God about his posterity "when the sun was going down." Concerning this, Philo says that the sun has two meanings, the light of the human mind and the light of the divine Mind: "When the divine Light is on the point of dawning on us, the human [light] sets." This, he adds, "is wont to befall the race of prophets," of whom Abraham was one; and he implies that in the following vision God was Abraham's sun and caused the divine light to "dawn" on him¹. Elsewhere Philo introduces Abraham as virtually saying "I will not receive seeing from the eyes," meaning that he will receive it from God alone². This will illustrate the words "the Lord like the sun." And perhaps we may add that Abraham, whose faith was "reckoned to him for righteousness," might naturally be regarded as a prominent, if not the most prominent, instance of a saint who saw, as Malachi says, "the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings³."

Something like "exultation" is attributed to Abraham in Jn viii. 56 ἡγαλλιάσατο, and in *Jubil.* xvi. 25—6, where he "rejoices" and blesses his Creator, who "knew...that from him would arise the plant of righteousness."

¹ Philo i. 511, on Gen. xv. 12.

² Philo i. 373, see context.

³ [3865 a] Mal. iv. 2. The other mentions of "sun" in the Odes are xv. 1 foll. "As *the sun* is the joy to them that seek for *its day*, so is my joy the Lord, because He is my Sun....I have acquired (3983(i)) eyes in Him and have seen *His holy day*," xvi. 16—17 "The treasure-chamber of the light is the sun, and the treasure-chamber of the darkness is the night. But *the sun* He has made for *the day* that it may be bright." In both these passages "*the sun*" is connected with "*the day*"; and this confirms the view taken above (3792 o) that "*the day*," in the Odes, means "the day of God's brightness, or, sunlight," and not—or only inferentially and secondarily—"the day of God's judgment."

This view is also confirmed by the other instances of "day." "*The day*," used absolutely, occurs only in vii. 26 (3792 o) and xvi. 17 (above

[3866] Again, the Ode mentions "dew" apparently as being equivalent to a gentle "rain" (a word that does not appear in the Index to the Odes). And the gentleness of God's "streams of grace" on the "fields" of the soul is described by Philo in another passage, a kind of hymn, in which Abraham declares that he owes everything to God's ungrudging stream of "graces" (*i.e.* gifts) which God wisely limits to the capacity of the receiver, lest the field should be inundated: "For it is fit to note not only the ever-flooding torrent of thy benefits, but also our [narrow] fields that are thereby watered¹."

[3867] A third parallel between this Ode and Philo will be found in the expression rendered below "delighted-sweetly in the delightful-sweetness of the Lord." The Syriac for "delighted-sweetly" is the same as the Syriac for "*fared-delightfully* (or, *sumptuously*)" in Luke's parable of Dives and Lazarus. And the above-mentioned Philonian hymn represents Abraham as saying to the Lord that, whereas some people may suppose fear of the Lord and trust in the Lord to be

quoted). But, with qualifications, it occurs as above quoted (xv. 1 foll. "*its* [*i.e.* *the sun's*] *day*," "*His holy day*") and xli. 3—6 "We live in the Lord...and life do we receive in His Anointed, for *the great day* (or, *a great day*) hath lightened for us...and our faces shall lighten in His light, and our hearts shall meditate on His fervent-love night and day." It is everywhere connected with some suggestion of light—even when called "*great day*," a phrase that in the Bible generally denotes wrath, *e.g.* Jude 6 "unto the judgment of *the great day*," where the Syr. is the same as here.

[3865 *b*] In a spiritual sense, "night" might be regarded as the hour of darkness, or the season (Jn ix. 4) "when no man can work." And this might have been expected in the Odes, since they use "day" for the season of spiritual enlightenment or joy. But it is not so. "Darkness," it is true, is used in a bad sense, but "night" only literally, as in xli. 6 "meditate night and day," and in xvi. 16 foll. (the only instance in H.'s Index) which, after mentioning day and night together, declares that both of them (3792 *ϑ*) contribute to the magnifying of God.

¹ Philo i. 477—8 τὰς ἀρδομένας ἡμῶν ἀρούρας *i.e.* the [narrowness of] our watered cornfields.

incompatible, he has found it possible to mix them and to "fare-delightfully on the mixture¹."

It may be urged, against this connection of Abraham with God's "rest," that "rest," in the sense of home, is precisely what was *not* given, and not even promised, to Abraham. To the end of his days he was a homeless wanderer in the land of Canaan. True. And for that very reason (in a spiritual sense) he was always at home. For he was at home with God. And if the Romans could say "*Omne solum forti patria est*," how much more could a spiritual Jew say this of Abraham the Wise, who, in spirit, was already a citizen of "the City that hath the foundations²." No doubt "Noah" was, nominally, and conspicuously, the type of "rest." But it was a poor kind of "rest," as also his "vine" was a poor kind of "vine." Jewish traditions say that Noah was but a little child to whom God said "*Walk with me*" and took him by the hand; but Abraham was a grown-up lad to whom God said "*Walk before me* and be thou perfect³."

[3868] And indeed what could be a more perfect promise of "rest" than that virtual promise of the Spirit of "rest," which was made to Abraham in the words "I am thy reward," that is to say, "I rest, or, make my home, with thee and in thee"? We saw above, in the first mention of the word "incorruption⁴," that God is the One "incorrupt" Being; and that agrees with the present Ode which says "*caused-me-to-rest in incorruption*." For Abraham "rests" on, or in, his God, El Shaddai, and therefore "*in incorruption*." Popular theology would say that all this was in the future, a mere promise. For prosaic people, and indeed for most people, Paradise is far off. But the author of the Odes joins battle on this issue, and says, "Paradise, the place of fruit and rest, is here, and

¹ Philo i. 477 ἀπλήστως οὖν ἐνὶ ὥχουμαι τὰ κράματος.

² Heb. xi. 10.

³ *Gen. r.* (on *Gen.* vi. 9, Wü. p. 131).

⁴ Ode vii. 13, 3781 *g* foll.

the redeemed soul is in it." That seems to be the thought that makes the poet pass first from Abraham's "circumcision" to "fruit," and then subsequently to "rest," and then from "rest" to "fruits" again. In the Odes, "rest" always implies fruitful responsiveness to God's love. And so, here, the sunlight is not to bask in but to work in. Yet the work is not grudging toil like that of a slave, but joyful service like that of a helpful friend, illustrated by the thought of a tree that delights to bring forth fruit.

[3869] With these facts before us, the words in the coming extract, "My eyes did He lighten," will assume a special force as proceeding from one who could say "the Lord is my Sun," having turned from the Chaldean worship of the visible sun, which left him in darkness, to the worship of the invisible Sun, which brought him light. Thus Abraham became "the Wise," as Philo repeatedly calls him.

[3870] And here we may note that there has been already, in the ninth verse of this Ode, a mention (perhaps the only mention in the Odes) of "folly¹," as being "forsaken" by the

¹ [3870 *a*₁] "Folly." This word is not in H.'s Index as a separate heading, but the Index gives "Unwissenheit, Unkenntniss, Torheit, Irrtum." This is very instructive, especially when taken along with the fact that "sin," "sinner" &c.—which occur in the 18 Psalms of Solomon about 50 times—do not occur in the Odes at all. The most striking presentation of sinfulness identifies it with (Ode vii. 23—4) the "hatred," "envy," and "not-knowledge," of Egypt in its dealings with Israel. Later on, in xv. 6 "the way of *error* I have left," the Syr. corresponds to the Heb. generally rendered *πλάνησις*, often used of false prophets or deceitful teachers, repeated in xviii. 12—14 "And thou (*i.e.* the Lord) knowest not *error*, only because also it knoweth not thee, and like a blind man appeared not-knowledge"; and it is added that the saints (3983 (ii) *a*) "laughed over those that were walking in *error*." "*Folly*" recurs, with "*error*," in xxxi. 2 "*Error erred* and was destroyed by Him, and *folly offered* (but better, as Codex N, *received*) a no-path, and was drowned by the truth of the Lord"—where there appears once more an allusion to the "drowning" of the Egyptians and an identification of Egypt with selfish sin. The final mention of "error" is in the Ode entitled (Appendix II) "The Chariot of the Truth," where the poet looks down from above and

speaker. What kind of "folly" is here meant? It is not merely the folly of sun-worship or fire-worship. It is the folly of Nimrod, the folly of the Conqueror, who has no sense of ordering or organizing but simply a craving to conquer for conquest's sake. Not till he has conquered the world does he think he can find rest—not knowing what "rest" is! Such is the rich fool in Luke who said to his soul "*Rest, eat, drink, delight-thyself-sweetly*,"¹ but did not find "rest." Such also is the "folly"—though it is not called "folly"—of Luke's Rich Man, whom Abraham reminded that he had had his "good-things" in this world. All these thoughts help us to realise our poet's intense desire to shew that Paradise is not the "resting place" of sensual ease and luxury, but a garden of souls that long to serve God by bearing Him fruit:—

12. And the Lord [was]² like the sun on the face of the earth³.

13. My eyes did He lighten⁴, and my countenance received the

sees the source of error in "the Deceiver" (xxxviii. 10) who corrupts the world with the wine of drunkenness.

It should be added that "wickedness" or "wicked" occurs in the Odes, and once perhaps (3877 c₁) in the sense of "the wicked one" who would be identical with "the Deceiver."

¹ Lk. xii. 19, where the Syr. for "rest" and "delight-thyself-sweetly" is the same as in this Ode.

² "[Was]." R.H. inserts "was." But H. has (12—13) "Und der Herr, wie die Sonne...erleuchtete meine Augen...", which is perhaps preferable.

³ [3870 a] "On the face of the earth." In the first Creation (Gen. i. 2) "darkness was *upon the face of the deep*." Now, in the second Creation, God is said to be "like the sun *on the face of the earth*." R.H. inserts "shining" after "sun." H. does not insert this. Perhaps the poet purposely omits it. The sun may (Ps. cxxi. 6) "smite." On Mal. iv. 1—2 "the day cometh...unto you...the sun of righteousness," Rashi says that "the Day" means the sun, "For our Rabbis taught, There will be no Gehenna, but the Holy One...will take the sun out of its sheath, and *the evil will be judged by it while the righteous will be healed*, and that is the meaning of '*unto you*' (3792 o)."

⁴ [3870 b] "Lighten." Comp. Ps. xiii. 3 "Lighten mine eyes lest I sleep [the sleep of] death." The Midrash on Ps. cx. 1 "The Lord said

dew, and my breath delighted-sweetly (*i.e.* was delighted) in the delightful-sweetness of the Lord¹.

unto my Lord" alleges the variously punctuated Is. xli. 2 "Who roused up from the East righteousness?"—both passages being applied by the Rabbis (as Rashi says) to Abraham. R. Reuben said that Abraham awoke the sleep of the nations, or rather of righteousness itself. Those who applied the Isaiah text to Abraham might regard God as "rousing" him, first, in the land of the Chaldees that he might rouse others. A second "rousing," in the sense of "enlightening," might be regarded as taking place when Abraham said (Gen. xv. 2, s. *Son* 3501 *z*) "I go [to the grave] childless," and when the darkness of that dejection was "lightened" by the Promise that followed.

"Righteousness," *tsedek*, is also a name for the planet Jupiter. Hence *Sabb.* 156 *a—b* (Levy iv. 172 *b*) describes Abraham as believing in the Chaldean astrology and connecting his childlessness with the position of "Jupiter" in the East or in the West (Is. xli. 2 "the East...*Jupiter*") and God as assuring him that the destiny of Israel did not depend on planets. In *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xiv. 15) one tradition says "*Tsedek*, that is, the Eternal Living One, who brought him light wherever he went," another, "The planet [Jupiter] brought him light." Probably these traditions meant, *inter alia*, that God gave light to Abraham against his enemies when (Gen. xiv. 15) "he divided himself against them *by night*."

¹ [3870 *c*] "Dew...delightful-sweetness." The passage recalls the Blessing of Jacob by Isaac, Gen. xxvii. 27—8 "...as the *odour* of a field which the Lord hath blessed; and God give thee of the *dew* of heaven..." But there is this difference. Genesis, instead of saying "God give thee the sweet *odour* of the Lord," implies that God has already given it, because He has "blessed" the field to which Jacob is likened, and it is now the odour of the field. The Ode expressly says that the "odour" of the growing field, as well as the "dew" that makes it grow, is to be regarded as from the Lord. Jer. Targ. paraphrases Gen. xxvii. 27 thus: "See, the smell of my son is *as the smell of the fragrant incense that is to be offered on the Mountain of the House of the Sanctuary, which shall be called a field that the Lord hath blessed and chosen that therein His Shechinah might dwell*." This is implied in the Ode. The redeemed soul exults in inhaling God's fervent love toward man, and in exhaling the responsive incense of man's love toward God. And the soul that does this is (1 Cor. iii. 16) "God's temple." The repetition of "sweet" in "delighted-sweetly" and "delightful-sweetness" is intended to correspond to the repetition in the Syriac which indicates that the human delight corresponds to the divine gift. Both are "sweet."

[3870 *d*] Rashi, on the Blessing of Jacob, says "There are many

§ 6. *Planting*

[3871] The author has been preparing us to hear of a return to that Paradise from which Adam was cast. When Adam and his wife took with their own hand what the Lord had forbidden, their "eyes were opened" indeed, but the result was "nakedness," and "fear," and "hiding" from God, and being "driven out" from the garden. But now the redeemed and grateful Adam is made "rich" not by his own hand but by God's, and he is "clothed" in God's raiment. Clothed in "light," yes, but not barren light. He declares, not that his "eyes were opened," but that the Lord "lightened them." To that "lightening" he makes a joyful response, "rejoicing" in the fruits that he hopes to bring forth to the Lord. Thus he passes from the thought of the sunlight and the dew, to the thought of the growing tree, and its gratitude when it is planted in the orchard of God.

[3872] But what is that orchard? Is it the old Paradise over again, the garden of Eden? Or is it to be regarded as the "third heaven" which Paul appears to call "Paradise"? Or is it the "seventh heaven," which is the name attached by

mystical explanations." One of them (*Gen. r.* ad loc.) sees in "the field," 1st, the Building of the Temple (Numb. xxviii. 2 "my oblation... a sweet savour unto me"), 2nd, the Destruction of the Temple (Mic. iii. 12 "Zion, for your sake, ploughed as a field"), 3rd, the Rebuilding of the Temple (Ps. cxxxiii. 3 "the dew...on the mountains of Zion...the blessing, life for evermore").

[3870 *e*] In this Ode, different forms of the Syriac root (*Thes.* 548) *bśm*, of which the radical meaning is "sweet," occur with remarkable frequency. The poet is thinking, first, of the fragrance of earth when it sends up its fruits to heaven in response to the sun and the dew, then of the fragrance of the trees in Paradise, and lastly of God who is Himself the fragrance of all things in earth and heaven. In this thought, he rings the changes on the thought of sweetness, repeating it (in verses 13 (twice), 14, 17, and 21) with slight variations which I have attempted to express in the translation (though perhaps not always preserving uniformity in subsequent references to the translation). See also 3760 *f* and 3881 *i—k*.

later Jewish tradition to the celestial stratum called Araboth, identified by earlier Jews with the "third heaven"? Lastly—perhaps the most important practical question—is it a temporary abode, or the final abode, of the blessed? To some of these questions, answers will be offered below in a discussion of the word Paradise¹, so far as it affects the Odes; to others

"PARADISE"

¹ [3872 *a*] In Heb., the word *pardês* (Gesen. 825 *b* "a loan-word from Zend") meaning "preserve," or "park," occurs in Neh. ii. 8 "the king's *park*," Cant. iv. 13 "a *park* [full] of pomegranates," Eccles. ii. 5 "gardens and *parks*." In Greek, *paradeisos* is freq. used (Steph. *Thes.* s.v.) to denote an eastern park, sometimes containing "beasts" for hunting, and expressly described as "enclosed" (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 15, *Cyrop.* i. 4. 11). Consequently the LXX used *paradeisos* to represent the Heb. "garden," *gan*, in Gen. ii. 8, 9, 10 &c. "planted" by God for Adam, and so did the Syriac. But Onkelos and Jer. Targ. retain a form of *gan*, "garden," and Aquila too has *κηπος*, "garden."

[3872 *b*] At what period *pardês* came to mean "an abode of the blessed after death" is not clear. *Enoch* lx. 8 mentions "the garden where the elect and righteous dwell," where Prof. Charles says, "*i.e.* the garden of Eden. The locality of Eden varies in the different sections [of *Enoch*]..." The word "Paradise" does not occur in the Index to *Enoch* and is presumably not used. But *Test. XII Patr.* says (*Levi* xviii. 10—11) "And He (*i.e.* the Messiah) shall open the gates of *Paradise*, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam, and shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life..." where the Index indicates that this is the only mention of Paradise in the volume.

[3872 *c*] Lk. xxiii. 43 "to-day shalt thou be with me in *Paradise*" demonstrates that in the first century the Greek word was used among Christians to mean "the abode of the blessed." Similar evidence is afforded by 2 Cor. xii. 4 "was snatched into (*ἡρπάγη εἰς*) *Paradise*," but it is not clear, there, that "the abode of the blessed" is meant. The writer has previously said (*ib.* 2) "snatched as far as (*ἕως*) the *third heaven*"—as to which see *Test. XII Patr. Levi* iii. 5—8, n. "what was originally an enumeration of the angels in the *third heaven* has become an enumeration of the angels in the sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens." In other words, what Paul called "the third heaven" may have been called by a higher number in Talmudic tradition.

The Pauline passage was written under the influence of excitement, so that the hypothesis of exact verbal consistency is unsafe; but the impression left is, that the apostle first used the term more intelligible,

or less repugnant, to Greeks ("the third heaven"), and then the term more in use among Jews. *Chag.* 14 *b* implies that the sights and sounds of Paradise might be too much for man's brain; "four Rabbis" went thither (comp. *Levy* iv. 102), and one at least was mentally injured. The only other N.T. mention of Paradise is in *Rev.* ii. 7 "the tree of life which is in the Paradise of God."

[3872 *d*] In English we have only to mention "heaven" and "park" together, to understand how offensive to educated Greeks the term *paradeisos* must have been, unless they were familiar, from childhood upward, with the use of the term in the LXX. Philo (i. 37) carefully distinguishes the tree-parks and hunting-parks of men from "the *park* (*παράδεισον*) of God which is in no respect like our [parks]." He explains that God's "Paradise" is the place where *virtues* grow (comp. *ib.* i. 52, 54). *Hastings Dict.* v. p. 305 *a* says, on the authority of Josephus, that the Essenes "regarded Paradise as a region situated beyond the ocean." But the evidence (*Joseph. Bell.* ii. 8. 11) shews that Josephus does not mention Paradise. He describes the region—in terms that Greeks would recognise—as like the Isles of the Blessed, "beyond the ocean," breathed on by "the mild Zephyr." He avoids (or at all events omits) the word *paradeisos* (which, however, he uses elsewhere, but only in a quotation, describing (*Ant.* x. 11. 1) "the so-called pensile *park* (*κρεμαστόν παράδεισον*)" of King Nebuchadnezzar).

[3872 *e*] A spiritual view, resembling Philo's, but of a more personal character, is taken in the *Psalms of Solomon* xiv. 2 "the saints of the Lord (*ὅσιοι κυρίου*) shall live in Him (*ἐν αὐτῷ*, or ? "therein," referring to a preceding *vómos*) for ever—the Paradise of the Lord (*ὁ παράδεισος κυρίου*) [even] the trees of life His saints." The rendering "in Him" assumes that He is the "PLACE," a name given to God (*Son* 3101 *a* &c.), in which the "trees," *i.e.* the "saints" (or, according to Philo, the "virtues") flourish.

[3872 *f*] On *Lk.* xxiii. 43, *Hor. Heb.* compares (1) the Pauline "story" of being caught up into "Paradise," or "the third heaven," with (2) the "legend" in *Chagigah* "there are four that went into Paradise," and adds, about the latter:—"Aruch, reciting these words, saith 'It is called Paradise, under the signification of the garden of Eden, which is reserved for the just. This place is in *Araboth*, in the heavens, where the souls of the just are gathered together.' And the Talmudical Gloss hath it much to the same sense: 'These four, by God's procurement, went up into the firmament.'"

[3872 *g*] *Hor. Heb.* adds "In the story, it is observable that *Paradise* and the 'third heaven' are one and the same thing; in the legend, *Paradise* and *Araboth* the highest heavens." This recalls the confusion indicated (3872 *c*) in *Test. XII Patr.* In part it may have arisen from *Araboth* freq. in Heb. (*Gesen.* 787 "desert-plains, steppes") but described

as the place of God's "riding" in Ps. lxxviii. 4 "Cast up a highway for him that rideth through *the deserts* (A.V. extol him that rideth upon *the heavens*)" where the LXX has (*as 12 times elsewhere*) δυσμαί, "*the West*," while Sym. has "*the uninhabited*." The Midr. on Ps. cxiv. 1 (Wü. ii. 144—5) quoting Ps. lxxviii. 4, alleges "our Rabbis" as saying, 1st, "There are two heavens," 2nd, "There are three," but states the opinion of R. Eleazar that there are "seven," and adds etymological explanations of the word *Araboth*. Also *Chag.* 12 *b* quotes R. Jehudah as saying "There are two firmaments," and R. Lakish as saying "There are seven." According to R. Lakish, "the third heaven" would have been an inferior place, store-house of manna, quite below the level of the Pauline "unspeakable" revelations. All this indicates that the seven-heavens theory is a late second-century or third-century invention and was not recognised by Paul.

[3872 *h*] The confused and sometimes only half serious traditions about *Araboth* may be illustrated by R. Akiba's comment on Lev. xxiii. 40 "*(lit.) And ye shall take for yourselves on the first day fruit of a tree of beauty...and willows (arbêi) of the brook*," where he says (*Pesikt.* Wü. p. 268) that the *willows* represent God because of (Ps. lxxviii. 4) *Araboth* followed by "Jah is his name"! This would be hardly worth quoting if it did not so illustrate the extraordinary confusion arising out of this one word as to raise a question whether Josephus may not have been *confused by the word* "*Araboth*" *in his account of the Essene belief about the abode of the blessed*.

[3872 *i*] We have seen above that Josephus did *not* mention the word "Paradise," though he clearly supposed that the Essenes contemplated the thing. But he does say (*Bell.* ii. 8. 11) that the Essenes believed in a place "beyond the *ocean*" and cooled by "a mild and never-ceasing *Zephyr* breathing from the *ocean*." Now there is no reason to think that "ocean" would play so important a part, or any part at all, in Essene conceptions of Paradise. But *Araboth* would. And *Araboth*, as we have seen above, is regularly rendered by the LXX "*West*." "*West*" is regularly represented, in Hebrew, by "sea," *i.e.* the Great Sea, which Josephus (for Greek readers) might call "*Ocean*." Moreover *Araboth* comes from the same literal root as means "sweet" or "pleasant," and also "sunset" or "evening" (*Gesen.* 787). But again "evening" implies "West." It follows that Josephus may be misunderstanding—not falsifying the Essene notions to make them acceptable to Greeks. The Essenes, like Paul, believed in a "third heaven," and Josephus may have explained it from traditions, which he had imperfectly grasped, about *Araboth*—which was "the third heaven," the highest heaven attainable by man.

[3872 *j*] The most important result of the study of these confused opinions is the conclusion that in Christ's time, and also at the date of the composition of the Odes of Solomon, the hard and fast theory of the

later on, in discussing details, and especially the curious and widespread tradition that Abraham made a Paradise for proselytes.

[3873] When the speaker is brought into Paradise, his first act is to "bow-himself-unto the Lord." Since this Ode contains an unusually large number of apparent allusions to Abraham, it is worth noting that the first Biblical mention of "bowing," sometimes meaning "worship," is in the description of Abraham as "bowing" to his guests, not knowing their supernatural character :

14. And He brought¹ me to His Paradise (*or*, orchard)² where are the riches³ of the sweet-delightfulness⁴ of the Lord.

seven heavens had not been framed. Paradise meant the abode of the blessed. But it was liable to be regarded in two ways (1) as the mere reward of righteousness *without* allusion to Adam's garden, (2) as the reward of righteousness but *with* that allusion—so that it implied a thought of the Tree of Life, and of the existence of duty, even in heaven, the duty of fruitfulness. That is the way in which our author regards it. "Heaven" he mentions but once, and only as sky (3881 *c*).

¹ [3873 *a*] "Brought." R.H. "carried," H. "hat...gebracht." The disadvantage of "carried" is that, in this context, it may be taken to mean "carried up," thus indicating a celestial destination. It means (*Thes.* 1539) "carry" in any sense, and *may* mean here "carried up." But more probably it means simply "led" as in Exod. xiii. 17, xxxii. 34 &c. If the writer had meant "carried up" he could have expressed it definitely (as *e.g.* in Ode xxii. 1 where "*bring up*" is used with "from the region below").

² [3873 *b*] "Paradise (*or*, orchard)." See 3872 *a* foll. and 3874 *a* foll. The writer does not say "[the] Paradise," τὸν παράδεισον, as he would if he used the word as a technical term to mean "the abode of the blessed hereafter." He has prepared the reader for the thought of "God's orchard," even from the first Ode (i. 4 "thy fruits are full..."). In the present Ode, the thought is followed out in detail (*e.g.* xi. 15—16 "Blessed, O Lord, are these, who are planted in thy land, and those, for whom there is (*or*, exists) room in thy orchard, and they grow according to the growth of thy trees"). Later on, he drops the possessive adjective (xx. 7 "come into Paradise," R.H. inserts "His," but H. omits it). But that is not till he has prepared the reader to take a spiritual view of the subject; and even there, by adding "make thyself a crown from His

15. And I bowed-myself¹ unto the Lord because of (*or*, for the sake of) His glorifying (*or*, praise)²; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are

tree" (which is the probable meaning, s. 3664)—instead of saying, in the conventional way, "from the Tree of Life"—he makes the reader say to himself, "The Orchard is God's, and, if we are in it, God will expect fruit from us." The author's thought is that we owe God fruit, as being, in Paul's language (1 Cor. iii. 9) "God's husbandry."

[3873 *c*] It has been pointed out above (3872 *a*) that the Targums on the Pentateuch do not use the Aramaic *pardês* to represent the garden of Eden, where the LXX repeatedly has *παράδεισος*. The only Targum instances of the word in the Pentateuch given by Levy *Ch.* ii. 287 *b* are from Jer. Targ. in Gen. xiv. 3, xxi. 33. The former passage, which mentions the land of Sodom—described elsewhere as (*ib.* xiii. 10) "well-watered...like the garden of the Lord"—is rarely referred to in Jewish tradition. But the latter passage—which, according to Jer. I and II, means that "Abraham planted an orchard" in Beersheba, and proclaimed the truth of God, and (Jer. II) "made proselytes"—is very frequently referred to. Perhaps the later Targumists intended a contrast between the "paradise" of Sodom and the "paradise" of Abraham. It would of course be intolerably harsh, in English, to substitute "orchard" for "Paradise" in ordinary speech or commentary; but in the two passages of the Odes where the word is used the reader will find the meaning at once deeper and easier to understand, if he bears in mind its suggestion of fruitfulness. On Beersheba see *Son*, Index.

³ [3873 *d*] "Riches." R.H. "abundance," H. "Reichtum." "Riches" has the advantage of connecting the meaning with *ib.* 9 "I became *rich* through His giving," and with Pauline phrases about "the riches" of God's grace, goodness &c.

⁴ [3873 *e*] "Sweet-delightfulness." R.H. "pleasure," H. "Lust." The Syr. (*Thes.* 550) *jucunditas*, *beatitudo*, *felicitas* &c., seems to suggest that it is the Lord's delight to give delight. For some reasons, it would be preferable to substitute "kind" for "sweet." Being "kind," He overflows with "kind-delightfulness" (3881 *i—k*).

¹ [3873 *f*] "Bowed-myself." R.H. "worshipped," H. "betete...an." The Syr., which means "prostrate oneself," is used in the Syr. of Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1 &c., and also by Onkelos, regularly, to mean "bow-onself." H.'s Index ("anbeten") omits this instance but gives xxxix. 11 "bow-themselves unto His Name," an expression not parallel to anything in *Thes.* 2522. A different word is used in Philipp. ii. 10 (Syr.) "at the name of Jesus every knee should *bow*," for "prostrate oneself" could not be used with "knee." In the present passage, "bowed-myself" has the advantage of connecting the thought with the first use of the word in the Bible, when Abraham (Gen. xviii. 2) "*bowed himself*" before the mysterious "three men."

these, who are planted in thy land (*or*, earth)¹, and those, for whom there is (*or*, exists) room² in thy Paradise.

§ 7. *Transplanting*

[3874] The last extract concluded with a mention of "planting" in "the land of the Lord," and of "room in Paradise"; and consequently "planting" was adopted as the title of the last section. But the main subject was "Paradise." Now "planting" must come before us again, in a new aspect. "Planting" is, of course, always different from "sowing"³, and

² [3873 *g*] "Because of...His glorifying (*or*, praise)." R.H. "on account of His glory," H. "um seiner Herrlichkeit willen." But the Syr. (which is not that rendered "Herrlichkeit" in Ode vii. 26) is the word rendered "glorifying" in Ode vi. 5—6 "And His *glorifying* (*i.e.* the work of glorifying Him) He hath given to us to (*i.e.* for the sake of, *or*, to the glory of) His name. Our spirits to His Holy Spirit *ascribe-glory*," where see n. on it (3742 *r*, *s*), as being (in various forms) one of the most frequently recurring words in the Odes. The poet appears to mean, not "I worshipped the Lord on account of the impression on me produced by His stupendous and dazzling glory," but "I worshipped the Lord *for the sake of that glorifying of Him which [work] He has given me as my work and as my prize.*"

¹ [3873 *h*] "Planted in thy land (*or*, earth)." The first mention of "land (*or*, earth)," with suffix "thy," is in Gen. xii. 1 "Get thee out of *thy land*, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I shall cause thee to see (*i.e.* shew thee)."

This lends itself to spiritual views about the land that God "caused" Abraham "to see" (comp. Heb. xi. 10 "he looked for the city that hath the foundations"). It also resembles Christ's doctrine to His disciples about abandoning house, land &c. for His sake. "Thy land," in Genesis, means the land of Chaldean star-worship and error. But "thy land," here, means the land that the growing and expanding soul, the human plant, accepts as being, not its own, but God's. The alternative, "earth," is intended to suggest that the poet may include the meaning of the *whole* "*earth*," new-created in the new Genesis—not land as distinct from sea, but "the earth" when it fulfils the saying "the earth is the Lord's," so that it becomes His *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

² "Room." The word is repeated in verse 20, on which s. 3881 *d*.

³ [3874 *a*] "Sowing." "Sowing" and "seed," which are frequent in N.T., do not occur in the Index to the Odes exc. xxii. 5 "that I might

always implies, in some form or other, "transplanting." But what if the transplanting is from bad earth to good, or, in some other way, of such a nature as to change the character of the thing "transplanted"? Then it becomes a very different thing

destroy his *seed*," i.e. the seed of "the dragon," xxxi. 11 "the promises to the Patriarchs, which I promised to them, for the redemption of their *seed*." But "sow" occurs in xvii. 13 "and I *sowed* my fruits in hearts and changed them *in myself*."

[3874 b] (1) In this last quoted passage, R.H. and H. have "*into myself*." But *Thes.* 1286—7, while giving instances of "change to," gives none of "change *in* (or, *with*)" as meaning "change *into*." We are therefore led to render "in myself" not as denoting the object *to* which, but as the place *in* which, the "change" is effected.

(2) Such a rendering may throw light on the extraordinary expression "*I sowed my fruits*." On this R.H. makes no remark, and H. simply refers to Mt. xiii. 3 foll., the Parable of the Sower of "the seed" which is "the word of God." But how does "sowing *seed*" explain "sowing *fruits*"? "Sow *fruits* (pl.)" has perhaps no precedent in Scripture nor in Syriac literature, but may perhaps be explained, as an instance of the author's combination of originality with brevity. One of the thoughts that he most frequently brings before us is the necessity of "fruitfulness." In the first Ode four consecutive verses mention "crown," "branches" that "bud," "blossom," and "fruits." "The Lord" is "like a crown" and the "fruits" are the Lord's ("thy fruits"). So here, instead of saying, as in the Parable of the Sower, "I sowed my seed which in due course became plant and flower and fruit," the poet—regarding God's "seed" as "fruit," somewhat as one may speak of God's "words" as "deeds"—condenses all this into "*I sowed my fruits*." See Jas. iii. 18 (Mayor).

At the same time there may be a thought of "grafting," which, after all, is a kind of "sowing." When the Lord, who is the Tree of Life, engrafts His fruitful bough on the wild olive-tree, then, locally, the fruitful bough is taken into the barren tree; but, for practical as well as for spiritual purposes, the nature of the once barren tree is taken into the nature of the fruitful bough and is therein transformed. Jesus taught the same lesson (Mt. xiii. 33, Lk. xiii. 21) in the parable of "the woman" that "hid leaven in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened." It may be worth noting that the Aph. of this Syr. "change" (of which the Shaph. is here used) has, for its first meaning (*Thes.* 1286) *regerminavit*, *repullulavit* as in Job xiv. 7, Ps. xc. 5, 6. On the whole, this apparently unique mention of "sowing" in the Odes—occurring in such a phrase as "sowing *fruits*," which may imply "engrafting *a bough from a fruitful tree*"—indicates that the poet has a general preference for metaphors of "planting," or "transplanting," rather than "sowing."

from mere "planting." This "different thing" must now be considered, and, as part of it, the subject of "planting" in general.

[3875] "Planting" is seldom¹ mentioned in the Odes; but it is often implied to be a divine act, and it is fully described in one of the later Odes contrasting Truth with Error, and the Lord with the Deceiver². In the Bible, the first "planting" is that of the garden of Eden by the Lord, for Adam³. The

¹ [3875 *a*] "Seldom." H.'s Index does not mention "Pflanzung" except as referring to Ode xxxviii. 17—20, rendered thus severally:—(1) R.H. "And my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me. For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever. It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged; and the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips, by the beautiful planting of His right-hand: and by the discovery of His planting, and by the thought of His mind." (2) H. "Und mein Fundament war auf die Hand des Herrn gelegt, weil er mich gepflanzt hatte. Denn er hat die Wurzel gesteckt, und sie getränkt und gefestigt und gesegnet, und ihre Früchte währen in Ewigkeit. Sie drang tief, kam empor und breitete sich aus, sie war voll und wurde grösser. Und der Herr allein wurde verherrlicht in seiner Pflanzung und in seiner Bearbeitung, in seiner Sorge und in den Segensprüchen seiner Lippen, in der schönen Pflanzung seiner Rechten und in dem Auffinden seiner Pflanzung und in der Erkenntniss seines Ratschlusses." See 3740 *b*.

² [3875 *b*] Ode xxxviii. 10—15 "He said to me, 'This is the deceiver and the error...'. And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the deceiver."

³ [3875 *c*] Gen. ii. 8 "*planted* a garden eastward," where Aq. Sym. and Theod., for "eastward," have "from the beginning," or "from the first," or "at first." Gen. r. (on Gen. i. 26, Wü. p. 33) compares 1 Chr. iv. 23 "the inhabitants of *Netaim*...there they dwelt with the king for his work," *i.e.* for the work of the Temple, as illustrating the use of the verb *nāta* "*planted*." Then it is said, "in the name of R. Samuel," as an inference from Gen. and Chron., that God "took counsel with the souls of the pious, which were with Him at the planting of the Garden of Eden"—where R. Samuel appears to imply a theory of antenatalism (3814 *f*). Thus it combines the thought of God as planting the Garden, with the thought of Solomon as building the Temple—a combination also found in Exod. xv. 17 and in Ode xxxviii. 17—20.

[3875 *d*] The Rabbi's inference is difficult to follow unless he rendered "eastward" as "from the beginning." The word (Gesen. 869 *b*) might

second is that of a vine by Noah, for himself¹. The third is that of a "tamarisk-tree" by Abraham. For whom, the Scripture does not say; but it adds "And he called there on the name of the Lord, the Everlasting God." Tradition says that we are to read, not "*called*," but "*caused-[others]-to-call*"—meaning that he planted the tree for the shade and entertainment of "proselytes²."

have either meaning. The same rendering, "in the beginning," appears to be adopted (1) in the Midr. on Gen. ii. 8 ("*im Anfange*," although Wü. renders the text "gegen Morgen"), (2) in *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xix. 23, Wü. p. 167) "*Allein vom Anfange...wie es heisst Gen. ii. 8...pflanzte einen Garten in Eden*," (3) and in *Pesach. 54 a*, where it is alleged as shewing that the Garden was one of seven things created before the Creation of the World (here Goldschm. renders the Heb. text "*von jeher*").

¹ [3875 *d*₁] Gen. ix. 20—1 "And Noah began to be a husbandman, and planted a vineyard, and he drank of the wine and was drunken," on which Philo comments at great length (i. 300, 319, 328 foll., 357 foll. &c.).

² [3875 *e*] Gen. xxi. 33 "And he planted a tamarisk-tree (Heb. *êshel*, A.V. grove, and so Aq. *δενδρῶνα*, Sym. *φυτεῖαν*) in Beer-sheba and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God." Onkelos renders *êshel* as "tree," but Jer. I. has "He planted a *paradise*...and prepared in the midst of it food and drink for them who passed by and returned; and he preached to them there, 'Confess ye, and believe in the Name of the Word of the Lord, the eternal God'." Jer. II. says that the guests wished to pay him money for their entertainment; but he would not take it, bidding them receive the food as from Him who created the world through His Word, "'Pray before the face of your Father in heaven, from whose hand ye have eaten and drunk.' And they did not move from their place till he had made them proselytes and had taught them the Way of Eternity. And Abraham offered acknowledgment and prayer there in the Name of the Word of the Lord, the God of Eternity." On Abraham at Beersheba see *Son 3501 e*.

[3875 *f*] *Gen. r.* ad loc. gives several explanations of *êshel*:—(1) *paradise*, i.e. *orchard*, (2) *place for guests*, (3) *the Sanhedrin*. Levy i. 178 *a* gives several passages shewing that *êshel* was used to mean a great teacher, in the Dispersion, that is, outside Palestine (and presumably where there would be more opportunity for making proselytes). *Gen. r.* ad loc. says (on the authority of R. Nehemiah) that Abraham bade his guests "say the blessing"—after they had eaten and drunk. They asked "What are we to say?" Abraham said, "Say, Blessed be the Everlasting God from whose hand we have eaten." The *Aboth* of R. Nathan (on

[3876] The next Biblical "planting" is that of God's "purchased (*or*, acquired)" people in Palestine, or rather, in the "mountain" of the Temple as representing Palestine; and it is partly predictive, and combines "planting" and "establishing," as does the Ode quoted above¹. But this "planting" has a gloomy and negative aspect. It implies uprooting:—"Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt," says the Psalmist; "thou didst *drive out the nations and plantedst it*."²

[3877] Our author will lay stress on the brighter aspect of

Aboth i. 5) adds, among other details, that Abraham—like the emissaries of the king in the Gospels (Mt. xxii. 9, comp. Lk. xiv. 23)—went out to find wayfarers.

[3875 *g*] The sum and substance of Jewish Midrash about the *êshel* is that Abraham, in planting it, desired to teach all strangers whom he could find that there was One God, a God of goodness, the sole "Possessor" of heaven and earth, from whose hand they must gratefully accept all earthly blessings. With this Philo agrees. His language indicates that the passage was already the subject of discussion among teachers whom he describes as "those whose habit is to investigate such matters," that is, the authors of Midrash. Hampered by the LXX rendering of *êshel*, "cultivable-land (*ἀροῦρα*)," he apparently takes "*cultivated, or planted, land*" to mean "*plant*," and mentions God's "possessions" in a manner to be noted, because it seems to allude to the doctrine that God is the sole "Possessor": (i. 340) "*Those whose habit is to investigate such matters say that all things—(?) as many as are in the possessions of God—have been detailed distinctively [in the context] (πάντα (?) θεοῦ ὅσα ἐν κτήμασιν ἡκριβώσθαι διαφερόντως)*, the tree, and the place (*χωρίον*), and the fruit of the tree." The "tree" is the "arable land" itself, not literally but spiritually, "the one rooted in the understanding (*διάνοια*) of the [man] beloved-by-God"; the "place" is the Well of the Oath ("Beer-sheba"); the "fruit" is "the change of the name of 'the Lord' into 'Everlasting God'."

¹ [3876 *a*] Exod. xv. 16—17 "Till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased. Thou shalt bring them in and *plant* them in the mountain of thine inheritance, the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established." This is partly future ("shalt...plant"). But it is partly preterite ("hast made...have established"). The Place and the Sanctuary have been "from the beginning" in the Mind of God, who indeed is Himself PLACE (s. *Son*, Index, "PLACE").

² Ps. lxxx. 8. See 3877 *b*.

the New Planting. There is room for all. The barren trees, and the trees that bear bitter fruit—let them all come into the New Orchard and they shall be made to bear sweet fruit to the glory of God :—

16. And they grow according to the growth¹ of thy trees, and they have migrated² from darkness to light.

17. Behold, all of them [are now] thy labourers, [of] goodly [aspect]³, who [now] work good works and turn from wickedness⁴ to the gracious-sweetness that is thine own⁵.

¹ [3877 a] "According to the growth." R.H. 1st. ed and 2nd ed. txt "by the fruits," but 2nd ed. n. says that "according to the growth" is better. The word occurs (*Thes.* 1612) in Gen. xix. 25 (lit.), and Ezek. xvii. 9—10, xxxi. 3—10 (metaph.), of "growth" unblest by God, but also in Ps. lxxv. 10 "thou blessest the *sprouting* thereof." Comp. Ps. civ. 16 "the trees of the Lord are satisfied" (where the Midrash says that the trees, or cedars, belong to the Sanctuary and were created for it) quoted in the Midrash on the planting of Paradise (Gen. ii. 8) and elsewhere (*Exod. r.*, on Exod. xxvi. 15) as referring to trees created from the beginning for God's Temple. See also 3872 e quoting *Psalm. Solom.* xiv. 2.

² [3877 b] "Migrated." R.H. "changed," H. "Sie ziehen sich." When the word means "changed," it mostly means changed for the worse (*Thes.* 4233 "mutatus in pejor") and especially "changed in mind," "distracted." The form here used occurs in *Thes.* 4234 as pl. of Pa., meaning ἐξέχωρησαν (whereas the Pēal means (4233) ἐμάλυντο).

The same Heb. word that means (Gesen. 652) "*pull out, or, up,*" means also "*journey*" and is used causatively concerning Moses who (*Exod.* xv. 22) "*led Israel onward* from the Red Sea" and God who (*Ps.* lxxviii. 52) "*led forth* his own people [from Egypt]." In *Ps.* lxxx. 8 "Thou didst *pull up, or, lead forth,* a vine out of Egypt," Rashi renders it "*eradicavisti* (seu *transtulisti*)." See *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xxxii. 13 "remember Abraham," Wü. p. 308) and *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xxvi. 42 "I remember my covenant with Jacob," Wü. pp. 254—5) on the transplantation of the Vine from bad ground to good that it might bear better fruit. The active is duplicated in Gen. xii. 9 "And Abraham *journeyed* going and *journeying* to the South," where *Gen. r.* ad loc. suggests a spiritual interpretation: "that is, always toward the Holy Place" (comp. Heb. xi. 10 "he looked for the city...whose builder and maker is God"). On the moving Vine, in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* xxxvi. 6, see 3905 b foll.

³ [3877 c] "[Of] goodly [aspect]." R.H. "Behold! all thy servants are fair," H. "Siehe, alle sind deine vortrefflichen Arbeiter." *Thes.* 4275 shews that the word means "beautiful" applied to women, but (I think)

18. And they turned away the bitterness of the trees from themselves¹ as soon as² they were planted in the land that is thine own.

omits Gen. xxxix. 6 where "*goodly* [in] aspect" is applied to Joseph. It must be admitted that the meaning is generally "excellent," or "worthy," when applied to persons; but here, owing to the proximity of the metaphor of "trees," and the mention of transference from "darkness" into "light," the poet may mean to suggest an outward change of form—as well as an inward change—such a one as was experienced, according to Philo (s. 3858 *f*), by Abraham. "*Labourers*" are distinct from "*servants*" (3775 *b*).

⁴ [3877 *c*₁] "Wickedness." So R.H., H. "Boshett." The Syr. noun (*Thes.* 441) corresponds to *πονηρία* in Mk vii. 22, and may be rendered "evil" where it is not ambiguous. In Ode xiv. 6, the Syr. has the adjectival form corresponding to *ὁ πονηρός*—used (*Thes.* 440) in Mt. vi. 13 for R.V. "*the evil [one]*" (A.V. "*evil*"), and in xiii. 19 for R.V. "*the evil [one]*" (A.V. "*the wicked [one]*")—R.H. "Let me be preserved *from evil*," H. "ich will errettet werden *vom Bösen*," apparently meaning "*from the evil one*," the Syr. being the same as in Mt. vi. 13. The adject. also means, like the noun, "evil (action)." And sometimes it means "evil (fortune)." But as the noun has been used in Ode xi. 17, it may fairly be presumed that the adject. (in xiv. 6) has a different meaning. If so, it is probably not "evil (fortune)" but "*the evil one*," perhaps referring to (xxxviii. 10) "the Deceiver" (3870 *a*₁).

[3877 *c*₂] The adjective is difficult to explain in xxxiii. 4 "And He drew unto Himself all that hearkened unto Him; and there was not seen [by Him anyone] *as evil*," perhaps meaning in the character of an evil or wicked person, R.H. "*and there did not appear as it were an evil person*," H. "*Keiner erschien als böse*." Comp. Jn. iii. 19—20 (Syr.) which says, using the Syr. verb, that the deeds of the world were "*evil*" (or "*wicked*"), and "he that doeth hateful things...cometh not to the light," and also Hab. i. 13 "Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold *wickedness* (Syr. noun)," where both, in effect, represent "*wickedness*" as not being "seen" by God, either because it fears to face God or because God drives it from His face.

⁵ [3877 *d*] "Gracious-sweetness...thine own," *lit.* "that is to thee." "That is to thee," emphasizing possession, leads us to think of "gracious-sweetness" (on which s. note (3760 *f*) on Ode vii. 4 "gracious-kindness") as appertaining to God essentially. See also 3870 *e* and 3881 *i—k*.

¹ [3877 *e*] "The bitterness...from themselves." R.H. "They have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them" (apparently distinguishing "they" from "them"), H. "sie haben die Bitterkeit der Bäume von sich abgewendet." Metaphor seems mixed with metaphor, and also with literal fact. The redeemed souls, when they turned to the

[3878] Bearing on this metaphor of the "bitter trees" which are apparently to be made sweet in the "gracious sweetness" of the Lord, Philo says that, in the soul of the bad man, "tree" does not mean "the mother of cultivated (*lit.* tamed) fruits, but [the tree] that is [mother] of bitterness and evil and villainy," and that we are to beseech the All-merciful to destroy this wild vine, root and branch, and cast out every unfruitful growth, planting "cultivated trees in our souls," and vouchsafing to them "noble and male fruits"—that is, fruits that, in their turn, shall sow seeds for future fruits¹. This sounds like a diffuse and prosaic exposition of a doctrine of Philo's own, doctrine similar to that in the Ode. But in fact Philo is allegorically expounding the Deuteronomic doctrine concerning the extermination of the enemies of Israel, "Their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges. *For their vine is of the vine of Sodom and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter*²." This means historically, "The Canaanites are as the bitter Vine of Sodom. The Canaanites must be rooted out. Israelites must be planted in their place." Philo softens this by giving it a spiritual meaning, "Vice must be rooted out, virtue planted in"; but he softens it at the cost of the historical meaning. And he gives no answer to such questions as these:—What is to become of the Gentiles if they avoid the bitterness of Sodom? Have they no place in God's orchard? And Israel itself, the Vine of the Lord, if it turns

light, also "caused-to-turn-away"—the verb "turn" is repeated in the causative form—from *themselves* that "bitterness" which, as trees, they had, within themselves, before they were brought into the orchard. "The bitterness of the trees" means "the bitterness of *the old trees*," as one might speak of "the bitterness of *the old Adam*." Comp. *Deut. r.* (on Deut. x. 1, Wü. p. 53) (Moses to God) "thy children are *bitter* (v.r. *dying*), make them sweet."

² [3877 f] "As-soon-as." R.H. "when," H. "nachdem." *Thes.* 1979 refers to its use in 1 S. ix. 13 R.V. "as soon as" (xvi. 16, 23 "when"), and this seems to harmonize with the context here, if the change was effected, not by a slow process, but at once, by planting in the orchard.

¹ Philo i. 391.

² Deut. xxxii. 31—2.

out to be a "wild vine" or a "bitter tree"—is it to be irrevocably rooted out? Is there no hope for it?

[3879] Elsewhere, however, Philo grapples with these questions, saying that the genuine Husbandman—as distinct from the hireling labourer—improves the soil, and makes "wild" trees "cultivated (*lit.* tame)." "Those that bear [fruit but] not good fruit he improves by insertions of others in their trunks," *i.e.* by grafting¹. And sometimes the tree may, as it were, turn to God and become "tame" or "cultivated," of its own accord, springing like an unexpected shoot out of a root that had been given over as useless. In such a case God will "welcome the virtue that springs [even] from hostile impiety, letting the root, so to speak, be bygones, and favourably accepting the sprout that has sprung up into a stem, because it has become cultivated and has changed from barrenness to fruitfulness²."

§ 8. *The Orchard with "abundant room"*

[3880] The passages quoted above from Philo recall—but rather by contrast than by similarity—the Pauline metaphor that illustrates God's adoption of the Gentiles, as part of the spiritual Israel, by the supposition of a husbandman engrafting a branch from a wild olive-tree in the place once occupied by a branch torn away from a cultivated olive-tree! This is a thing so contrary to the practice of grafting that—even when explained as being, according to Paul's own statement, "contrary to nature"³—it has caused great difficulty to commentators.

¹ Philo i. 301. Yet there must be uprooting, too, *μυρία τοίνυν καὶ αὐτόπρεμνα ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπάσας κατέβαλε*—of the growths that are absolutely barren themselves and harmful to the fruitful growths.

² Philo ii. 433 *ὅτι μετέβαλεν ἡμερωθέν πρὸς εὐκαρτίαν...*

³ [3880 a] Rom. xi. 24 "contrary to nature." Why does not Paul use the regular illustration of the "Vine"? Had he in view the proverb (Steph. *Thes.* i. 487) "there is nothing more barren than an *agríppos* (*i.e.* *wild olive*)"? The name of *Agρίppa* was well known in Rome, and Levy i. 26 relates how the Rabbis consoled a semi-Idumean Agrippa by

With the Pauline difficulty we are not now concerned. What concerns us is the evidence afforded by the Pauline passage and by the above-quoted Philonian extracts, that in the first half of the first century, the agricultural aspect, so to speak, of the relation of Israel to the Gentiles would be a frequent subject of discussion. Not only Christians but also many broad-minded and pious Jews would be interested in it. For the latter, like the former, would believe in the fulfilment of those prophecies of Isaiah which seemed to point to the ultimate inclusion of the Nations in the Assembly of the true Israelites, the Church of the believers in the One God, that "Possessor of Heaven and Earth" whose name was invoked by Abraham.

[3881] In his treatment of this subject, our author may be accused of ignoring the darker side of God's husbandry, the Biblical and Philonian "uprooting." Still less is there any trace of the Pauline "tearing off"—*i.e.* the exclusion of Israel that the Gentiles may be included. The charge is a fair one, and cannot be met fairly except by reminding the objector that, although the poet sometimes speaks of "Psalms" (3645 *a—c*), his poems are always Songs of Glorifying, not Elegies, and by pointing out that this Ode rises above most of the rest in its tone of glory. Elsewhere the writer does recognise chastisement and destruction, but not here. Here he is completely absorbed in the vision of Abraham's Orchard.

Keeping his eyes fixed on that, he sees no need for "tearing off." There is, as we shall find him saying, "abundant room." The bitter trees need not be destroyed. They can "turn away" their own "bitterness" with the help of God. On the other hand, he is not so optimistic as to encourage a barren "tree" to suppose that it can remain barren in the Orchard, simply because there is "room." Fruitfulness is to be a

saying "Thou art our brother," *i.e.* engrafted into the stock of Israel. Even without any allusion (which may perhaps be shewn to be impossible) to Agrippa, Paul may be alluding to the proverb.

condition, or rather a necessary consequence, of remaining. Paul says much the same thing to the Gentiles—but as a warning, “Be not highminded but fear¹.” Our author says it with delight, not as a warning but as a fact, “Nothing fails therein,” that is to say, “Everything in Paradise has a work to do and nothing fails to do it”:—

19. And everything soever became like unto the remnant [saved by thy grace] that belongs to thee², and an everlasting memorial of thy sure-and-faithful works³.

¹ Rom. xi. 18 foll. “Glory not over the branches...By their unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by thy faith. Be not highminded but fear...Behold...God’s goodness, if thou continue in his goodness.”

² [3881 a] “The remnant...thee.” R.H. “a relic of thyself,” H. “ein Überrest von dir.” But the meaning seems to be “*the remnant that belongs to thee*,” an expression applicable to those about whom God says (1 K. xix. 18) “Yet *will I leave [me]* seven thousand in Israel,” quoted (with “*me*”) in Rom. xi. 4 “I have *left for myself*.” The Syr. (*The*s. 4332) here used for “*remnant*” occurs in Gen. xlv. 7 “God sent me before you to preserve for you a *remnant* on the earth and (*lit.*) to sustain-life for you...” The Heb. in Gen., and the similar form used also in Gen. by the Targums, nowhere mean (s. Mandelk. 1138 and Levy iv. 492, Levy *Ch.* ii. 444) anything but “*remnant*.” Comp. 2 S. xiv. 7 “Thus [if they kill my only remaining son] shall they quench my coal that is left, and shall leave to my [dead] husband neither name nor *remnant [of himself]* upon the face of the earth”—the son being regarded as *all that is left*, the *remnant*, of the father. Gesen. 984 *b* renders the word in these two instances (two out of over sixty) “*remainder*=descendants”; but in both passages “descendants,” as a substitute for “*remnant*,” seems prosaic. There is, in both, the thought of the “coal,” the embers of the family hearth-fire, which “coal,” when in danger of extinction, may be called “the remnant that is to be preserved.” Joseph’s expression to his brethren “preserve for you a remnant,” is (no doubt) open to objection if taken literally; for not one of them had perished or was destined to perish. But the language is that of emotion. The writer thinks of the family of Abraham’s chosen descendants—chosen apart from Ishmael and apart from Esau and preserved from many dangers, but now in danger of extinction. Thus regarded, they are God’s “*remnant*.” What is stated is that the “*remnant*” is to be preserved *for Israel* (“*for you*”). But what is implied is that they are to be preserved *for God*, to keep the flame of His faith alight upon the earth.

[3881 *b*] Against this view, an objection may be raised as follows:—“It fails to explain ‘*like*,’ which is intelligible in ‘*like a relic of thyself*,’ but

20. For abundant[ly] is there room in thy Paradise¹, and there is nothing soever in it that is failing-or-futile².

not in 'like the remnant that belongs to thee.' A 'relic' of God—since God is living and present, and a relic mostly implies something left by the dead or departed—is a startling expression, needing to be softened by 'like.' 'The remnant of God,' being similar to 'the elect of God' and meaning (Gesen. 984) 'the (purified) remainder,' 'the faithful remnant of Israel or Judah,' has no need to be thus softened."

But (against "*relic*") does not this very objection suggest an objection against itself? Could a Jew, even with the modification of "like," use such a word as "*relic*" of the ever-living and ever-present God? And (in defence of "*like*") it may be urged that "the remnant of God," though similar to "the elect of God," appears never to be used in the Bible. It requires an "as it were," or "like," somewhat as a "like" might be required in modern English before such a phrase as "God's survival of the fittest." It is a condensed and original thought. Compare the discussions of Rashi and Kimchi on Mal. ii. 15 "remnant" (R.V. "residue," A.V. marg. "excellency") which the Targum connects with Abraham. There is a special reason, in the context of this Ode, why the poet should insert "like" before "remnant." For he uses the term paradoxically. In his vision, it is not to be a small handful gathered from one nation. It is to be a great multitude of all nations: "Everything soever became like *the remnant that belongs to thee*."

There is a difference—in aspect, not perhaps in essence—between our author's doctrine and that of Isaiah (x. 22 R.V.) and of Paul (Rom. ix. 27, xi. 5, comp. Is. i. 9). The Prophet and the Apostle regard the remnant as (at all events for the time) very small. In the Odes, the word is used without any negative and contrasting reference to multitudes lost.

³ [3881 c] "Memorial...works." R.H. "a memorial for ever of thy faithful works," H. "ein ewiges Gedächtnis deiner gläubigen Werke." The Syr. occurs in Exod. iii. 15 "this (*i.e.* the name 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob') is my *memorial* unto all generations," and in Ps. cxlv. 7 "they shall utter (ἐξερεύξονται) the *memorial* of thy abundant goodness." The Psalm speaks of the redeemed as "*uttering*," or "*pouring-forth*," this "memorial," in words of praise; but Exodus speaks of them, in the persons of the three Patriarchs, as *being* God's "memorial," because He called Himself by their names so that Israel might remember Him through them. Thus those whom the Lord has saved, are at once God's "remnant" and God's "memorial." And they are His "memorial," not only possessively (belonging to Him) but also objectively (about Him) testifying to His "abundant goodness," or, as in this Ode, to His "sure-and-faithful works," that is, to His (Gen. xxiv. 27) "kindness and truth"—where "truth" includes the meaning of steadfast and faithful adherence to His promise.

¹ [3881 *d*] "For...Paradise." The order of the rendering given above follows the Syr., which places "abundant" first for emphasis. "Room" has been mentioned already, (15) "Blessed are they for whom there exists room." Now we are told that there is "room" in abundance. There is perhaps a latent emphasis on "thy." The poet knew that to many men the technical term "Paradise"—in Greek, "*the Paradise*"—conveyed the thought of a narrow, or at least restricted, region, restricted by some to Jews, and by some to a few Jews. He appeals to God against this: "Abundant room is in *thy Paradise*." Comp. Jn xiv. 2 "In my Father's [realm] are many abiding-places."

² [3881 *e*] "Failing-or-futile." R.H. "useless," with n. "*or idle* = *ἀργός*," H. "Unnützes." H.'s Index does not give "Unnützes." The Syr. (comp. 3717 *m*) represents the words italicised by me in Ode iv. 5, R.H. "never wilt thou" [*i.e.* the Lord] "*fail* nor be without fruits," H. "*nie wirst du müssig sein und wirst nicht ohne Frucht sein*," and xvi. 15, R.H. "they" [*i.e.* created things] "know not how to stand and *be idle*," H. "und kennen nicht Stillstand noch *Müssigsein*." The first of these two passages may be illustrated by *Aboth* v. 22 which says that love, if dependent on physical causes, "*fails*"; if independent, "*fails* not, [even] for eternity" (where see Taylor's note). The context of the second (xvi. 12 "He measured the *heavens*") contains the only mention of "heaven" in the *Odes* (it occurs six times in the Psalms of Solomon).

[3881 *f*] The Syr., which is identical with the word meaning "fail" in Heb. and New Heb., corresponds (*Theo.* 509 foll.) to several Gk words implying cessation, caused mostly by age or feebleness, but sometimes by want of will, implying "idleness," "remissness," or "looseness." Very rarely, it means cessation owing to want of opportunity, as (*Theo.* 512) in the case of labourers (Mt. xx. 6) "*idle*"; much more often "remissness" or "looseness" that tends to viciousness, because of the absence of a good object, as in (Mt. xii. 36) "every *idle* word." These two passages of Matthew are of great importance for understanding our author's view. For he too, like Matthew, writes here about idle labourers. Only he calls them "trees." Let the idle labourers, whom he calls "bitter trees," come into the Lord's Vineyard, which he calls the Lord's Orchard; and let them be no longer "idle" but "work," that is to say, "bear fruit"—which, with him, is synonymous with "working."

[3881 *g*] For the view that "looseness," "remissness," or "idleness" is sure to end in viciousness, comp. *Aboth* iii. 7 "He that awakes by night, and he that is walking alone by the way, and turns aside his mind to *idleness*, is guilty of death." Levy i. 211 *b* foll. quotes *Tosaf.* on *Aboth* iv. 10 "if thou art *idle* in the study of Torah, many *idlenesses* (*i.e.* troubles) will assail thee," and gives abundant instances of the double meaning of various forms of this word. In Hebrew it occurs only in Eccles. xii. 3 "cease," but in New Heb. and Syr. (where it is identical with Heb.) it is very freq. indeed.

21. But everything is filled with fruit¹. Glory (*i.e.* praise)² [be] to thee, O God—[to thee who art] the sweet-delightfulness of [the] Paradise that is for ever³. Hallelujah.

¹ [3881 *h*] "But everything is filled with fruit." R.H. 1st ed. "I am altogether filled with fruit," H. "Ich fülle alles mit Früchten" with notes saying (1) that the Syr. "all-together" is not generally used, as "all" is, adverbially, and (2) that if "I fill everything" is to be read, it is to be explained as the sudden insertion—frequent in ancient prophecy—of a word of God amidst words of the prophet.

But R.H. 2nd ed. Engl. has "But everything is filled with fruit," thus taking "*everything*" in the sense indicated by H. as the usual one. No note is added to the English text to explain the substitution of "is filled" for "I am filled" and the insertion of "but." But in the Syr. text of 2nd ed. "but" is substituted for "I" with note "*sic cod.*" Apparently the rendering in R.H. 1st ed. Engl. was the result of a mistranscription of the Syriac.

² "Glory (*i.e.* praise)." R.H. "glory," H. "Preis." In the Odes, it seems mostly to mean the *ascribing* of glory, not glory regarded as a possession. See 3640, 3742, 3742 *r*, 3796, 3814 *r*, 3873 *g*.

³ [3881 *i*] "The sweet-delightfulness of [the] Paradise that is for ever." "Sweet-delightfulness" is identical with the noun in Ode xi. 14 and similar to the noun and verb in *ib.* 13. For this climax the reader has been prepared by a repeated mention of the "delightful-sweetness" or "sweet-delightfulness" (xi. 13, 14) as coming from "the Lord," though existing in "Paradise," and especially by the words (*ib.* 17) "the gracious-sweetness that is thine own." Now he goes further: "Thou thyself art the sweet-delightfulness of the Paradise that is for ever." That is, "Paradise, without thee, would be no Paradise," a mere place—*vile solum*, as Ovid says, if bereft of the Presence which is *dos loci*.

[3881 *j*] It is very difficult to convey in English the similarity—with very slight dissimilarities—between the different forms of the radical word meaning "fragrant" and connected with "Paradise." The noun used in xi. 14, 21 "sweet-delightfulness" (R.H. "pleasure," "delight"), is rendered in *Thes.* 550, 551 *jucunditas*, but not *benignitas*. On the other hand the noun in xi. 17 rendered "gracious-sweetness" is rendered (*ib.* 551) *benignitas*, as well as *jucunditas*. For that reason I have given it a compound rendering.

[3881 *k*] This latter word occurs both in the Aramaic Targum and in the Syriac Version of Ps. xc. 17 "the *beauty* of the Lord our God be upon us," LXX λαμπρότης, Sym. κάλλος, and the Targum introduces "the garden of Eden" to express the meaning: "And let the *gracious-sweetness* (Walton, *dulcedo*) of the Garden of Eden (*Éden*, Walton *deliciarum*) from before God be upon us." In the Syr., Walton substitutes *benignitas* for

[3882] What is meant by "*everything soever*," which is to become "like unto the remnant"? We cannot confidently answer except in Biblical language that itself requires explanation. "*All things*," says the Psalmist, are to be put "under the feet" of "the son of man¹"; the "great stone," in Daniel², that is to crush the last of the Empires of this world, is to "fill the whole earth"; the knowledge of the Lord is to spread like a flood "as the waters cover the sea³";—these and other passages of Scripture establish the conclusion that all the Hebrew prophets, whose teaching was carried on by John the Baptist, and culminated in Jesus, would be possessed by the conviction that the Kingdom of God over man was to become ultimately universal *de facto* as well as *de jure*. But neither in this Ode, nor perhaps in any other, does our poet distinctly tell us what is ultimately to become of that human element, if any, which can find no "room" in God's Paradise because it is "failing-or-futile."

[3883] The best guide to Christ's teaching on this point is perhaps to be found—where some would least expect it—in the author of the Fourth Gospel. Negatively, his general avoidance of the term "fire" and of the whole Synoptic vocabulary concerning the Day of Judgment—much of which is peculiar to Matthew and cannot be safely accepted as representing in detail Christ's exact words—indicates his feeling that the Synoptic language was likely to be misunderstood. Positively, the metaphors special to his gospel shew that he desired his readers to lay less stress on the individuality of their several souls than on their relation to the Vine of Israel. "If a man abide not in me," says Jesus in that gospel—"he is cast forth

dulcedo, doubtless feeling that "the *sweetness* of the Lord" was a phrase open to objections that did not apply to "the sweetness of the Garden of Eden." See 3760*f* on "gracious-kindness (*or*, sweet-kindness)." The rendering has been sometimes varied owing to contextual considerations.

¹ Ps. viii. 6.

² Dan. ii. 35.

³ Hab. ii. 14, Is. xi. 9.

as a branch, and is withered; and they *gather* them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned," and previously, "Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he *taketh it away*; and every [branch] that beareth fruit, he *cleanseth* it that it may bear more fruit¹." Who are "*they*" that "*gather*"? Does the author mean "and *men gather such branches*"? Or does he mean "and the *angels gather such souls*"? And again, as to the "*cleansing*," or "*pruning*," what becomes of the twigs thus "*taken, or pruned, away*"? It is said above that God "*taketh away*" a branch "that beareth not fruit"; are these pruned twigs "*taken away*" in the same sense or in a different sense?

These questions the Evangelist leaves unanswered. And so does the poet in this Ode, and elsewhere, leave similar questions unanswered². But both writers lead us in a very direct and definite way to ask ourselves whether we are bearing "fruit," and, if not, whether we are really "living"

¹ [3883 *a*₁] Jn. xv. 2—6. On "they" in "they gather" see *Joh. Gr.* 2426 and *Son* (Index "THEY").

² [3883 *a*] Contrast, with these, the probably later and certainly less spiritual Paradise-traditions in the *Revelatio Petri* § 5 "And the Lord shewed me a very great space outside this world,...and the atmosphere there...illuminated with the rays of a sun, and the earth of itself blossoming with unfading blossoms, and full of spices...plants...fruit... and such was the blossom that [the scent of] it was borne thence even to us. And the dwellers in that place were clothed in the clothing of shining angels, and their clothing was like their land. And angels were rapidly-moving-round them thither [? rep. *κακείσε* and hither]. And the glory of the dwellers there was equal. And with one voice they hailed the Lord God, rejoicing in that place."

Here, Paradise is "that place" or "a space outside this world." In the Ode, it is "*His Paradise*," and there is "*abundant room*" in what the poet again calls "*thy Paradise*." In the Ode, it is not "a (*or, the*) sun," but "*the Lord was like the sun*." The *Revelatio* speaks of "[*the scent of the blossom*"]; the Ode, of "*the delightful-sweetness of the Lord*." The "light" and the "clothing," in the *Revelatio*, belong to "angels"; in the Ode, to "the Lord." It is hardly exaggerating to say that the Paradise in the *Revelation of Peter* is the Paradise of the *Odes of Solomon*—with "the Lord" left out.

(in God's sight), now on earth, and likely to "live" hereafter in heaven. Both also indicate their profound conviction that the Master of the Vineyard, or Lord of Paradise, will do what is, at one and the same time, fit and right for Him to do, and for the Vine, or the Trees, to suffer.

[3884] In concluding this consecutive examination of Odes I—XI, it is natural to note that we have found no mention of "baptizing" or "washing"—an omission all the more remarkable because water is repeatedly mentioned as a religious element, *e.g.* "speaking water" and "living water" in Ode XI, and indeed some have been led, by indirect allusions, to suppose that the Odes as a whole were composed to be sung on baptismal occasions. For this and other reasons a brief comment will be given below on Ode XIII, which, by its mention of "wiping the filth away," contains the nearest approximation in the Odes to the more familiar phrase "wash away sins."

ODE XIII

1. Behold, our mirror is the Lord: open ye the eyes and see them in Him; and learn of what kind your countenance is.

2. And declare [a song of] glorifying to His Spirit; and wipe off the filth from your face, and love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith.

3. And be ye without-spot at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

Reasons will be given in the following footnotes for explaining this Ode in a manner that will probably seem to the reader at first sight extremely fanciful. But he is asked to suspend his judgment, and to consider the explanation as at present merely hypothetical, put forward here for the sake of giving some kind of clue to the somewhat labyrinthine investigation that will follow. According to the hypothesis, the Ode is based on an allusion to a "laver" made of "mirrors" mentioned in Exodus (xxxviii. 8) so that it might be expanded into the following paraphrase:—

“The laver in the tabernacle of Moses was ‘made of the mirrors of serving women.’ Some say that, in the second temple, there were ‘lavers brighter than any mirrors,’ which ‘reflected the faces (*or*, eyes) of those who approached them.’ Also the water taken from the laver of Moses was called in the Scripture ‘holy water,’ and it had a power of judging—distinguishing the pure woman from the impure. But *our* Mirror, the Mirror of the Bride of the Lord, is the Lord Himself. The Father, too bright for mortal eye to behold in Himself, is shining, from behind the Bride, on the Mirror, who is both His Son and also the Son of Truth. The Son is also the Man according to whose Image (*or*, Idea) man was created. Open your eyes, then, and see them, see the eyes of your souls, your inward motive and nature, in Him, who is the Truth, and who will shew you truly both what you are and also what you ought to be. Then, with your eyes fixed, not on your own imperfections alone, but much more on His perfectness, sing a song of good tidings and of glorifying, not in praise of the servitude to the ‘holy water’ of the Law, but in praise of the glory of the Spirit of Life in Righteous Freedom. Then, too, in His cleansing Light, wipe the filth from your face, and love His holiness, and by loving it, be drawn into it so as to clothe yourselves therewith. Thus, as the Bride of the Lord, be ye ‘without spot’ (Cant. iv. 7, Eph. v. 27) at all times before Him. Hallelujah.”

Thus interpreted, this Ode would supply a link that connects the doctrine of the “mirror,” as taught by Paul and suggested by James, with the doctrine in the gospels about the “likeness” of “disciples” to their “teacher,” and about the inclusion, so to speak, in Christ’s family circle, of all those who did His will—as though they had “a family-likeness” with Himself. It will bring together the Pauline “mirror” and “Spirit of the Lord” and “liberty,” with the “mirror” and “perfect law of liberty” mentioned by James. It will also afford a direct antithesis to the words put into the mouth of

Moses by Philo, addressing God as follows, "May I see thy form in no other mirror than in thyself, the [absolute] God." Against this, our poet maintains that we *must* "see the absolute God in a mirror." There is no other way. But the Mirror is to be a Person saying to us, and making us feel the truth of the saying, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father¹."

THE PURE AND PURIFYING MIRROR

¹ [3884 *a*] The only passage in Scripture connecting a "mirror" with the thought of purification is the one that says of Moses—obeying the precept (Exod. xxx. 18) "Thou shalt also make a laver"—(Exod. xxxviii. 8) "And he made the *laver* of brass, and the base thereof of brass, with (R.V. "of," but the lit. Heb. is "in" or "with") the *mirrors* of the serving women that served at the door of the tent of meeting." Gesen. 838 *b* tells us that these "serving women" are not mentioned again in Scripture except (1 S. ii. 22) in connection with the profligacy of the sons of Eli. As Scripture elsewhere (Deut. xxiii. 17 (18), Hos. iv. 14) recognises the existence of the (Gesen. 873 *b*) "temple-prostitute," lit. "consecrated woman," it is not surprising that these two mentions of "serving women" caused difficulty. In the former, LXX substitutes "fasting" for "serving"; the latter it omits (exc. A). In Exodus, Onkelos and Targ. Jer. I. say that the women "came to pray." Targ. Jer. II. says that they were "women of modesty" and "modest" (Eth. "pious," "devout"), and Jer. I. adds that they were faithful to their husbands.

[3884 *b*] Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6. 8) omits the passage in Exodus. But when he describes Ptolemy Philadelphus as presenting to the Temple large and costly vessels apparently intended to serve the same purpose as the "lavers" in Solomon's Temple, he says that (*Ant.* xii. 2. 10) "the silver ones far exceeded [the brightness of] *mirrors* in their brightness and lustre (οἱ δ' ἀργύρεοι τῶν ἐσόπτρων τὴν λαμπρότητα πολὺ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν) so that *by means of them the faces* (ὅψεις) *of those who approached* (τῶν προσφρομένων) *could be seen more clearly* [than by means of any mirror]."

In Exod. xxxviii. 8, Targ. Jer. I. has "from mirrors" instead of "with mirrors." Now it happens that, in Hebrew or Aramaic, "*brighter than mirrors*" would be literally "*bright from mirrors*" (comp. Ruth i. 13 (txt and marg.), Judg. xv. 3 (A.V. and R.V.)). "Making *bright* lavers *from mirrors*" might easily be confused with "making lavers *brighter than mirrors*." Such a version of the tradition might commend itself to Josephus. In any case, the fact remains that a Jewish writer in the first century regards certain lavers in the Temple as not only purifying but also reflecting the ὅψεις of the purified. Here it may be noted that ὅψεις often

means "eyes," so that the person purified might be described by a writer following Josephus as "seeing his *eyes* in the mirror."

[3884 *c*] The importance attached to "the Laver" in the Tabernacle is illustrated by the only mention of "holy water" in the Bible (Numb. v. 17) "take *holy water*." Even Onkelos (who seldom paraphrases except in poetry) paraphrases this as "Take water of *the Laver*," and Jer. Targ. as "Take holy water *from the Laver*." It is in the trial of the wife accused of unfaithfulness to her husband; and Rashi says that the water is *that which they had sanctified in the laver* (Exod. xxxviii. 8) *made from the brass of the women's mirrors*, and that this woman was supposed to have "swerved" and "separated herself from them," that is to say, they were faithful to their husbands, while she was not.

[3884 *d*] Wagenseil on *Sota* p. 357 quotes from *Jalkut* 207 *a* to the effect that *no water is holy except from the Laver*. He also quotes from *Schilte Haggiborim* cap. 27, reconciling accounts in Kings and Chronicles about the "Sea" in Solomon's Temple, and adding that in the second Temple there was no Sea nor many lavers but only one Laver. Of course, being of the nature of a cistern, it needed "stop-cocks" (*Joma* 37 *a*). Wagenseil quotes nothing about the lavers given to the Temple by Ptolemy Philadelphus, nor does he make any comment on the fact that Ezekiel's New Temple does not include (Hastings *Dict.* iii. 64 *a*) Solomon's "lavers," or any definite means of "washing" except a chamber (xl. 38) "where they washed the burnt-offering." "The explanation of 2 Chr. iv. 6"—says Hastings *Dict.* iii. 64 *a*—"that the lavers [of Solomon's Temple] were used for washing the sacrifices, has nothing to support it in Kings, and it is hard to see how such lofty basins could have been put to practical use." But is it "hard," if "stop-cocks" were added?

[3884 *e*] Elsewhere, Hastings *Dict.* says about Solomon's lavers (iv. 703 *a*) "Perhaps the water in them was obtained from the brazen sea. Or it may be that both the brazen sea and also the lavers were supplied direct from the stream mentioned in Ezek. xlvii. 1." This "stream," which "issued from under the threshold of the house eastward"—described by Zechariah (xiv. 8) as "living waters from Jerusalem"—is hard to take literally. Jerome apparently does not take it so. Perhaps Ezekiel regarded "the brazen sea and also the lavers" rather as *supplanted by*, than "supplied from," the stream that issued (Ezek. xlvii. 12) from the sanctuary (comp. *ib.* xxxvi. 25). A similar "supplanting" may have been in our poet's mind when he described the River of the Spirit of God (3738—48). It is at all events a fact that Ezekiel's Temple provides no "laver" for purifying human beings, but only a chamber for washing sacrifices.

[3884 *f*] Philo comments at tedious length on—(1) the "laver" made of "mirrors," (2) the washing of sacrifices.

As to the Laver, he says (i. 451) that the women "consecrate even their mirrors to the making of the Laver, in order that those who were about

to perform sacred functions, while washing (*ἀπονιπτόμενοι*) their hands and their feet,...might see-mirrored-images-of themselves (*ἐνοπτρίζονται ἑαυτοὺς*) *in the remembrance of the mirrors* from which the Laver is recorded to have been constructed (*κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἐσόπτρων ἐξ ὧν ὁ λουτήρ δεδημιούργηται*). For thus they will not overlook any blemish (*αἷσχος*) existing in the figure of the soul." A subsequent mention of *νηστεία* seems to allude to the above-mentioned LXX mistranslation (Exod. xxxviii. 8) *νηστευσασῶν* and *ἐνήστευσαν*.

[3884^g] Elsewhere as to the Laver, Philo (ii. 156) says nearly the same thing though in very different words, but again using *ἀπονιπτόμενοι* for the washing of the feet and hands. In explanation of the curious phrase underlined in the preceding paragraph, about "*the remembrance of the mirrors*" (comp. Jas. i. 23—4, "beholdeth his natural face in a mirror... *he forgetteth*") he says "*Let it be remembered*, says [Moses in effect], even by him who is [not yet doing it but only] on the point of sprinkling himself, that *the material of this vessel was [once] mirrors*—in order that he may, as though [looking] towards a mirror, clearly-see (*αὐγάξῃ*) his own mind. And [then] if there should faintly-appear some blemish (*αἷσχος*)... this he must attend-to and remedy...."

This may be compared, or perhaps contrasted, with what Philo (i. 465—6) infers from the migration of Abraham; who, in his search for God, migrated first from the Chaldean stage, where men seek Him in the stars, to the microcosmic stage, where men seek Him in humanity, that is to say, in the mortal kingdom, where mind dominates body. Still higher than this, he says, one must migrate with Abraham to a kingdom, not mortal, but immortal, of which tokens have been given us, in visions, either of deep sleep, or of waking contemplation. In the former visions (i. 466) "the mind, withdrawing from the senses and bodily faculties, begins to associate with itself as in a mirror *steadily-beholding truth* (*ἐαυτῷ προσομιλεῖν ἄρχεται ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀφορῶν ἀλήθειαν*)." Does "truth" mean the True Man, the Man that is not our present self but our right and future self? That is at all events suggested by what follows: "And having cleansed-away (rd. *ἀπορρυψάμενος* as Dr J. T. Marshall in *Expos.* June 1911 p. 536) every stain contracted (*ἀπεμάξατο*) from the phantasms of the senses, it is filled with a divine frenzy that cannot deceive in its prophecies about the future."

[3884^h] The inference from these Philonian passages is that Philo had before him—besides Greek precepts concerning the Mirror of Philosophy—some ancient Jewish tradition about the connection between the Laver of the Tabernacle and the Mirrors, from which he extracts a forced and confused moral about "*remembering*." Perhaps some people took the Laver of Moses, as Josephus took the silver layers of Ptolemy, to be literally, in effect, mirrors. "No," says Philo, "the priest could not see himself literally, but he was to *remember* that he ought to see himself

spiritually. He was to say to himself, 'The material of this Laver *was* [once] mirrors. I must remember this, and must let it remind me of my duty to see myself, *as in a mirror*, and to wash away my defects.'

[3884 *i*] Hastings says about the Laver in Exod. xxxviii. 8 "it seems to be stated that it was made of the mirrors of the serving women. Others, with some violence to the Hebrew, render '(provided) with mirrors for the serving women.'" The words I have ventured to italicise illustrate a slander against the Jews (*Oxyrh. Pap.* No. 840) put into the mouth of Jesus by some writer who may possibly have taken the "serving women" as "harlots and flute-girls." It is in an uncanonical gospel which the editors of *Oxyrh. Pap.* regard as (vol. v. p. 4) "composed before A.D. 200." It represents the Saviour as saying to a Pharisee "Thou didst bathe (ἐλούσω) in these waters that are poured [forth] (τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις ὕδασιν)" [editors "running," but ?] "wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast washed (νιψάμενος) and wiped (ἐσμήξω) the outside skin, which also the harlots and the flute-girls anoint and bathe and wipe...."

[3884 *j*] In any case, the passage is noteworthy because it lays great stress on the audacity of Jesus and His disciples in venturing to "look at" or "see" (ἰδεῖν, ὁρᾶν, προσέβλεψα) the holy vessels, without having previously "bathed" or even without "having their feet baptized (τοὺς πόδας βαπτισθέντων)." In an instructive article on this fragment, Dr A. Büchler says (*Jewish Quart. Rev.* vol. xx. p. 345) "Though the reference to the harlots and flute-girls may point to an extra-Palestinian and late origin, the material referring to the religious laws must have come from good sources." The considerations alleged above tend to shew that this "reference" may not have been "extra-Palestinian and late," but may have been *an early rhetorical and anti-Jewish perversion of the Biblical connection (missed by the LXX) between "the Laver" and "serving-women."*

[3884 *k*] Origen says nothing about the Laver and the Mirrors. Presumably, he knew, better than Philo, that the Hebrew ("serving") did not agree with the LXX ("fasting"). He may also have appreciated the difficulty of the former. But, on the other hand, both Origen and Philo dilate on Lev. i. 9 which enjoins the "washing" of the "inwards" and the "feet" (Heb. "legs") of the victims offered in the whole burnt offering. Their remarks may bear on Jn xiii. 10 "He that hath been bathed (ὁ λελουμένος) hath no need to wash (νίψασθαι) [save his feet], but is clean wholly." W.H., bracketing "save his feet," indicate a possible rendering "hath no need to wash [his hands]."

[3884 *l*] Philo begins (i. 114—5) by distinguishing Moses, the Wise, or Perfect, from the mere Progressor (ὁ προκόπτων). Following fancifully a distinction of the LXX, he says that the former (Lev. ix. 14) washed "the whole belly (κοιλίαν)" of the sacrifice, so as to offer up his whole soul to

God by retaining no blemish voluntary or involuntary. But the Progressor washes "*the intestines* (τὰ ἐγκοιλία) and the feet, *not the whole belly* (κοιλίαν). For he is not able to thrust completely away the whole of pleasure...."

[3884 *m*] Elsewhere, making a similar distinction between the perfect and the imperfect, (i. 642—3) he says, concerning the soul, that its "base" is the sense, whereas its "head" is, as it were, the heavenly, "the absolutely pure (ὁ καθαρώτατος) mind." God Himself "walks" (Lev. xxvi. 12) in the "minds (διανοίας)" of "those who are purified to the highest degree." On the other hand, only "Angels, divine Logoi," walk in the minds of "those who are still bathing-away (ἀπολονομένων) [their defilements] but have not yet quite-washed-away (ἐκνιψαμένων) the life that is befouled and stained-drenched with [the] burdensome [defilements of our] bodies."

[3884 *n*] In his treatise on Victims, Philo distinguishes merely between the "belly" and the "feet," thus (ii. 242) "By 'the belly' it is darkly taught that it is profitable to wash away (ἀπονίπτεσθαι) the desire [that is, covetousness]... but by the act of bathing-away the defilements of the feet (διὰ δὲ τοῦ τοῦς πόδας ἀπολούεσθαι), [it is taught] that we are *no longer to go* (βαίνειν) *on earth*, but to be heaven-walkers (αἰθεροβατέειν)" (comp. Aristoph. *Clouds* 225 ἀεροβατῶ).

[3884 *o*] Origen (on Lev. i. 6—9, Lomm. ix. 181) says that the "washing" of the "inwards (interanea)" and of the "feet" signifies baptism. "For 'the inwards are washed' by him that (Heb. ix. 14) 'purges his conscience': the feet are washed by him that takes upon himself the practical-fulfilment of [that] sacrament (pedes abluit qui consummationem suscipit sacramenti), and he knows that (Jn xiii. 10) 'He that is clean (qui mundus est) needeth not that he should bathe save his feet (non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet)' and that (ib. 8) 'One can have no part with Jesus, except He bathe (laverit) his feet.'" This quotation from Jn confirms what is in itself probable, that the Johannine distinction between "bathing" and "washing" goes back to earlier distinctions—though the Greek words may sometimes be wrongly transposed—such as we find in Philo, and those again to still earlier Jewish traditions based on the Levitical "washing" of the "feet" and the "inwards" of the whole burnt offering.

[3884 *p*] Returning to our poet, and to the Mirror, we find that he makes no mention at all of washing, here or elsewhere, and no apparent allusion to the Levitical washing of the "inwards" and the "legs" of the holocaust. But, that he is thinking of a Bride before her mirror—with some allusion probably to the "mirrors" of "serving women" in Exodus—is suggested by the phrase "without spot" ("be ye *without spot*, lit. *so as [to have] no spot*"). When the O.T. applies the word "spot" or "blemish" non-technically to human beings—and not to priests excluded by "blemishes" from doing priestly service, or to animals

excluded from being offered as victims—it is so rare (Gesen. 548 *b*) that the Ode may reasonably be regarded as alluding to Cant. iv. 7 “Thou art all fair, my love, there is *no spot* in thee.” There, the Hebrew and the Syriac have the same word for “*spot*” as here. It occurs also in Eph. v. 27 (Syr.) “holy, *so as [to have] no spot*,” concerning the Bride of Christ. Origen (on Rom. xii. 2) quotes Cant. iv. 7 “*no spot*” as describing the redeemed soul, “conformed to the age to come,” and “made beautiful” by virtue, so that it is addressed as the Bride, in the words of the Song, by the Word of God which has “betrothed the soul to Himself.” Also the whole metaphor of the “cleansing” of the “face” before a “mirror” is less appropriate for a man than for the soul regarded as the Bride (Rev. xxi. 2) “adorned for her husband.”

[3884 *g*] We have seen that apparently Josephus (and perhaps (3884 *i—j*) an uncanonical evangelist about 200 A.D.) regarded some of the “lavers” in later days as being literally of the nature of very bright “mirrors.” And Philo said, in effect, “The Laver was *not* itself of the nature of a mirror, but it bade us as it were *remember* that it had been ‘composed of mirrors,’ thereby teaching us that we were to try to see our own mental face in a mirror.” This leads us to ask whether the thought of the Bride and the Mirror may be latent in a passage above referred to, Jas. i. 21—5 “Putting away all filthiness...receive...the word...But be ye doers of the word...For if anyone is a hearer of the word and not a doer, he is like unto a man *beholding the face of his [unregenerate] birth in a mirror*. For he beholdeth himself, and goeth away, and straightway *forgetteth* what manner of man he was. But he that looketh into the *perfect law, the [law] of liberty*...this man shall be blessed in his doing.”

This at all events—unlike Philo, who bade us “remember” in connection with looking into a “mirror,” but did not tell us what “mirror”—does definitely mention what we are to look at. It is “the perfect law of liberty.” But what is that? And when we know what it is, where are we to find it? And why shall we be safe from “forgetting” it, as we “forget” the “face of our [unregenerate] birth”?

[3884 *r*] An answer is given to these questions in some of the very numerous passages in which Origen comments on the whole, or parts, of 2 Cor. iii. 15—18 “But unto this day, whenever Moses (*i.e.* the Law of Servitude to the Letter) is read, a veil lieth upon their heart (*i.e.* the heart of Israel after the flesh). But whensoever it shall turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, [there] is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face, beholding-as-in-a-mirror (κατοπτρίζομενοι) the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord, the Spirit.”

Here R.V. txt has “*reflecting* as a mirror” (marg. “*beholding* as in a mirror”). And R.V. txt may seem, at first sight, to be justified—in

spite of the verbal evidence to the regular meaning (Steph. *Thes.*) of *κατοπτριζόμενοι*—by the previous context, which mentions “glory” on the face of Moses, resulting from his communion with God. Moreover Paul elsewhere says (1 Cor. xiii. 12) “for we see now *through a mirror*, in enigma, but then [we shall see] face to face.” And this disparaging mention of “*seeing through a mirror*” seems, at first sight, inconsistent with the view that *κατοπτρίζομαι* is used to mean “behold-in-a-mirror,” in a good sense, describing our transformation from glory to glory, where there is clearly no disparagement.

[3884.5] But on the other hand, we find Philo (i. 107) representing Moses as saying to God “Manifest thyself visibly to me (*ἐμφάνισόν μοι σαυτόν*),” and then *μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ*. Also Origen quotes 2 Cor. iii. 18 *nearly 30 times and never interprets κατοπτρίζομαι as “reflect.”* Nor probably does Chrysostom—though Alford refers to him as adopting that interpretation. Chrys. says that the *two* acts, implied in *κατοπτριζόμενοι* and *μεταμορφούμεθα*, mean that we “*not only* (1) *look toward* (*εἰς*) the glory of God but also (2) receive thence a kind of sun-beam.” He appears to explain *the first of the two acts*, *κατοπτριζόμενοι*, by *ὁρῶμεν εἰς*, “*look toward.*”

The clue to Origen’s consistent view of the Mirror is in the words (*Cant. lib.* ii., Lomm. xiv. 398) “It is the Bride of Christ that says (2 Cor. iii. 18) ‘But we with unveiled face behold-as-in-a-mirror (*speculamur*) the glory of God,’” and (*ib.* iv. Lomm. xv. 79) “But also, says [the Bridegroom] (*Cant.* ii. 14) ‘*Thy face* (*facies*, LXX *ὄψις*) *is beautiful.*’ If you can understand [the nature of] that ‘*face*’ about which Paul says (2 Cor. iii. 18) ‘*But we all with unveiled face* (*facie*, Gk *προσώπῳ*) &c.’ and also when he says (1 Cor. xiii. 12) ‘*but then, face to face* (*faciem*, Gk *πρόσωπον*),’ then you will see what is the soul’s ‘*face*’ which is praised by the Word of God and said to be ‘*beautiful.*’” He proceeds to quote loosely from 2 Cor. iv. 16, iii. 18, Col. iii. 10, Eph. v. 27: “Doubtless, it is that [face] which is ‘*renewed day by day according to the image* (*ad imaginem*) *of him who created it,*’ which ‘*hath not in itself spot or wrinkle or any such thing,*’ but is ‘*holy and without blemish*’—such as Christ Himself ‘*presented the Church to himself,*’ that is to say, the souls that reached perfection, which all [together] make up (Col. i. 18, 24) the Body of the Church (*corpus ecclesiae*).”

[3884.†] In quoting Eph. v. 27, Origen well knew that “presented” meant “*presented*” to Himself as a Bride (comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2 “I espoused you to one husband, that I might *present* you, as a pure virgin, to Christ”) and that the Ephesian doctrine turned on the “subjection” of wives to husbands (Eph. v. 23 foll.) “For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is the head of the Church, [being] himself the saviour of the body.” It is clear therefore that (according to Origen) the “unveiled face” is that of the Bride beholding her “head,” the Husband,

in the Mirror, Christ. This picture underlies all Origen's discourse on the transition of the redeemed soul "from glory to glory." "Do you ask" he says (*Hom. Lev. x. 2*, Lomm. ix. 370) "how to wash your face? Paul teaches you," and then he quotes the passage about "beholding-in-the-mirror." Not that he admits that there is any "washing" on the part of the Bride. Her "washing" is to be simply receptive, the reception of the purifying light reflected from the Image in the Mirror. Each one of us is to beseech the Lord (*Hom. Gen. vi. 1*, Lomm. viii. 181) that the veil may be taken away from his heart—the "veil" being the "veil" of "servitude," the "veil" of the "letter," the "veil" that lay like an integument of callous skin "on the heart" of fleshly Israel (comp. 2 Cor. iii. 14 "their minds were hardened (A.V. blinded)"). The Bride receives light streaming from the eyes of the Bridegroom mirrored before her. Plato (251 B) in the *Phaedrus* speaks of an "emanation (ἀπορροή) of beauty, received through the eyes," as the source of the glow of love, and Origen (*De Orat. 9*, Lomm. xvii. 119) commenting on Ps. cxxiii. 1 "To thee do I lift up my eyes," says that the eyes thus lifted up "benefit themselves...(2 Cor. iii. 18) '*beholding-as-in-a-mirror...from glory to glory*'; for they receive a share in an emanation of a spiritual something that is of a peculiarly divine nature (ἀπορροῆς γὰρ νοητοῦ τινος θειοτέρου μεταλαμβάνουσι) in that instant (τότε)—which is indicated by the [saying] (Ps. iv. 6) (LXX) '*There was set as a sign upon us (ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς) the light of thy face, O Lord.*' On "eye to eye," see Pref. p. xlii (n.).

Elsewhere (on Jn iv. 35, Lomm. ii. 81) Origen quotes 2 Cor. iii. 18—again in connection with the "lifting up" of the "eyes"—to warn us that all depends upon the "eyes." They should be like those EYES which, when each thing was created (Gen. i. 10, 12 &c.) "*saw that it was good*"—i.e. saw that it was potentially and ultimately good.

[3884 u] With the aid of these explanations, let us return (3884 g) to the obscure doctrine about the Mirror in the Epistle of James. He takes a metaphor, perhaps common in the Roman Empire, from the barber's shop. There, says Plutarch (*Mor. 42 b*), every one looks in the mirror before leaving, to see that he has been rightly trimmed and is as he should be; much more (he suggests) ought we to do this when we leave our teacher's lecture-room. To this Plutarch adds a saying of Ariston, "A bath is naught, and a discourse is naught, unless it purifies us." James, taking the same metaphor, urges the same precept, but in a different way. Looking at his "natural face" in a mirror (he says) a man "goeth his way" and "forgetteth what manner of man he was," having simply noted that nothing was amiss in his appearance. But if a man has once looked into the mirror of the perfect Law, he sees something far beyond his own "natural face." He sees *what he ought to be*. And this he can by no means "forget."

James, then, is contrasting the man after the flesh with the spiritual man,

who looks into the Mirror placed before him by God. This Mirror is the Son of Truth, exhibiting to each of us not only that which we are, our own face reflected horizontally, but also that which we ought to be, reflected from above, that which God in the Creation called OUR IMAGE, which comes to us by reflection through the same Mirror, but from the Father whom no man has seen save through the Son. He—beside being our Way, our Truth, our Life—is also our Lord. Paul, when introducing his doctrine about the Mirror, says that when Israel shall turn to the Lord, the “veil”—that is, the veil of the servitude to the letter of the law—“is taken away,” and then adds “Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

[3884 *v*] James (i. 23—5) perhaps assumes all this, but wishes also to remind his readers that Christ is “our Law.” Consequently he assumes that Christ, being “our Law,” may be called “the perfect Law, the [Law] of liberty.” Then he contrasts this image in the mirror with the other image—one’s own “natural face.” This, he says, has nothing to rivet attention or memory, whereas he that looks into that “perfect Law,” and abides by it, doing it, and not merely hearing and forgetting—he is indeed blessed. From a literary point of view, this contrast between a “face” and a “law” is not so satisfactory as a contrast between two faces. Perhaps the writer wished to vindicate the Law against some who carried to excess the Pauline antithesis between Law and Spirit. Paul, in his doctrine of the Mirror, said “Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.” “That,” said James in effect, “is equally true about the Perfect Law. Look into that, as into a Mirror, and you will find that that is a Law of Liberty.” Paul, of course, uses similar language, when he says that (Rom. xiii. 10) “love is the fulfilment of the Law,” and that if we “bear one another’s burdens” we (Gal. vi. 2) “fulfil the law of Christ,” and speaks of (Rom. viii. 2) “the law of the Spirit of life in Christ.”

[3884 *w*] The doctrine of James misses one important feature of the Pauline doctrine, as set forth by Origen, namely, the assimilative power of the Image in the Mirror. It “transforms” the beholder, so that he grows like what he sees, and also sees more and more, growing “from glory to glory.” In proportion as he casts off the “veil” of servitude, or (2 Cor. iii. 14) the “hardness” from his “mind,” in that same proportion does the free Spirit of God stream with a fuller and yet fuller stream into his eyes, making them more and more like the eyes of God, who “saw” each created thing “that it was good.” James says that the man who looks into the Law is “blessed in his *doing*.” The Pauline view is that the soul that beholds the splendour of the divine Face receives a portion of its glory and is blessed in its *receiving*.

[3884 *x*] The Clementine Homilies (xiii. 15—16) putting into Peter’s mouth a description of the self-adorning of the “chaste wife doing the

will of God," say, "The chaste wife is adorned for the Son of God as for a Bridegroom, being clothed with the divine light." Then, along with a metaphorical mention of her "vesture," "pearls," "ornaments" and "gold chains," Peter mentions her mirror: "Into a beautiful mirror does she look, for she looks into God." If this alludes, as it possibly does, to the offering of "ornaments," and especially of "mirrors," by the women of Israel to the service of Jehovah in the Tabernacle, it is a Jewish exemplification of the doctrine of requital, like for like. The chaste women of Israel, faithful to their husbands—as a Targum above (3884 *a*) described them—gave their mirrors to Jehovah: He, in return, gives Himself as a mirror to them. The same passage says that "the chaste wife loves her husband from the heart" and even "acts the slave to him." This reminds us of the Petrine doctrine about Sarah, whom Paul (Gal. iv. 23—6) calls the freewoman (as distinct from Hagar) and "Jerusalem that is above," and whom Peter—when contrasting "plaiting the hair and wearing jewels of gold" with "the incorruptible [apparel] of a meek and quiet spirit"—holds up as a model to the sex (1 Pet. iii. 5—6) "After this manner aforetime, the holy women also, who hoped in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection to their husbands, as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him 'Lord.'"

[3884 *y*] These last words contain an allusion—probably surprising to many readers when for the first time noticing it in the margin of the Revised Version—to a passage in Genesis (xviii. 12 "*my lord* being old") describing the Lord's promise of a son to Abraham. The Petrine allusion—which undoubtedly exists—shews that the writer was imbued with Jewish traditions about Sarah as the type of the chaste women of Israel who adorned themselves inwardly rather than outwardly. And, as a suggestion of this "adornment," it would be difficult to find a Biblical instance more suggestive than that of the women that devoted their "mirrors" to the service of Jehovah. This probably underlies the Petrine context, although the writer gives special prominence to Sarah, as their type. Perhaps he has in view some Jewish tradition about Sarah's phrase "my lord," suggesting that her "Lord" was Jehovah. See *Gen. r.* on Gen. xviii. 12, and compare the Clementine (xiii. 16) application of Ps. xlv. 11, whence the writer ventures to infer that "The chaste woman is greatly desired by the Great King."

[3884 *z*] Our conclusion is that this Ode of the Mirror might also be called an Ode of the Bride, in whom there is to be, as the Song of Songs says, "no spot." It is addressed to believers in the plural, "open *ye* the eyes." But that is Pauline, as when Paul says to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 2) "That I might present *you* as a pure virgin." It teaches us, though in the briefest form, that the purification of our souls must be receptive rather than active, and yet it must be an act of self-devotion. We must discard our selfish and callous blindness and

surrender ourselves with opening eyes to the glory that streams from the mirror shewing us the Son, our Head, who is the visible Image of the invisible Father. Receiving a share of this glory, we must burst into "a song of glorifying." It must be "to His Spirit." Then, without washing by water, we shall "wipe off the filth from our face."

And here comes a fundamental word—love. We must "love His holiness." The thought is somewhat like that in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, where Christian "came at a place somewhat ascending, and upon that place stood a cross, and a little below, in the bottom, a sepulchre...and just as Christian came up with the cross, his burden loosed from off his shoulders, and fell from off his back." But here it is more positive. It is not "sin" that "falls off"; it is "glory" that is "put on"—we might almost say "that puts itself on"—the redeemed and glorified soul. The "love" is that of which Plato and Origen speak, an "emanation." The glory of it gives to the soul, as Origen repeatedly says, a new body that is transformed from stage to stage of increasing brightness, so that at last the Bride stands in the presence of her Husband "without spot at all times before Him." See also Pref. p. xlii (n.).

EPHREM'S USE OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE ODES

[3884 z₁] The metaphor of the Mirror is approached but not reached in a poem by Ephrem (A.D. 308—373) contained in the *Hymns on Epiphany* i. 103 *ult. et* 105, 1 *et seq.*, quoted by Prof. Wensinck (*Expos.* Feb. 1912 p. 111) "Great is the mystery which the Prophet [Ezek. xlvii. 1 foll.] saw: the brook, that grew strong. Into its depth he looked and saw thy beauty instead of himself...for thy hidden flood sweepeth away the impurity of heathendom," where a footnote adds that "the church is spoken to."

The words "*instead of himself*" appear to imply that, instead of being like the self-absorbed Narcissus, who saw "*himself*" in the water's surface, the Prophet, with spiritual insight, saw the "beauty" of the Church, the Bride, in its "*depth*." This view is confirmed by a previous quotation (*Expos. ib.* p. 109) from the *Hymns on Epiphany* i. 91, 17 *et seq.*: "Jesus has mixed up His strength with the [baptismal] water; put Him on, my brethren" (which we might illustrate from *ib.* i. 43, 18 "Ye, too, acquire from Him a new raiment in the water"). If this were the meaning, the water would not be a *mirror* at all in the ordinary sense. It would be *glass*, but not quite transparent glass. It would mislead if one looked at it hastily, because one would see only one's own image on the surface. But it would not mislead if we looked carefully through the surface to what was beyond, because there we should see a "beauty" not our own. None of Prof. Wensinck's quotations mentions a "mirror." Nor does he, in these remarks, find a parallel in any of them to the Ode of the Mirror.

[3884₂] But Dr Harris (*Expos. ib.* p. 116 foll.) does find such a parallel. Quoting Ephrem thus :—

On the depth of the torrent he fixed his eyes ;
And instead of seeing himself he saw thy beauty :

he adds "This is evidently a case of the water being used as a mirror." Yet this does not quite harmonize with the word "hidden" in what he proceeds to quote from Ephrem's ninth hymn (§ 7)

The water by its nature is a mirror
To him who attentively looks therein ;

* * * * *

Look into the (water of) baptism
And clothe yourselves with the beauty that is HIDDEN therein.

"Hidden," which I have printed in capitals—(the italics here and below being those of Dr Harris)—occurs there as part of the text, but Dr Harris himself supplies it in his next quotation :

How fair is (the water of baptism) *to the eyes* of the heart ;

* * * * *

The glory that is (hidden) in the water
Impress it upon your minds.

These passages appear to regard the water as *not* being really "a mirror *by its nature*" in any ordinary sense of the word "*nature*." It does not become efficacious till "Jesus (3884₁) has mixed up His strength with it." Even then it is not a "mirror" to anyone that looks on its mere surface. He must look "attentively" or with "the eyes of his heart." Then he will see to the bottom where "the beauty" is "hidden"—the reflection of the Father in the Incarnate Son.

Dr Harris proceeds to quote (*Expos. ib.* p. 118) a passage from another collection of hymns, entitled *Hymns on the Church and on Virginity*, ascribed to Ephrem and translated by Lamy, tom. iv. 602 :

O speculum purum populis propositum !
illi acquisierunt oculum internum et
accedentes intus intuiti sunt : quia
aspexerunt probra sua seipsos reprehenderunt :
maculas suas deteraserunt : ornamenta
eorum pulchra apparuerunt ; beatus qui
probra sua reprehendit videns pulchritudinem
tuam et in se imprimit imaginem tuam.

But this, though mentioning "mirror," does not mention "water." It indicates the twofold nature of the Pure Mirror, and agrees remarkably not only with our poet's Ode of the Mirror but also with the language of the Odes elsewhere. But it affords no justification for supposing that

the writer of the Hymns found in the writer of the Odes any association of Mirror with Water.

[3884_{z3}] Dr Harris concludes (*Expos. ib.* p. 119) that "we may consider" the "dependence" of Ephrem upon the Odes as "established," adding, "The writings of Ephrem now constitute the earliest commentary upon the *Odes of Solomon*, whose antiquity is once more demonstrated." On the other hand Prof. Wensinck says, more cautiously (*ib.* pp. 111—12) "It is clear that Ephrem on baptism is not speaking an altogether new language. Two things are possible: Either Ephrem as well as the Odist are speaking a common baptismal language. Or Ephrem is citing the Odes. Perhaps the two parts of the dilemma are true."

[3884_{z4}] With this last sentence I agree, only adding that the Odist, being a poet, uses *independently and poetically* the "common language"—not merely "the common baptismal language"—*of the first century, used by Jews such as Paul and Silas in hymns of thanksgiving for Illumination, and Regeneration, and Redemption—all of which could naturally be applied specially to Baptism, when the time came to compose special baptismal hymns.* Take, for example, Ode xxiv. 1 "The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head." This, as has been shewn above (3819*a*), though alluding to Christ's baptism, is also Jewish poetry, like the description of the descent of the Spirit at Christ's baptism in the Gospel of the Nazarenes (see 3999 (ii) 5). But the following, quoted by Dr Harris (*Expos. ib.* p. 115) from Ephrem's ninth *Hymn of the Epiphany*, is of a different and more elaborate kind:

O John! he saw the Spirit
Which dwelt *on the head* (so, too, Codex N) of the Son:
That she (the Spirit) might show that *the head of heaven*
Had descended and been baptized,
And (from the water) had gone up to be *head of earth*:
You have therefore become children of the Holy Spirit:
Christ has become *your head*;
And you are become his members.

Dr Harris suggests that this elaboration may spring from a desire to explain away the appearance of "unorthodox doctrine" in this special passage of the Odes. But the thought that the Dove, the spiritual Israel, the Bride, regarded the Messiah as her Lord and her Head, was natural for Jewish Christians. And it may have given rise to much of what Prof. Wensinck calls "common baptismal language," to which—and not to our Ode specially—Ephrem may be alluding.

[3884_{z5}] In any case the contrast between the elaboration of Ephrem and the simplicity of the Odist should warn us that the former is not a safe guide to the interpretation of the latter. For example, Ode xiii. 1 "The Lord is our mirror" is in striking contrast with Ephrem's Hymn

above quoted, "The water by its nature is a mirror." Yet Dr Harris regards the latter as making it "a practical certainty" that Ephrem read the Ode thus, "the water is our mirror," adding (*Expos. ib.* p. 117) "The only doubtful point is whether Ephrem has changed 'the Lord' to 'the water,' or whether we have to amend the text of the published Ode." It appears to me that this is by no means "the only doubtful point." It seems "doubtful" whether Ephrem is not borrowing from, or developing and elaborating, "the common baptismal language" that originally connected "baptism" with "mirror," by means of the thought of the reflection in water. But in any case to amend "*the Lord* is our Mirror" into "*the water* is our mirror" would be (in my judgment) to degrade a simple, deep, noble, and truly poetic conception, into a (comparatively speaking) artificial, thin, and elaborate conceit.

[3884 *z*₆] Ephrem ("dwelt on the head of the Son") while agreeing with Jn i. 32—3 as to the "*abiding*" or "*dwelling*" of the Holy Spirit on Jesus, agrees with Codex N of the Odes as to its dwelling on His "*head*"—a word not mentioned by any gospel in describing the descent of the Spirit, nor (I believe) in any early account of it (*From Letter* 1029—49). The Ode appears to have contained (3999 (ii) 5) an early Jewish play on the word "*head*" (not supported by the Gospels, the Sibylline Oracles, or other Greek authorities) which R.H.'s MS has dropped, but which Ephrem has expanded and elaborated. If the Odist had written after the Fourth Gospel had been generally accepted, he would (we may fairly suppose) have said that the Spirit "*abode*" on the Messiah's "*head*." An early date seems indicated both by the simplicity of what he says, and by the absence of what a second-century writer might have said.

Also, if the Odist had been a Christian writing Syriac in the third or fourth century, he might perhaps have rivalled Ephrem in clearness and beauty of expression. But if he was a Christian Jew writing Hebrew in the first century, when the Church was still in travail with new truths, and if our Odes are translated from that Hebrew, then we ought not to be surprised that the Odes are as inferior to Ephrem in style as they are superior in pregnant imagination and spiritual originality.

[3884 *z*₇] In concluding this reference to the interesting discussion in the *Expositor* it is right to note Dr Harris' question, which I have italicised (*ib.* p. 119) "Is it possible that he [*i.e.* Ephrem] may have had an earlier form antedating even the Greek: for it is not Greek Odes that he is using?" This is an important suggestion. We have seen above (3637 *a*) that Lactantius, about the end of the third century, in the one instance in which he quotes the Odes, quotes in Latin. Now we find that Ephrem, a little later, is not "using Greek."

CHAPTER XII

THE ARROW FROM THE BOW

§ 1. *The "Letter" that "includes all districts"*

[3885] These researches, which the author is unable at present to continue, are given to the world in the hope that, if their method is right, the subject may be taken up on the same lines by better equipped researchers. The method has been to ask about every sentence, and in some sentences about almost every word, "Is there anything in Scripture about which the writer appears to be thinking?" Having to deal with a poet whose mind is full of imagery, and apparently of imagery derived from Hebrew literature, we inquire "What image—or sometimes what images, for his thoughts come so close together as to be sometimes commixed—does he seem to have before him? How does Scripture use it? How is it used by the Talmud and the Midrash? How by Philo? How by any other early writer, and especially by anyone who, though writing in Greek, retains some trace of Jewish thought?"

[3886] Let us now apply this method to an Ode not included in the preceding pages. Dr Rendel Harris says of it, "This is the most difficult of all the Psalms in the collection and I have almost despaired of being able to explain it"; and, referring to a portion of it, Professor Harnack says, "The imagery is to me completely unintelligible¹." To discuss the

¹ R.H. p. 122, and H. p. 55, on Ode xxiii.

Ode in detail would be impossible here, but it may be possible to shew how the hypothesis of allusion to Biblical narrative may explain much that is, on the surface, absolutely without meaning. And the Ode is, for many reasons, of special importance.

[3887] The subject of the Ode is a "letter," afterwards called "a great tablet." It is introduced by a brief preface on joy, grace, and love, and on the duty of "walking in the knowledge of the Most High." Then the poet passes to God's "design," that is, His plan for redeeming mankind. "His design," we are told, "was like a letter. His good-pleasure descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow from a bow that is shot with violence¹." "Many hands ran" to stop the "letter²." But they cannot, because it has a "seal," which puts them in fear. "A wheel" receives this "letter," and the "letter" is carried above the "wheel³" and has with it a "sign"

¹ On "good-pleasure," and "on high," see 3819 *i*, and 3922 *g*, &c.

² [3887 *a*] Ode xxiii. 6. "Many hands ran." If the "letter" represents "the word of God," then the powers that endeavour actively to intercept its course might be represented by "the birds of the air" which are the symbol of "the evil one" that "snatches away the seed" in the Parable of the Sower. But I have been unable to find any early Jewish precedent for "hands" as belonging to birds. The Syr. "*hands run*" is used in 1 Tim. iii. 3 (comp. Tit. i. 7) "striker," "one whose *hands run* to striking," in such a way as to suggest that the phrase might imply "prone" or "desire," rather than "running"; but here the prep. is not "*to*" but "*against*" (3754 *a, b*). That favours the view that the "hands" are those of ministers of evil.

[3887 *b*] In Rev. v. 3 "to open the book or *look thereon* (βλέπειν αὐτό)," the meaning of "*look thereon*" is not the same as "*read it*." And perhaps the ancient commentator is right (Cramer *ad loc.*) who says that mortals *could not bear to look steadfastly on* the revelation of God's judgments. A slightly altered form of this tradition "*could not bear to look steadfastly on*" would result in our author's view that some "*feared because of it*, and because of the seal that was upon it."

³ [3887 *c*] Ode xxiii. 10 "it (*i.e.* the letter) came over it (*i.e.* over the wheel)." "Came" must have a feminine subject. But "letter" (*The*s. 33) is fem., so that this rendering is legitimate. R.H. has "a wheel received it and came over it," and so has H. (but with a query).

of "the Kingdom and the Government." This "wheel" forces its way through obstacles, making itself "a broad path" everywhere.

[3888] The Ode continues as follows (R.H.)¹:—

14. The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign (3888 *b*) upon it.

15. The letter was one of command², for there were included (*lit.* gathered) in it all districts.

There is the same ambiguity in the Syriac as there would be in Greek if "a letter (ἐπιστολή)" was described as descending from the sky and making its way hither and thither, while people vainly attempted to arrest it, and if it was then added, "But a cloud received it, and *it was coming upon it* (νεφέλη δὲ ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρχομένη ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς)." In such a context, no doubt, "*it was coming*" might grammatically refer to the noun last mentioned, namely, "cloud"; but "*letter*" would be most prominent in the reader's thoughts, and the more natural interpretation would be "*the letter was [thenceforth] coming (i.e. pursuing its course unchecked) upon the cloud.*" So here the meaning seems to be "*the letter was [thenceforth] coming upon the wheel.*"

¹ To avoid discussion of detail, the text of R.H. 2nd ed. (except in printing verses separately and in punctuation) is adopted here unaltered (except that in xxiii. 19 R.H. marg. "tablet" is substituted for R.H. text "volume"); and few references are given to H. except in xxiii. 16.

² [3888 *a*] "Command." So R.H. But the Syr. noun (*Thes.* 3215) means "visitation" in Exod. xxxii. 34, Jerem. xi. 23, xxiii. 12, xlv. 21, besides the use of the Syr. verb (*Thes.* 3214) to mean "visited" in Jerem. vi. 15, &c. That makes good sense here, and it is the meaning of the Heb. word in some of its earliest and most important instances, Gen. xxi. 1, l. 24, 25, Exod. iii. 16, iv. 31, xiii. 19, where it means "visiting [for good]." H. has "Empfehlungschreiben," which, if it means "a letter of commendation," seems hardly strong enough. This Letter of Visitation casts down the evil, and exalts the good.

As regards (R.H.) "*command*," it may be noted that "*Befehl*" does not occur in H.'s Index, and, though it is used by H. in Ode xxxv. 4 "ich war ruhig in dem *Befehl* des Herrn," R.H. there has "in the *order* of the Lord" (3731 *g*)—the Syr. being (*Thes.* 4387—8) a Syriacized form of *τάγμα*, and meaning a *rank*, *order*, *class*, *kind* &c. of soldiers, angels, matrons &c., and very rarely signifying *precept* e.g. of philosophy. It is difficult to say why the poet should use so rare and late a word in such a context, but it seems safe to conclude that he did not mean "command" or "precept" of the Law. The words "Law" and "Rule" ("Gesetz" and "Regel") are not in H.'s Index.

16. And there was seen at its [?] head the head which was revealed, even [H. and] (3763 *b*, *c*) the Son of Truth from the Most High Father [so R.H., but H. the Father, the Most High].

17. And He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of the many was brought to nought.

18. And all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct¹.

19. And the letter was a great tablet², which was wholly written by the finger of God.

20. And the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

[3889] If we are to pursue the method of research above described, we must start from the statement that God's "design³"—that is, His plan for redeeming the spiritual Israel—was "like a letter"—and ask where, among all the numerous Biblical deliverances of Israel, there is any mention of a "letter." It would also suit our requirements if we could find a "letter" that had a "seal" ensuring respect. This "seal" ought to be a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government. The scope of the "letter" should "include all districts." It ought so to succeed that "the thought of the many was brought to nought...and those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct."

So far as concerns the "letter," these requirements are largely met by the hypothesis of an allusion to that deliverance of Israel which is mentioned in the book of Esther and which gave rise to one of the most popular festivals of the Jews, Purim. It was because of a "*letter*" that the Jews instituted the feast to commemorate their deliverance from

¹ [3888 *b*] "And...extinct." Codex N, instead of (*Thes.* 2830) "and were enraged," reads a very similar word meaning (*Thes.* 2857) "and were blotted out," so as to emphasize the destruction, "And there became extinct those who persecuted, *and they were blotted out.*" In xxiii. 14, N has "had come" (instead of "a sign"); see 3913 *a*, 3979.

² "Tablet...God." See 3903 foll.

³ See 3814 *t*, *u* and 3819 *l*—*n*.

extermination¹. This "letter," being "sealed" with "the king's ring," "no man may reverse²." It was sent everywhere to "the satraps, governors...of a hundred and twenty-seven provinces³," authorising the Jews in every province to stand on their defence. The persecutors were everywhere destroyed, and Haman—who had already been hanged—had his house "extinguished" by the slaughter of his ten sons⁴.

[3890] The story of Purim would be well adapted to illustrate, for early Christians, the Providence of God watching over His children "scattered" through the Roman empire. And the stress laid on the fact that the Letter "included all districts" may throw light on the obscure and variously quoted saying, in Christ's Discourse on the Last Days, about the "preaching" of the Gospel "to all the nations," or "for a testimony to all the nations." It is variously reported by Mark and Matthew, omitted by the parallel Luke, loosely quoted by Origen, and commented on by him, and by Jerome, in such a way as to shew the difficulty caused by a literal interpretation of it⁵. But if the original version was that the Gospel should go forth to the "Dispersion" in all "the nations," and that, through the converted *Jewish* "Dispersion," "the nations" should afterwards be converted, this would accord with many predictions of Isaiah, and with many facts in the earliest history of the Christian Church recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

[3891] We know from the Petrine Epistle that the name of "the Dispersion" was used in the first century for the Gentile Christians in five of the provinces of Asia Minor⁶. Luke, when recording "the gift of tongues," includes three of these provinces in his own list of fifteen provinces or nations,

¹ Esth. ix. 26—7 "Therefore, because of all the words of *this letter*,... the Jews ordained...."

² Esth. viii. 8.

³ Esth. viii. 9.

⁴ Esth. ix. 10.

⁵ See *Son* 3414 (ii) *f* on Mt. xxiv. 14, and Origen and Jerome *ad loc.*

⁶ 1 Pet. i. 1 (see Hort's note).

obviously intending to illustrate the cosmopolitan nature of the new and divine language¹. Paul, in his Epistles, as well as in the speech on the Areopagus, describes the Gospel as going forth "to the ends of the earth"—quoting the Psalms to this effect—and insists on the freedom of a Gospel that made no distinction between Jew and Greek, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian and Scythian, bondman and freeman². Lastly, Tertullian uses the very instance we are now considering, in order to shew the imperial inclusiveness of Christ's rule. Referring to Nebuchadnezzar, "with his petty kings," as reigning "from India to Aethiopia," a phrase twice mentioned in the book of Esther, he says that neither this nor any other of the great empires of times past or present has attained to the universality of the empire of Christ³.

§ 2. *The "Bow"*

[3892] Next, as to the metaphor of an "arrow" sent from a "bow." The first mention of God's "bow" is in Genesis, after the Deluge. It is "set in the cloud" as a sign and

¹ Acts ii. 9—11 (but see *ib.* ii. 5).

² Acts xvii. 26 foll., Rom. x. 18 (quoting Ps. xix. 4) Gal. iii. 28, Col. iii. 11.

³ [3891 *a*] Tertull. *Adv. Jud.* § 7. The imperial "letter" in Esther may be fairly called unique in the Bible. It is true that 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 mentions "a proclamation" that was put "in writing" in connection with the licence given by Cyrus to build the temple in Jerusalem; but that is not called a "letter," and that narrative contains none of the details common to Esther and the Ode.

[3891 *b*] A tradition in *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xiii. 17, Wü. p. 157) describes God as a king repeatedly sending "*letters*" to a rich man (Egypt), who had been detaining the king's son (Israel), saying, "Send me my son." Also *Sanhedr.* 64 *a* (and sim. *B. Metz.* 86 *a*) describes a paper or tablet as falling from heaven—in a time of affliction when the Israelites were fasting and praying—on which the word "Truth" was written, whence the inference was drawn, "*Truth* is God's *seal*." The word "letter" is not there used (s. Levy iv. 160 who renders it "Zettel (oder Edikt)"); but the tradition may illustrate the introduction of "Truth" later on in this Ode.

pledge that God will never again "destroy all flesh¹" with water. It is natural to assume that this "bow" was mentioned without any suggestion of warfare, and merely as the rainbow. But that will be perceived to be impossible when the reader finds that everywhere else in the Bible the bow signifies war. The Midrash on Genesis obscurely, and Philo very distinctly, say that God's "bow" is here regarded as making war against, and driving back, destructive clouds. Toward the storm-clouds, says Philo², the bow means war. Consequently, toward men it means deliverance from storms, and therefore, indirectly, peace. The Hebrew *kesheth*, "bow," like the Greek *toxon* (which is quite distinct in meaning from the Greek *iris* "rainbow") means nothing but a weapon. Philo calls it "the instrument of a weapon, namely of the arrow that strikes." But practically the bow is a weapon, just as a gun is a weapon, not less, perhaps more, than a bullet. If God chooses to "put" His weapon in "the cloud," then it becomes His "weapon in the cloud." But it remains a weapon for all that. Philo adds that the arrow "strikes things far off."

[3893] In Revelation, when the first seal is opened, there is seen "a white horse, and he that sat thereon had a bow, and there was given unto him a crown, and he went forth conquering and to conquer." In spite of modern doubts, Irenaeus is probably right in applying this to the Lord Jesus, as the Conqueror of the nations, to whom the "uttermost parts of the

¹ Gen. ix. 13—15.

² [3892 a] Philo *Quaest. Gen.* on Gen. ix. 13. On Ode xii. 5 "the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible," R.H. quotes "Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 42 (error for 43) κοῖφον γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θάπτον φερόμενος καὶ πάντα διὰττων," and it is tempting to apply this as an illustration here. But in fact ὁ λόγος, in that passage of Philo, is not "the Word," but "speech," as the context shews (i. 616) "*Speech* is a light thing...and *speech* is of two kinds, one true, the other false." The passage, as given in Richter's edition, is κοῖφόν τε γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θάπτον φερόμενον καὶ πάντα διὰττων, where the neuters, φερόμενον and διὰττων, appear intended to suggest the impersonal and neutral character of "speech," as there used.

earth" are given "for a possession¹." Why is He armed with a "bow"? Perhaps because, as Philo says, the arrow "strikes *afar off*," and the Seer discerns this as an emblem of the same omnipresence which the Greeks expressed in the title "Far-shooting," applied to Apollo. This, too, may be the reason why, in Revelation, the inferior Angel of promiscuous War or Carnage is armed, not with the bow, but with the "sword²." No doubt, the figure on the "white horse" with the "crown" is not the Son in His highest aspect wearing "many diadems³"; but still it appears to be the Son, as revealed in a rudimentary revelation, working the chastisements, and sometimes the deliverances, of Israel through imperial powers (such as Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus) and ultimately peace through war.

[3894] Origen has left no direct comment on the "bow" in Genesis. But there is extant an indirect comment on it, arising out of his remarks on "the bow" of the wicked in the Psalms ("bent their bow⁴"). This clearly shews that he, like Philo, regards it as a weapon—the "instrument," he implies, for discharging the word of God so as to penetrate the hearts of men. The Messiah Himself is an "arrow⁵"; Moses was an "arrow"; the Apostles were "arrows" and pierced the hearts of men. But how? With love⁶. Thus the bow and arrows of God are to work peace:—"And as God placed His bow in the clouds that there might not be a deluge and that storms might cease, so, on the contrary, the devil places his bow...to rouse up storms...⁷."

[3895] Hitherto we have found no connection between the "bow" and the "wheel." But let us pass to Ezekiel's mention

¹ Iren. iv. 21, 3, quoting Rev. vi. 2 and Ps. ii. 8.

² Rev. vi. 4.

³ Rev. xix. 12.

⁴ Ps. xxxvii. 14; Origen (Lomm. xii. 180 foll.).

⁵ Here Origen quotes Is. xlix. 2.

⁶ Here Origen quotes Cant. v. 8.

⁷ Origen (Lomm. xii. 185).

of the former. It comes at the conclusion of a vision of a spirit of storm¹, and of "four living creatures" going "whithersoever the spirit was to go." This suggests the thought of the four horses of a chariot. And indeed "Chariot" is the name briefly given by Jews to this vision. But presently there comes a mention of "one wheel upon the earth beside the living creatures, for each of the four faces thereof"; and "their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel within a wheel." Over the head of the living creatures is seen the likeness of a firmament, and above this the likeness of a throne, and, upon this, the appearance of a man:—"And there was brightness round about him; as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about; this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. And when I saw it I fell on my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake²."

[3896] This passage seems to supply the link we are looking for, by connecting the "bow" with "one wheel," in the context above described, and with "a wheel within a wheel." The context is mysterious. But the vision as a whole appears to represent a divine Charioteer (as Origen calls Him) controlling the stormy forces of nature, animate and inanimate, so that they draw the Chariot of the Universe in its undeviating course in accordance with His will, in such a way as to produce orderly calm out of disorderly storm³. And it is this conquest of calm over storm that appears to be typified at the close by the "bow⁴ that is in the cloud in the day of rain."

¹ Ezek. i. 4 (R.V.) "a stormy wind," s. *Son* 3040 b, 3084.

² Ezek. i. 5—28.

³ [3896 a₁] See *Son* 3040 d, to which add Clem. Alex. 311 "Be gracious to thy little-children, thou Guide of children, Father, *Charioteer of Israel*, Son and Father, both One, O Lord."

⁴ [3896 a] "Bow." Compare the LXX of Ps. lx. 4 "Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth (*kôshet*)." Here, for "*banner*," the LXX has "signing (*σημείωσω*)," and Syr. and Sym. have "sign (*σημείων*)," Aq. "signal (*σύσσημον*)." Origen

§ 3. *The "Wheel"*

[3897] Next, as to the "wheel," apart from the "bow" and considered by itself. And here the first difficulty, for modern readers of the Revised Version, is to see how Ezekiel could be regarded as seeing a vision of one wheel, since a chariot requires four wheels; and Ezekiel's text mostly uses the plural—"wheels" not "wheel"; and the Revised Version says "One wheel beside the living creatures, for each of the four faces thereof," which would seem to imply four wheels.

[3898] But the Authorised Version—which appears, for once, to be a safer guide than the Revised, at all events to the original meaning of the Prophet—has "One wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his" (*i.e.* its) "four faces." Field also renders the Hebrew thus. And Symmachus calls the wheel "four-faced." Jerome gives this as an alternative explanation. Rashi, while affirming that "according to the text we are informed that the wheels are four," admits an alternative interpretation, that "the wheel had four faces." "Our Rabbis," he adds, "said, This is Sandalphon, who

(Lomm. xi. 455, on Ps. iv. 6) comparing the *Thau* of Ezek. ix. 4, takes the words to refer to the "sign" of the T, or Cross, in baptism, and Jerome expressly mentions "baptism." But the passage may also bear on our Ode's mention of "*bow*" and "*truth*"; for instead of "*truth*," the LXX has *ρόγον*, "*bow*." Gesen. (905 *a*) actually adopts "*bow*" without alternative (Buhl and R.V. give alternatives). Aquila has *βεβαιώτης* and the Targum has *truth*. We are, of course, not concerned with the original meaning of Ps. lx. 4, but only with *what was thought to be the meaning in the first and second centuries*, during which period the LXX and Aquila suffice to shew that there must have been hesitation between "*truth*" and "*bow*." Gesen. 905 *a* guides us to the reason. *Kôshet* "*bow*," is the Aram. of Heb. *kesheth* "*bow*." But the Heb. *kôshet* (in Prov. xxii. 21) means (Gesen. 905 *a*) "*truth*" (R.V. "*certainty*"). Such a similarity of words, made notorious in connection with such a passage in the Psalms, might well be in the mind of our author when he wrote this Ode about the Bow, the Sign, and the Son of Truth.

stands on the earth and his head goes up and is divided in contact among the living creatures¹."

[3899] This view has its difficulties, especially as, later on, the prophet appears to say expressly that there were four wheels. But even there he adds that "they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been within a wheel²." And the picturesqueness and mystery of the one-wheel interpretation would recommend it to many—even though in the first century Sandalphon had not yet come into existence to make it popular. It would also be recommended to many because thereby the vision would become more readily susceptible of moral applications, which are probably attached in many literatures to the revolutions of "Fortune's wheel."

[3900] New Hebrew recognises the Wheel of Destiny as causing the ups and downs of riches and poverty, of authority and abasement³. But this Ode, following the Vision of Ezekiel, recognises that the Wheel is to be called rather Providence than Destiny. Origen says about Ezekiel's Wheel "All things are driven by the Logos of God, who bears in Himself

¹ Rashi on Ezek. i. 15 "Is est Sandalphon, qui stat in terra, ejusque caput pertingit inter animalia ista." Comp. *Chag.* 13 *b*.

² Ezek. x. 9—10. For other variations between the vision in this chapter of Ezekiel and the vision in the first, see *Son* 3040 *e*.

³ [3900 *a*] See, for example, *Sabb.* 151 *b* on Deut. xv. 10 "Thou shalt surely give unto him for *because of*..." R. Ishmael's school said that the letters *gll*, in "*because of*," meant *g'lg'l* "*wheel*"—"the wheel that rolls-round in the world." So Levy i. 330 *a*. Goldschm. renders "in the world" as "um die Welt." But in any case the passage (which is but one of many) refers to the alternations of wealth and poverty as typified by "the Wheel."

[3900 *b*] See a paper on "Some Cults of Palestine in the Graeco-Roman Age" by Mr G. F. Hill of the British Museum, reported in the *Times* of 22 March 1912 (p. 15): "The early silver coins of the fourth century B.C., which were probably issued from Gaza, are peculiar in the miscellaneous collection of religious types which they present, including a figure of the Jewish god Jahu or Jehovah, resembling a Greek Zeus, and seated upon a winged wheel. The various types were, however, dictated by commercial reasons, and do not prove the existence of a cult of Jahu at Gaza."

the Father and the Holy Spirit—in nature, not in *hypostasis*.” The exact meaning of these words may be doubtful. But there is no doubt about one conclusion to be derived from them, namely, that from Ezekiel’s Vision of the Wheel, the Spirit, and the Man, a Christian mystic might extract the doctrine of a threefold divine nature. Origen contrasts the Wheel of this world. “We are not under the wheel,” he says, “nor under the dominion and worldliness (rebus) of [this] world (*or*, age, *saeculi*).” In the contrarieties of many things working to one result, we shall see, he says, “how *the wheel is within the wheel*. But this [wheel] rules all things (*haec regit omnia*) and turns them whithersoever it will—I mean the God of the whole universe, in Christ Jesus....¹”

[3901] The Talmuds and the Midrash, leaving such discussions to the select, say comparatively little directly about the Wheel in Ezekiel, but Jewish tradition finds a reference to the Wheel of divine Retribution in a passage where we should not find it. The same Hebrew word that means “*wheel*” means also “*whirlwind*”; and a Psalm describing the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea says “Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people...thine arrows also went abroad, the voice of thy thunder was in the *whirlwind*.” Here, instead of “whirlwind,” the LXX has “*wheel*,” and Rashi says, “that is to say, in a *wheel*...to *discomfit the Egyptians*,” probably with a play, not only on the Wheel of Destiny but also on the Lord’s “taking off the wheels” of the chariots of the Egyptians “that they drave them heavily³.”

¹ Origen *Hom. Ezek.* i. (Lomm. xiv. 30—31).

² Ps. lxxvii. 15, 17, 18.

³ [3901 *a*] Exod. xiv. 25. See *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xxii. 26, Wü. p. 244) which says that this world is like a “wheel (*gilgal*)” and quotes, *inter alia*, Prov. xx. 26 “A wise king...bringeth the *wheel* (*ôphân*) over them [the wicked],” adding that *ôphân* is the same, there, in effect, as *gilgal*. Then it compares Exod. xiv. 25 (see *Mechilt.* ad loc.) apparently implying that the Wheel of the King above crushed the wheel of Egypt below. Rashi also says (on Prov. xx. 26) that *ôphân* is equivalent to *gilgal*, and

[3902] Jerome also has "*wheel*" in this Psalm ("the voice of thy thunder is in the *wheel*"). And he adds some comments which throw light upon the connection (suggested in the extracts given above from Origen) between the "arrows" of God and the message of the Gospel. "The preaching of the word of Christ," he says, "has run into the whole circle (orbem) [of the world]. 'The voice of thy thunder is in a (or, the) wheel.' The thunder is strictly (proprie) a great voice...When God said 'This is my beloved Son...' the voice of the thunder *became like a wheel* (facta est vox tonitru rotæ similis)." From Jerome comes also a gleam of light on the extraordinary declaration that (3888) "the head went down to the feet." For that seems to mean that the top of the wheel went down to the bottom; and Jerome says, in effect, "As a wheel, while rolling, ascends beyond (transcendit) to higher things, so a holy man, touching earth, hastens to higher things." Similarly, our author may mean that the "holy man" goes down in order to rise up—possibly with a suggestion that the Son of God descended to the sons of man, the Head of the Image of God to "the feet," in order that He

he adds "*Gilgal*, i.e. rotam, mensuram eorum [*i.e.* improborum] induxit super illos [Deus] nam (Exod. xiv. 25) '*duxit eum cum gravitate*.' That is to say, God deals "measure for measure." Pharaoh (Exod. viii. 15) made his heart "heavy," and crushed Israel beneath his wheel. Therefore God not only made Pharaoh's wheel ineffective, so that he "drove heavily," but also brought down His heavy wheel to crush Egypt in turn.

[3901 *b*] These passages illustrate Ode xxiii. 12 (R.H.) "Everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down." "Moving" and "cutting down" suggest the thought of a "sickle," which occurs in the LXX of Zechariah, where the Heb. has "*roll*." On this, see 3904 foll. Almost the next words in the Ode are "and made a broad path." These do not sound like anything in the gospels, but they are like Ps. cxix. 96 "thy commandment is exceeding broad," and it is possible that the writer may be thinking of Zechariah's (v. 1 foll.) "flying roll," on the breadth of which *Erubin* 21 *a* has something to say (see 3905). That "roll," at all events, resembles our "letter" in going everywhere and in consuming evil ("goeth forth over the face of the whole land," "it shall enter into the house of the thief...and shall consume it...").

might ascend with them in the complete Body of the redeemed Church.

§ 4. *The "Tablet"*

[3903] The conclusion of the Ode says that "the letter *was*"—perhaps meaning "was found to be," or "was in the end"—"a great tablet wholly written by the finger of God¹."

¹ [3903 a] "Tablet...finger of God." The Syr. (Ode xxiii. 19) is a form of Gk *πίναξ*, "tablet." *Thes.* 3180 gives, as the first instance of the word, Ezek. ix. 2, 11 Sym. concerning the "man clothed in linen," who was to mark with *Thau* (3896 a) those that were not to be killed in the day of destruction. The man had (R.V.) "a writer's *inkhorn*." But the word must have been obscure at a very early date, for the LXX renders it "*belt*," taking *sōphēr*, "scribe," as "sapphire," so as to give "*belt of sapphire*." Aquila 1st ed. transliterates the doubtful Hebrew word as *κάστν (γραμματέως)*, 2nd ed. "*inkhorn*," *μελανδοχείον (γραμματέως)*. Sym. has "tablet," *πινακίδιον (γραφέως)*. Perhaps it meant "pen and ink [in a case]" (see Field, 'Ο Έβραῖος μέλαν καὶ κάλαμος γραφέως). But the Aramaic Targum (Levy *Ch.* ii. 274 b *Schreibtafel*) has the same word as that in this Ode and as in Ezek. Sym. above mentioned. And so has Rashi. Hence, if the poet is alluding in this Ode to the "wheel" of Ezekiel and to the "sign," "mark," or *Thau* of Ezekiel, the question arises whether he may not also be here alluding to the "tablet" in Ezekiel. If so, it means, in effect, a kind of "book of life" in which are to be written the names of those delivered from destruction.

[3903 b] But there appears also, in "tablet wholly written by the finger of God," to be an allusion to Exod. xxxi. 18 "And he gave to Moses (lit.) *in his completing* [of] speaking with him...two tables of stone written with *the finger of God*" (sim. Deut. ix. 10 "delivered unto me the two tables of stone written with *the finger of God*"). Apart from Exod. viii. 19 ("This is the finger of God") this expression, in the singular, occurs nowhere else in O.T. Also "in his completing" is discussed by many early Jewish commentators; among whom R. Abuhu (*Exod. r.* ad loc., Wü. p. 290), a Rabbi of the third century, said that "in his completing" meant "the summary (das Allgemeine)," taking the word as from "all." Another Midrash (on Numb. v. 30, Wü. p. 196) quotes Exod. xxxi. 18 in the context of a question "why is a '*table*' called a '*book*'?" These facts point to the conclusion that the Ode is here contrasting the two tables of the Law—written indeed by "the finger of God," but broken, and perhaps written only "in summary"—with the Letter of the Gospel which was one "*great Table*" written *in completeness by the finger of God*.

Perhaps the poet means that whereas it was once a sealed "letter," it was now spread open and revealed to all the world, like a vast "tablet." In any case the distinction recalls parallel distinctions drawn by Origen and Jerome—and varieties of translation in the second century translators of O.T.—bearing on the Psalmist's words "In the *roll* of the book it is written concerning me," and on other passages where a "*roll*" is mentioned in the course of visions seen by Ezekiel and Zechariah¹. Origen distinguishes between the "roll" (or short "summary") and the "book." There is a transition, he says—"No longer '*roll of a book*,' but '*book*'"²—when we pass from the Psalms to the passage in Revelation describing the "*book*" opened by the Lamb, who (as Origen reminds us elsewhere) has "the Key of David"³.

[3904] Copious as Origen is on the exact force of the "roll" in the Psalms and Ezekiel, why does he omit all mention of the "flying roll" in Zechariah which penetrates the houses of sinners and destroys them unless they repent? It is almost certainly because the LXX represents Zechariah as seeing "a flying *sickle*" instead of a "flying *roll*" (the two words, in Hebrew, being almost identical).

[3905] Jerome, however, who is aware of the two renderings "*roll*" and "*sickle*," does, in his commentary on Zechariah, refer to Revelation. He takes the "*roll*" in Zechariah as "that in which the sins of all men are recorded," and adds, "But if we read *sickle*...we may take an instance from Revelation," quoting "Send forth thy *sickle*"⁴. Revelation mentions, a little before these words, "an angel *flying in mid-heaven having an eternal gospel*"⁵; and the context there, taken with the passage of Zechariah and with its various renderings,

¹ Ps. xl. 7, Ezek. ii. 9, iii. 1, 2, 3, Zech. v. 1, 2.

² Origen on Ezek. ii. 9 (Lomm. xiv. 182).

³ Origen *Comm. Joann.* v. 4 (Lomm. i. 169 foll.), *Comm. Rom.* iii. 2 (Lomm. vi. 179), on Ps. i. 1 (Lomm. xi. 372).

⁴ Rev. xiv. 15.

⁵ Rev. xiv. 6.

shews how the Roll of the Gospel might be regarded in two aspects, purifying and destroying. The "sickle," being the sign of the harvest of the Day of Judgment, assumes, toward the tares, an aspect similar to that of the axe toward the trees. And that is represented in this Ode by the picture of the Wheel "mowing and cutting down" everything that tries to move it, and also rooting up (?) forests that impede its course¹. The same verse says "and it made a broad path."

¹ [3905 *a*] Ode xxiii. 12—13. In xxiii. 13, Codex N reads "rooted up *peoples*" instead of "rooted up *forests*." The verb "root-up" occurs in Jerem. i. 10 (Syr.) "I have appointed thee this day over *peoples* and over kingdoms to *root up* and to pull down..." (rep. *ib.* xviii. 7, xxxi. 28). This refers to the power of the Word of the Lord working through the Prophet.

In the same verse, where R.H. 2nd ed. has "bridged" (with footnote "*lit.* covered" [and so 1st ed.]) "the rivers," it would perhaps be better to render, literally, (*Theo.* 1486) "covered up," or to paraphrase as "filled." Compare the *levelling* of the Lord's way in Is. xl. 4, where Heb. has "every valley shall be *exalted*," but LXX and Lk. iii. 5 have "*filled*."

[3905 *b*] A somewhat similar metaphor, but with a moving Vine instead of a moving Wheel, occurs in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* xxxvi. 2 foll. "And lo! a forest of trees...and lofty mountains....And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it went forth a fountain peacefully. Now that fountain came to the forest and was [stirred] into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the multitude of [the trees] of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were round about it...and that fountain...left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. Also when it had cast it [the cedar] down... that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity, and it came to a place...and THEY brought the cedar, which had been cast down, to it." The Vine then addresses the Cedar, "...Depart, O cedar, after the forest...and let your ashes be mingled together. And now...rest in torment until thy last time come, in which thou wilt come again and be tormented still more."

An "interpretation" proceeds to explain the vision as referring to four kingdoms, of which the "fourth kingdom will be harsh and evil beyond those which were before it...and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. And by it the truth will be hidden...and then the principate of my Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host." As for "the last leader" of this evil host (*ib.* xl.) he will be judged and slain by Messiah of whom it is said "His principate will stand for

Erubin tells us, precisely and fancifully, what was the "breadth" of the path made by the flying roll in Zechariah¹.

ever until the world [i.e. *acon*] of corruption is at an end...." This agrees with the Jewish interpretation of the Vine in Ps. lxxx. 4-9 (see Rashi) as referring to the oppressions of Israel by the four empires, the Roman being the last. But Prof. Charles dates this passage *before* the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. Rashi on the other hand speaks of "exilium Romanorum," which would seem to refer to that destruction and to what followed. And could the Roman oppression have been declared "evil beyond those which were before it" *until Rome, like Babylon, had destroyed the Temple?* Also Prof. Dalman (*Words* p. 149 n.) maintains that *Bar. Apoc.* xl. 3 "does not belong to the older sections."

[3905 c] To whatever period it belongs, this extract from Baruch illustrates the Ode. Only Baruch, as compared with our poet, seems to us quaint almost to grotesqueness. But he becomes less quaint on a closer study. He sees apparently a "fountain," streaming from what Paul calls "*a spiritual rock that followed*" Israel. The Vine and the Fountain in old days went "*journeying*" ((3877 b) lit. "*pulling up [the tent-pegs, from encampment to encampment]*") across the desert together, after the Vine had been "*caused to journey*" (or "*pulled up [in the sense of transplanted]*") from Egypt. Thus they went in partnership—Israel and the Messiah (for "the Rock" was, as Paul says, the Messiah)—against the seven nations of Canaan. So, too, in later days, the partnership continued—loosened, but never utterly broken—between the Vine and the Fountain against the four empires. Horace says of Rome (against Carthage) that it was like the oak; Jewish tradition said about Zion (against this world) that it was like the Vine. The Vine was cut, almost to cutting down, by the pruning-hook of chastisement. But it grew up all the stronger against its enemies. "Ab ipso ducit opes animumque ferro," says Horace; "fed by the fountain of the Lord," says, in effect, the Jewish writer. This is not so grotesque as ignorant Gentiles might suppose. But still the vision of the moving Vine cannot approach, in poetic power, the vision of the moving Wheel.

¹ [3905 d] *Erubin* 21 a. This rapid mention of facts bearing on "the Roll," omits (1) Jerome's rendering of Ps. xl. 7 "in the roll of the book" as "in *capite libri*" (and his explanation of "*caput libri*" as "*caput libri Testamenti Veteris*") i.e. in the Beginning (of Genesis), i.e. in Christ, since Christ was the Beginning; (2) the differences of the translators as to the contents of the Roll in Ezek. ii. 10 R.V. "lamentations, and mourning, and woe," but Aquila "creation (*κτίσις*) and supplication (*ἀντιθέτης*) and IT SHALL BE (*ἔσται*)." These and other extant variations and discussions are probably mere survivals out of a much greater mass.

§ 5. *The "Sign"*

[3906] This Ode is the first of the Odes that mentions the word "sign." Having regard to the Synoptic use of the phrase "the *sign* of the Son of Man," and to the early use of the term to denote the "sign" of the cross—whereby it was connected with baptism—it is worth noting how unconventionally the word is here introduced:—"A wheel received it (*i.e.* the letter) and it (*i.e.* the letter) came over it (*i.e.* the wheel), and there was with it (*i.e.* with the letter) *the sign of the Kingdom and of the Government*¹." What, according to Hebrew prophetic precedent, and in accordance with the general tone of the Odes, would be "the sign of the Kingdom"? A king, in a literal sense, would have for his "sign," among both Jews and Gentiles, "the crown" or "the sceptre." But neither of these would suit the mystical context here. Moreover "the crown" has been already almost exhaustively used by the poet in other aspects. What we want here is something connected with "the Kingdom and the Government" in a Hebrew aspect. If possible, also, it should be akin to the thought of the "seal" mentioned in the context, and should prepare the way for the later words of the Ode—

¹ [3906 *a*] Ode xxiii. 10—11. "*Government*" occurs again in the last sentence of xxxvi. 1—8 "I rested on the *Spirit of the Lord*...and I was established by *the Spirit of His government*," where the Syr. (*Thes.* 817) is the word corresponding to κυβέρνησις in Job xxxvii. 12 Sym., and to οἰκονομία in Eph. i. 10, iii. 2, 9, Col. i. 25, "dispensation," which in later Syriac means especially the Incarnation. It expresses "government" as a power, or Spirit, of controlling Guidance. Here, though "Spirit" is not mentioned till the last verse, the writer perhaps assumes it to be, along with the Son of Truth, in control of the Wheel (like "the spirit" and the "likeness as the appearance of a man," connected with Ezekiel's Wheel, Ezek. i. 12 foll.). If so, "government" here prepares the way for the final words of the Ode (xxiii. 20) "And the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son, and of *the Holy Spirit, to reign* for ever and ever." On "the Spirit of the Lord" see 3691 *e*, to which add that "thy Spirit" and "the Spirit" (without "Holy") occur severally in xxv. 8, xxviii. 2.

supposing them to be an original part of it and not a Christian addition—which mention, first, “the Father the Most High,” and then “the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”

[3907] Isaiah and Revelation together suggest an answer to this question. Isaiah first describes the future Deliverer as “a son” (“unto us a child is born, unto us *a son* is given”). He adds “*The government shall be upon his shoulder,*” and “Of the increase of his *government* and of peace there shall be no end upon *the throne of David*¹.” Later on, speaking of the substitution of a righteous for an unrighteous “treasurer,” the prophet represents God as saying, “I will commit *thy government* to his hand, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem...and *the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; and he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open*².”

[3908] This metaphor of “*the key*,” coupled with “David,” occurs nowhere else in O.T. Nor does it occur in N.T. except in Revelation, thus: “These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath *the key of David*, he that openeth and none shall shut, and that shutteth, and none openeth³.” Later on, Revelation describes “a Lamb” as “*opening*” the *seven-sealed “book”* that is “*in the right hand of him that sat on the throne*,” and calls this Lamb “the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, *the Root of David*⁴.” Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen, all take these two passages in Revelation together⁵. Thus taken, they admirably illustrate one aspect of the

¹ Is. ix. 6—7.

² Is. xxii. 21—2.

³ Rev. iii. 7.

⁴ Rev. v. 1 foll.

⁵ [3908 a] Orig., Lomm. i. 169, xi. 372; Iren. iv. 20, 2; Hippol. *Fragm. on Daniel* transl. Salmond (T. and T. Clark, p. 453) quoted by Prof. Swete (on Rev. iii. 7) from Lag. 159, thus, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ τελεία σφραγὶς καὶ κλεῖς ἡ ἐκκλησία, [? τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ] ὁ ἀνοίγων.... It may be safely assumed that τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ is the correct reading.

Christian conception of the Word of God as the great Opener and Dispenser of the hidden Truth, the secrets of God, the Keyholder or Treasurer of the secrets of divine blessing and chastisement¹.

[3909] All will probably admit that Jesus, in some sense, taught His disciples that God would give them the power of opening and shutting, binding and loosing; and both Matthew and Luke describe Him as using, though in different contexts, the word "key" in connection with spiritual things². Probably also all will admit that Jesus in His doctrine about "Who shall be greatest?" and about "the little one," must have constantly referred, in thought if not in word, to the above-quoted prophecy of Isaiah about *the birth of a "Child," or a "Son," on whose "shoulder" there was to be "government."* And we naturally ask in what terms He would be likely to express His doctrine about the nature of the "government" that was to be on His "shoulder."

[3910] The Targum—almost our only authority on the

¹ [3908 *b*] There is this difference between "key" in Gk and Heb. that in Gk the word (κλείς) denotes "*that which shuts*," but in Heb. "*that which opens*." "Sealing [up]" is connected with the "keys" of the thunder in Aesch. *Eum.* 828, by the Goddess of Wisdom, who says "I alone of the Gods know the *keys* of the houses wherein the thunder is sealed [*up*] (ἐσφραγισμένος)." In Proverbs (viii. 6) Wisdom says "I will speak *noble-things* (LXX σεμνά, Sym. Theod. ἡγεμονικά) and the *opening* of my lips [is] *right-things* (LXX ὀρθά)." The word for "*opening*" (Gesen. 836 *a*) occurs nowhere else in the Bible and it is identical in consonants with the word (Gesen. *ib.*) for "*key*." It appears intended to suggest not only the *utterance with which* the lips of Wisdom "open," but also the *truth* that they "*open*" to men. Rashi renders "noble [things]" as "words worthy of nobles," *Sabb.* 88 *b* says that they are "princely things" because "a prince has power of life and death," and so has the Law uttered by Wisdom—which is rather like the utterance assigned by Aeschylus to Athené, quoted above. The Midrash on Prov. (Wü. p. 21) explains "opening...right [things]" thus, "They are the words that unseal (aufthun, *or* erschliessen) for you the highest secrets in the Height."

² Mt. xvi. 19 "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Lk. xi. 52 "the key of knowledge." Both expressions imply the Key of Truth.

early Jewish interpretation of it¹—says “He *took upon Himself the Law* that He might observe it,” an expression sometimes found in the form “took upon himself the yoke of the law.” Matthew tells us that Jesus did this, making the yoke of the law more stringent than ever in a spiritual sense, so that no “jot or tittle” of it might be unfulfilled. But Matthew tells us also that, in effect, the yoke of the new law was the yoke of “the Child,” or of “the Son,” the yoke of self-sacrifice and self-conformation to the will of the Father—a doctrine that he alone has preserved with the mention of the Jewish metaphor: “Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take *my yoke* upon you and learn of me. ...For *my yoke* is easy and *my burden* is light².”

[3911] Elsewhere in the gospels, the “yoke” appears to have been represented by the yoke, or horizontal bar, of “the Cross,” and to have been paraphrased by “cross.” And “the Cross,” for us, now, expresses Christ’s “yoke,” and expressed it (doubtless) very early in the first century. Justin, Origen, and Jerome, though in different ways, interpret Isaiah’s phrase, about the “government on the shoulder,” as referring to the Cross, either as being that to which the Messiah applied His “shoulders,” or as being that which He carried on His “shoulder³.”

¹ [3910 *a*] Schöttgen ii. 70, 103 quotes, on Is. ix. 6 (5) “shoulder,” nothing but a passage alleged “in *Flagello Judaeorum*” to have once existed in *Bereshith rabba*. This appears to shew that Schöttgen could find no undisputed Jewish allusion to the phrase in a Messianic sense. Rashi adds the Targum’s interpretation of “shoulder.” Ibn Ezra is silent about it. Schwab’s Index does not contain Is. ix. 6 (5). Nor is it referred to in the volumes at present (1912) published of Bab. Talm. ed. Goldschmidt, except in *Sanhedr.* 94 *a*, which simply refers the prophecy to Hezekiah.

² See Mt. xi. 28—30, and see *From Letter to Spirit* 928 (i)—(x), and Index, “Yoke.” It is impossible to compress into a note the material on which this conclusion is based.

³ [3911 *a*] Justin Martyr *Apol.* 35, Origen *Comm. Joann.* i. 42 (Lomm. i. 85) “None knew the Father (Mt. xi. 27) save the Son...and,

[3912] In this Ode we see—and it is an indication of an early date—that the “sign” is introduced subordinately in conjunction with the “seal.” The seal serves two purposes, first, to seal up the “letter” from the eyes of those from whom it is to be at present hidden, secondly, to give the “letter” authority in the eyes of those who might otherwise endeavour to stop its onward progress and to pry into its contents. Afterwards, perhaps, as in Revelation, it again conveys the attestation of authority in the eyes of those who (not being hostile) see the seal duly broken and the message read. The “sign” is hardly to be distinguished from the imprint on the “seal.” Somewhat similarly the “engraving” of the sacred Name is almost identified by Origen with a “seal,” and also with “the key of David.” “The scriptures of God,” he says, “are declared by the words of God to be shut up and sealed by the Key of David and perhaps, too, by the ‘Seal’ about which the phrase is used ‘the engraving of the Seal, HOLINESS TO THE LORD,’ that is to say, by that Power of the God that gave them which is indicated by the Seal¹ (3722 f₁).”

inasmuch as He is the Word” [and the word is the messenger or angel of the counsel of the mind] “He is precisely that ‘angel of great counsel’ (Is. ix. 6) whose ‘government was on His shoulder’—for He reigned through having suffered [the death of] the Cross.” Jerome (on Isaiah) gives “carrying the Cross” as his first interpretation, but adds a second based on Is. lii. 10 “the arm of the Lord.”

¹ [3912 a] Origen on Ps. i. 1 (Lomm. xi. 371) quoting Exod. xxviii. 36 “engraving.” The Heb. for “engrave” is, in consonants, identical (Gesen. 836 a) with that for “open,” from which (3908 b) the “opening [thing],” or “key,” is derived. A similar view of the Key of David is taken in *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, ed. Diobouniotis and Harnack, Leipzig, 1911, p. 29.

These Scholia deserve close study as being certainly ancient and frequently redolent of Origen. But in the context occurs this saying concerning the incarnate Word, “This [Word] opened them (*i.e.* the scriptures) to those around Cleopas, going with them in the way (οὗτος ἡνοιξεν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλεόπαν συμβαδίζων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ)” where οὗτος refers to the preceding ὁπηγία σαρκὸς γὰρ γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος. This is much more difficult than any of the passages bearing on οἱ περὶ Πέτρον collected in *Notes* 2875, 2999 (xvii)g

[3913] Hippolytus, who closely agrees with Origen's context, says point blank that the Lord Himself *was* the Seal and the Key¹. Origen apparently believed that the sacred NAME engraved on the High Priest's mitre represented all the attributes of the Word. It was characteristic of Hebrew thought to assume that WORD or NAME had more power over the forces of evil than the rod, mace, or sceptre, of a king. If "rod" was to be used, it must be, as Isaiah says, "the rod of the *mouth*."

Is there any reason to think that any particular "sign"—or "letter (of the alphabet)," for the Aramaic may have either meaning, and this is almost equally true about the Syriac²—

including Ign. *Smynn.* 3 ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν. For that could refer to "Peter and his companions" (in the plural), to whom Jesus appeared *after the return from Emmaus*. But here "those around Cleopas" must mean "Cleopas and his [single] companion." Comp. *Pap. Fayûm* 34 l. 11 (A.D. 161) where (*Notes* 2875) "Panesneus and Maron," partners, are afterwards described as "you that are around (οἱ περὶ) Panesneus," i.e. P. and Co. (οἱ περὶ being never used for ὁ, but always implying a firm, school, household, companions, contemporaries, or some notion of a group round a centre). Now Origen, referring to Lk. xxiv. 18, mentions (*Comm. Joann.* i. 7, *Cels.* ii. 62) "*Simon and Cleopas* discoursing together," putting "*Simon*" first. The author of the Scholion seems to have followed a different tradition (*Notes* 2999 (xvii) d). In any case, unless οἱ ἀμφὶ Κλεόπαν can be paralleled from some other work of Origen, the Scholion—or this phrase in it—must appear unlikely to have proceeded from him.

¹ [3913 a] See 3908 a and comp. Philo i. 665 δίδωσι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ σφραγίδα, πάγκαλον δῶρον, where the context explains that the seal is God's own Logos, the εἰκὼν and ἰδέα with which He sealed the whole Cosmos.

² [3913 a] Levy *Ch.* i. 75 a gives *ath* i.e. *aleph-thau*, as meaning (1) "sign" or "token" ("Zeichen"), and also "memorial" or "sign of truth," "confirmation" ("Wahrzeichen," "Gewähr"); (2) "letter of the alphabet" ("Buchstaben," "Schriftzeichen"). But Levy *Ch.* omits the fact that Onk. and the Targums also use it to mean "ensign" (Brederek p. 140, Is. v. 26 (Targ.) &c.). *Thes.* 412 foll. gives *ath* i.e. *aleph-thau*, as meaning sign of the past or future, ensign, portent, constellation, &c. but *not* "letter of the alphabet." This would require in Syr. (*Thes.* 419) a *tau* after *ath* (but in Heb. between *a* and *th*). The saying in Rev. i. 8 "I am the Alpha and the Omega" would be expressed in Hebrew or Aramaic by "I am the Aleph and the Thau," or "I am the A-TH," meaning "the

or that any conjunction of letters, or name, is here in the poet's mind¹?

totality of things." Thus we see that, in the first century, the same Aramaic letters that, when spelt as one word (*ath*), meant literally either "sign" or "letter [*of the alphabet*]," might mean, mystically, when spelt as two letters (*a-th*), the *spiritual Universe*. We do not know—but we may very reasonably conjecture—that there were many mystical uses of these letters. For the TH, by itself, represented the *Thau* in Ezekiel (which some Christians would regard as the Cross, see *Son* 3407 (vi)). Also TH followed by Aleph would be THA, "come," familiar to us in the (probably) correct interpretation of MARANA-THA ("our Lord, come," s. *Son* 3407 (v)). Comp. Rev. xxii. 20 "Amen; come, Lord..." which in Aramaic might be "Amen, tha-marana," not perhaps without allusion to "Amen" as being (Rev. iii. 14) a name of Jesus (comp. 2 Cor. i. 20 "through him is the Amen"). On MARANA as "the fuller form" of MARAN see Dalman *Words* p. 328 n. The early Christian tendency to the mystical use of letters, even in Greek, may be illustrated from the mystical IXΘΥC, on which see Lightf. *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i. p. 481.

¹ [3913 δ] Σημεῖον occurs twice in Ps. Sol. xv. 8—10 "the sign (σημεῖον) of God (edd. and Syr. of the Lord, but Gk τοῦ θεοῦ) is upon the righteous unto their salvation; famine and the sword and pestilence shall be far from the righteous, for they shall flee from the pious (όσίων)...but it (so edd.) will pursue (καταδιώξεται δὲ) sinners...for the sign (σημεῖον) of destruction is upon their forehead." Here the edd. (s. 3922 ε) refer to Ezek. ix. 4 δὸς σημεῖον, where σημεῖον represents the "mark," Heb. *thau*, set on the foreheads of those who are to be spared. The *thau* appears to be almost personified, delivering the righteous from enemies but "pursuing sinners" as though it were their enemy. Similarly *Sabb.* 55 a says that the *thau* is to be signed both on the saved and on the condemned; but on the former in ink, on the latter in blood (comp. *Echa* r. (on Lam. ii. 1) Wü. pp. 98—9). This mention of "the sign of God" in so early a work as the Psalms of Solomon—where "God" (Gk) is erroneously but instructively rendered by the editors "the Lord"—shews that, even before the first century, Jewish traditions were in the air preparing the way for the growth of symbolistic poetry and doctrine, among Christians, around the Cross as centre, which they regarded as "the sign" of the Lord Jesus.

To the same effect is a passage from *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (ed. Schechter), of disputed date, but recognised by all as not being later than the first century, which says, first, that (p. xxxviii., Heb. p. 6, l. 11) "There will arise the teacher of righteousness in the end of the days," and, a little later (p. xl. txt B, Heb. p. 19, ll. 10—12) "These shall escape at the end of the visitation, and they that remain will be delivered to the sword, when there will come the Anointed from Aaron and Israel. As it

[3914] There are reasons for thinking that he has in view the name of "Truth"; for the Son is called, in Isaiah, "Counsellor," and the "Counsel" meant is the Counsel of Redemption, planned from the beginning, called by Isaiah elsewhere "*counsels of old* in faithfulness and *truth*¹." Now the Greek word *alēthinos*, here used by the LXX to represent the "truthful," or "promise-keeping" nature of God in these counsels of Redemption, occurs, for the first time, in the revelation of God's attributes to Moses in Exodus². Revelation repeatedly uses it, and, for the first time, in the passage quoted above, "He that is holy, he that is *true*, he that hath *the key of David*."

[3915] Truth, and consistency in the progressive path of the Lord's Plan for the redemption of mankind—frequently and variously referred to by our author as God's Design, or Thought, or Good Pleasure—are represented in Revelation by the *alpha* and *omega* which correspond to the *aleph* and *thau* of the Jews. The *aleph* is the beginning of things. The *thau* is, for Jews, the end³. But by Christians the *thau* might be taken as meaning the Cross⁴. *Aleph* and *thau*, said R. Lakish, had between them, as the middle letter in the

was at the end of the first visitation concerning which He spoke through Ezekiel to mark a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry...."

[3913 *c*] See 3722 *g* on Ode iv. 8 "Thy seal is known....," and the subsequent v. r. "*thy creatures know it*," which is favoured by *Jubilees* i. 23–5, where the Lord, after promising to circumcise "the heart" of Israel and to "create in them a holy spirit," adds "And they will fulfil my commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be my children,...and *every angel and every spirit will know...that these are my children*..." (but Ps. Sol. (3913 *b*) favours "*known unto it*," comp. 3722 *f*₁).

¹ Is. xxv. 1.

² Exod. xxxiv. 6.

³ [3915 *a*] See *Son* 3407 (v) "the *thau* is the conclusion of the seal of God," that is, the last letter of *emeth*, "truth"—truth being God's seal.

⁴ [3915 *b*] See *Son* 3407 (vi). Barnabas (s. 3820 *h*) takes the T in Gen. xiv. 14 "three hundred and eighteen" (when expressed in Greek letters) as meaning the Cross. But he prides himself on his exposition as a novelty.

alphabet, *mem*, i.e. *m*; and *aleph*, *mem*, and *thau*, made up *Emeth*, i.e. Truth¹.

[3916] Truth, in this Ode, is first suggested as hidden, and then personified as revealed. The "letter" contains the Truth. The "seal," which saves the Truth from its enemies, and attracts Truth's friends, is itself the impress or "sign" of Truth. The Son personifies Truth. These conceptions may explain why, after repeated mentions of the "sign," mention is made of a vision of the Son of Truth, as the irresistible Charioteer of the Universe: "there was seen...the Head which was revealed, even the Son of Truth, from the Father the Most High, and He inherited and took possession of everything²."

[3917] If the writer thought of "the sign" as omnipotent Truth, borne aloft as a banner by the Son of Truth who is Himself riding on the Chariot of the Universe, it does not follow that he would reject the notion that "the sign" was also the Cross, the Upright Tree, the Tree of Life. Paul says that "the word of the Cross" is "the power of God," and that "Christ crucified" is "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God³." So our author might well regard Christ crucified as "the Truth of God," because He represents to us, on the Cross, a profoundly true conception of the love of the Father, who gives Himself, in the Person of His Son, to, and for, His children. In this introductory mention of "the sign" the poet is probably preparing us for the distinctly Christian conception of the Cross, as indicated in later Odes⁴.

¹ [3915 *c*] So *Gen. r.* on Gen. xxxv. 1 (Wü. pp. 397—8), and *J. Sanhedr.* i (Schwab x. 229 "la lettre médiale") though it is the 13th of the 22 letters. See also note (3891 *b*) on "Truth" (called "the seal of God") written on a paper, or tablet, that falls from heaven; and *Mischle r.* on Prov. xxii. 20.

² [3916 *a*] Ode xxiii. 16—17. If the Father is the Self-giver, giving Himself to the world through the Son, then the Son, giving Himself to the world for the Father, is the likeness, seal, true impress, or *truth*, of the Father. Comp. Jn vi. 27 "Him hath the Father *sealed*" (*Son* 3424). Not *light*, nor even *life*, but *love*, seems to be that of which "the seal" is the *impress*, or *truth*.

³ 1 Cor. i. 18, 24.

⁴ See 3954 foll.

§ 6. *Probable allusion to Purim*

[3918] Many details in the Ode remain, and perhaps must remain, obscure¹, because the Talmuds and the Midrash say little about Ezekiel's wheel. But the facts alleged above appear to shew, 1st, that our writer actually had in view, as a type of the deliverances of the spiritual Israel—and with a special reference to deliverances not limited to Palestine but, in some sense, cosmopolitan—the deliverance (commemorated by Purim) through a “letter” penetrating rapidly to all the provinces of a vast empire under the sanction of the imperial “seal”; 2nd, that, for writers imbued with Biblical imagery (as our poet is) the thought of this rapid and providential penetration would suggest not only, as it might to a Greek, the “bow” of a “far-shooting” God like Apollo killing his enemies, but also the image of God's “bow in the cloud” intervening to save mankind from utter destruction; 3rd, that special reasons of Scripture would lead our author to connect the “arrows” of God's “bow” with a “wheel” of providential retribution, both images referring to the deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea; 4th, that similar reasons would lead him to see the “wheel” and the “bow” as Ezekiel saw them in his vision, or with a still wider scope, that is to say, as referring, not merely to the Deluge, nor merely to the Exodus, nor

¹ [3918 *a*] Take, for example, the mention of “the head” in Ode xxiii. 14–16 (R.H.). “The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign (N “had come”) upon it...and there was seen at its (?) head, the head which was revealed, even the Son of Truth...” This, though we cannot fully explain it, may be illustrated—as a probable survival of ancient tradition connecting the Wheel with (1 Chr. xxix. 11) “the Head over all”—by *Chag.* 13 *b* (on Ezek. i. 15 “one wheel upon the earth”) “R. Eleazar said, It means a certain angel, who stands upon the earth and his *head* reaches to the level of the living creatures.” “*Head*” is repeated there again in a statement that this angel—whose name is Sandalphon—takes the prayers of the faithful and makes them into a wreath. Then he “utters the NAME over the wreath, and thereupon it goes and rests by His *head*.” See 3650 *a*, 3999 (ii) 4.

merely to the rebuilding of the fallen Temple, but to the general course of God's providence, including—if the writer was a Christian—the spreading of the Gospel with its message of a Sacrifice in the New Temple, not built with hands; 5th, that still further, if he was an early Christian mystic, he might be led, under the same prophetic influence—while meditating on “the spirit” in the Chariot of Ezekiel—to see a connection between the complex imagery of the spirit-prompted “wheel within a wheel” and “the appearance of a man” upon the throne above the Chariot, of such a kind as to illustrate (what it afterwards independently illustrated for Origen) the Christian conception of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit¹.

[3919] Even when all allowance is made for the uncertainty of allusive intention in some details, the residuum should suffice to make us enlarge our views as to the extent to which the minds of Jews had been built up, in the first century, by the Book that formed the foundation of their literature. We err greatly if we suppose that the common people in Palestine were at that time not permeated by the influence of the Bible because “peasants and fishermen were not rabbis and did not quote texts or play upon words.” The Bible—with colour often richly supplied by Targums—and especially those parts of the Bible which bore on the national feasts, and the songs that commemorated their great deliverances, must have largely served as a mental picture-book for Jews, even from their childhood. We, English-speaking people, have perhaps a peculiar difficulty in realising this because we have no national songs of great antiquity. But take the following comparatively modern Jewish song, perhaps composed during the existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Late though it is, it is on the same lines as those old traditions about the four empires which pervade the Targums and all ancient Jewish literature.

¹ See 3900 and comp. 3906.

[3920] The Song is, in effect, a nursery-song, a string of repetitions like our "House that Jack built." This might be represented, for Jews, by "the Sanctuary that God built." But the Song chooses another metaphor, "the kid" (*i.e.* the young and helpless Israel), purchased and delivered from "the cat" (*i.e.* Egypt) by the Father in Heaven. The refrain, with which the Song begins and ends, and which has given the Song its title, is "One only kid, one only kid." The last clause runs as follows:—

"Then came the Holy One—Blessed be He—and slaughtered the Angel of Death, who slaughtered the butcher, who slaughtered the ox, who drank up the water, which quenched the fire, that burnt the stick, which beat the dog, that bit the cat, that ate the kid which my father bought for two zuzim. One only kid, one only kid!¹"

[3921] This is explained—but perhaps doubtfully in some points—as referring to the deliverances of Israel from the various empires: "Our Father in Heaven bought the kid Israel with the blood of circumcision and the blood of the Passover. The kid was swallowed by the cat Egypt. Egypt was conquered by Babylon (the dog); both (Egypt and Babylon) by the Medes and Persians (the stick); these by the fiery Alexander; Alexander's empire by Rome, which, like water, overspread the whole world; Rome, as mistress of Palestine, was supplanted by the ox, the Saracens." Possibly, say the editors, "the butcher may stand for the Crusaders, and the Angel of Death for the hoped-for deliverance from their cruelties."

[3922] Beneath the quaint and homely imagery of this child-song we may discern traces of the same thought that pervades our Ode and also the sublime vision of Ezekiel. At the end of it all, says the Song, "Then came the Holy One—Blessed be He—and slaughtered the Angel of Death." And

¹ Quoted from *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, Oesterley and Box, p. 365 (Pitman and Sons, London, 1907).

so in Ezekiel and in the Ode, the bow is bent, the arrow is flying, and the wheel is circling, throughout the course of the Chariot, and at the end of it all there is seen upon the throne above the Chariot the appearance of a Man with "the bow in the cloud," and the promised sign of the deliverance of mankind from what might be variously described as spiritual destruction, or a moral deluge, or the reign of the Beast¹.

"THE MOST HIGH"

¹ [3922 a] The double mention of "the Most High" in this Ode—first as being the originator (xxiii. 5) of the "design," or "good-pleasure," of Redemption, and then in connection with (*ib.* 16—17) "the Son of Truth from the Father"—affords a convenient opportunity for collecting all the Ode-passages that contain this title. They will be found to point to a consistent and profoundly spiritual conception of "high" or "lifted up," both negative and positive, first as *not* meaning "high in earthly power," secondly as meaning "high in spiritual power," which power is the power of divine love. The first instance of the title blends "high" with "compassionate" (*i.e.* "loving with sympathy and pity"): (iii. 7) "the Lord Most High and Most Compassionate." The final instance tells us that "the Most High" has been fully revealed by a "Son"; and, connected with this "Son," there is a play (as often) on "*Most High*" and "*lift-on-high*," which tells us that the Son of the Most High is lifted-on-high by His own "righteousness," and by what the world calls humiliation or self-abasement, (xli. 13—14) "The Man who was-humble[d] (or, humbled-Himself) and was *lifted-on-high* in the righteousness that was His own, *the Son of the Most High*, hath appeared in the fulness-of-perfection of His Father."

[3922 b] Before studying the phrase in the Odes we must of course know something of its use in the Bible, in the Apocrypha, and in the Gospels. A partial discussion of it will be found in *Son* 3492 a foll., in connection with Lk. vi. 35 "and ye shall be *sons of the Most High*," where it was maintained that Luke's phrase—and not the parallel Mt. v. 45 "*sons of your Father who is in the heavens*"—probably represents the Original. It was also suggested that Jesus had in view, among other things, the language of Melchizedek and Abraham (Gen. xiv. 18—22) about "*God Most High*." Matthew appeared to have habitually substituted "Father in heaven" for less conventional titles common perhaps in Galilee—altering for example (3492 d) the cry of the man with the Legion (Mk v. 7) "*Son of the Most High God*" into (Mt. viii. 29) "*Son of God*."

But this suggestion of an Abrahamic allusion in the Lucan phrase "sons of the Most High" ought to have been confirmed from Jewish

Apocrypha. For the context in the parallel Matthew (where Luke has "He is good") mentions God's goodness as manifested in "sun" and "rain." This should have been illustrated by the language assigned to Abraham in *Jubilees* xii. 17—19 "Why do I search out [the things in the heavens]? If He desires, *He causes it to rain...* My God, *God Most High*, thou alone art my God," *ib.* xx. 9 "But serve ye (*i.e.* all the sons of Abraham and their descendants) the *Most High God*...that He may have pleasure in you...and *send rain* upon you..."

[3922 *c*] Also, from Ps. lxxii. 6 "I said, ye are gods, and all of you *sons of the Most High*," little was inferred (3492 *d*) except that Jesus might have had in view that passage "in particular," besides others in O.T. mentioning the Most High. Now, however, in the light of this above-quoted Ode mentioning (3922 *a*) "*the Son of the Most High*," a new question arises as to the influence that the Psalm might exert. Gesenius gives (751 *a*) *no other instance of the phrase, nor does the R.V. margin shew a parallel.* Is the Odist alluding to the phrase in the Psalm? And, if so, is he alluding to nothing else, or to the phrase in the Psalm as interpreted by Christian tradition?

Turning to the Psalmist's context, we find that it refers to unjust judges called (as in Exod. xxi. 6) *elohim* *i.e.* "gods," who in this case are false to the true God and Judge whom they ought to represent. This Judge, being as Abraham says (Gen. xviii. 25), "the Judge of all the earth," the Psalm appropriately calls "the Most High" because from on high He looks down with equal eyes on all the sons of Adam. According to Jewish tradition (see Rashi and Midrash) as also the interpretation of Origen (and also that of Jerome *ad loc.* which see) the Psalmist's words refer to God's *intention* as to Israel (at Sinai) and as to Adam (in Paradise) when His Law was given to both. God *intended* Israel to be like Himself, "gods"; but they fell away, and must therefore die "like Adam" (so Jerome and Targum) and "fall as one of the princes" *i.e.* like Lucifer from heaven. "I said [in my purpose]"—this is God's utterance—"Ye, O Israel, are Elohim [judges of righteousness on earth, as I am Judge of righteousness in heaven], and all of you *sons of the Most High* [the Judge of all the earth]." Then comes the obstruction to this purpose:—"Nevertheless [since ye have turned to unrighteousness] ye shall die like Adam and fall like one of the host on high" (so Midr. comparing Is. xxiv. 21). After this, the singers take up the song, praying the true Judge to judge:—"Arise, [we pray], O God (Elohim), judge the earth, for *thou* (emph.) *shalt inherit all the nations.*"

Contrast these last words with Ode xxiii. 17 "*He inherited everything and took possession.*" There the Inheritor is (*ib.* 16) "*The Son of Truth*, from the Father *the Most High*." Thus "*the Son of the Most High*," in the Odes, fulfils what "*the sons of the Most High*," in the Psalms, fail to fulfil.

[3922 *d*] Before passing on to apocryphal usage, let us touch on the quotation from this important Psalm in the fourth gospel. There, "*Son of the Most High*" is not mentioned. But it is implied. Jesus has been speaking, in effect, about the Good Judge or Ruler of Israel, under the title of the Good Shepherd, which He claims for Himself, and which He connects thus with the Father (x. 14—15) "I know mine own and mine own know me, even as the Father knoweth me and I know the Father, and I lay down my life for the sheep." He then speaks of "other sheep," to be included in the "one flock," and of the "love" of the Father who gave Him "authority" to lay down, and take again, His life. The Jews ask Him for some definite statement as to His *status*, "If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly." The reply of Jesus does not tell them "plainly," but repeatedly refers to "the Father" or "my Father," ending with "I and the Father are one." Then the Jews, preparing to stone Him, exclaim, "Thou, being a man, makest thyself God."

It is in answer to this charge that Jesus quotes the Psalm in question. And He appears to accept the Jewish interpretation of it, namely, that the Most High *intended all the recipients of His "word" to be "gods" and His "sons."* But He also implies that this sonship is not a matter of earthly exaltation or earthly inheritance but a conformation to God's Spirit, a unity with His all-embracing and (we may add, speaking anthropomorphically) self-sacrificing love:—(x. 34) "Is it not written in [the letter of your own Scripture, which you delight to call] your Law, *I said, ye are gods?*" At this point there should have been added—to make the quotation complete, and to prepare the way for the argument about sonship—the words "*and all of you sons of the Most High.*" These Jesus does not add, but seems to assume, as follows: "If God gave the name of 'gods' to those to whom His Word came at Sinai—that Word which was intended to make them like unto Him—and if He said that *all of you were sons of the Most High*, why do you charge me with blasphemy because I, knowing that God has hallowed me and sent me into the world to do His will, *declared myself to be His Son?*"

Such an argument is in spiritual conformity with the Pauline protest (Philipp. ii. 6) that Jesus did not think "equality" with God a thing to be taken by force (as by the King of Babylon, saying (Is. xiv. 14) "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds...I will be like the Most High") but that He received supreme exaltation after "taking the form of a slave (or, bondservant)." It accords also with the Synoptic doctrine about the false sovereignty of the rulers of the earth, contrasted with the true sovereignty of the humble, who are Christ's "*little ones.*"

[3922 *e*] Another reason why the Odes might naturally lay stress upon "the Most High" as a title of God, is that the poet constantly keeps in view the inclusion of the Gentiles, and that this title, as a rule, makes for inclusiveness. No doubt, this is not always the case. In Deuteronomy

(xxxii. 8—9) the Most High claims Israel for His peculiar people, and sometimes the Most High is appealed to as the Champion of Israel against other nations. But still, even in Deuteronomy (*ib.*) “the Most High *gave to the nations their inheritance*.” And the title appears to be most frequent in passages of *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which are of an inclusive nature. Thus Abraham bids all his grandchildren—including the descendants of Ishmael and those of the sons of Keturah—(*Jub.* xx. 9) “serve the Most High God.” And Isaac, on his death-bed, says to Jacob and Esau, who are reconciled, (*ib.* xxxvi. 15—16) “May a blessing rest upon you, my sons...May *the Most High God* bless the man that worketh righteousness.”

[3922*f*] Also a stimulus, at all events for a time, would be given to the use of this title when the Maccabean princes called themselves “Priests of *the Most High God*” (*Test. XII Patr.* ed. Charles, p. 45). Perhaps one reason for their adoption of this title—over and above the application of it to Melchizedek, from whom it was supposed to have passed to Abraham—was that it would be intelligible to Rome with whom the Maccabees were entering into friendly relations (see Hastings iv. 306 *b* on the charge of “trying to corrupt the Roman morals by the worship of Jupiter Sabazius (Zēbâôth?)”). *Test. XII Patr. Levi* v. 7 speaks of “*the Most High*, and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel *and for all the righteous*.” Elsewhere it uses language that Christians might, without much change, apply to Christ (*ib.* viii. 11 foll.) “Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be.” This refers to Moses and the crown of the Law (3653). “The second shall be in the priesthood.” This refers to Aaron and the crown of the High Priest. “And *the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in* [so Charles for “from”] *Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.*”

Later on, concerning this “new priest,” it is said (xviii. 3 foll.) “His star shall arise in heaven as of a king and...the heavens shall exult and the earth shall be glad...the heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification, with the Father’s voice as from Abraham to Isaac...and the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [*in the water*]...and in his priesthood *the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth and enlightened through the grace of the Lord*.” Here the words “in the water”—doubtless a Christian interpolation—shew that the passage seemed to the interpolator adaptable to the baptism of Jesus by John. And the adaptability is manifest.

[3922*g*] Elsewhere *Test. XII Patr.* shews how “*Most High*” might

be used to illustrate Isaiah's doctrine (lvii. 15) "Thus saith *the high and lofty One* that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in *the high and holy place*, with him also that is of a *contrite and humble spirit*..." Joseph is speaking (*Test. Jos.* x. 3—5) "*In whomsoever the Most High dwelleth...He lifteth on high* (ὑψοῖ) that man and glorifieth him as [He did] also [unto] me...my father loved me, and I was not [thereby] *lifted-on-high* (ὑψούμην) *in my [own] mind*; although I was a babe (νήπιος) I kept the fear of God in my heart." This also illustrates the above-quoted Ode xli. 13—14 "The Man who was humble[d] (*or, humbled Himself*) and was lifted-on-high in the righteousness that was His own, *the Son of the Most High*." A distinction is drawn between being "lifted up" *in one's own mind* and being "lifted up" by the indwelling Spirit of God. This Spirit gives to all men "righteousness," but in "the Son of the Most High" it is "the righteousness that was His own."

Let us compare these words of Joseph mentioning "the Most High" as dwelling in one who was a "*babe*," with the only Biblical parallel attached by our R.V. margin to the title in Genesis, "God most High, Possessor of heaven and earth." This parallel introduces, as follows, Christ's "confession," or acknowledgment, to God, concerning His will to reveal to "*babes*" the things that He has hidden from the wise and prudent (Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21) "I thank thee, *O Father, Lord of heaven and earth*." If this "*Father, Lord of heaven and earth*" in the Gospels is the same as "*God Most High, Possessor of heaven and earth*" in Genesis, then the tradition in the Gospels, though not mentioning "*God Most High*," must be regarded as probably alluding to it, and as acknowledging, in effect, that the Most High "lifts-on-high" babes and little ones to the "height" of His presence, because they are little and lowly, and therefore fit to be lifted up so as to be made like Himself, their "Father." See 3922 o.

[3922 h] This connection between "*babes*" (or "*little ones*") and "*lifting-up*," may help us to understand why Mark *never mentions either "lifting-up" or "humbling"*. He is content to speak (x. 15) of "receiving the Kingdom of God *as a little child*," where the parallel Matthew (xviii. 3—4) adds that whoever "*shall humble himself as this little child*, is the eldest (μεῖζων) in the kingdom of the heavens." John, like Mark, altogether omits "humbling oneself," perhaps having regard to some artificial caricature of humility such as is indicated in Col. ii. 18. Also, though John mentions "lifting up," it is always in a mystical sense, with allusion to the Cross.

[3922 i] It remains to add that, in the Odes, Most High is regularly expressed by the Syriac *passive participle* (*Theo.* 3858) *exaltatus*, of a verb akin to Heb. *rûm* "be high" (whence "Ramah," *Height*). This Syr. passive participle is used, in the phrase "God [*the Most*] *High*," in Gen. xiv. 18 foll. (the blessing of Abraham by Melchizedek) and, without "God," in Numb. xxiv. 16, Deut. xxxii. 8, Ps. ix. 2, lxxiii. 11. In these

passages, as in almost all where R.V. has "Most High" and LXX ὑψιστος, the Hebrew is *Elyon* (see *Son* 3492 *b* foll.). And the Syr. (*Thes.* 2889) uses a word corresponding to *Elyon* in Ps. xviii. 13, Is. xiv. 14, Lam. iii. 35, 38, and in Lk. i. 32, 35, 76 ὁ ὑψιστος. A Syr. *adjective* (not participle) akin to *rām* "high" is used (*Thes.* 3861) to mean ὁ ὑψιστος in Wisd. vi. 3, Lk. vi. 35 (as also in SS of Lk. viii. 28 and Mk v. 7, but not in Walton who has the passive participle). Perhaps the passive form used in the Odes is intended to suggest that the Most High is not only High in Himself but also to be *made high* or *exalted* in our minds (somewhat as Philo says, 3922 *j*). It also suits contexts describing the Most High as *making men high*, or *exalting them*, by conforming them to Himself, "the Most High," who is (Nehem. ix. 5) "*exalted* above all blessing and praise."

[3922 *j*] We have called attention above to the Maccabean title "Priest of God Most High" and to the influence that traditions, thence derived, might have on Christians. We must now add traditions based on the blessing of Melchizedek, Priest of God Most High, pronounced on Ab-ram *i.e.* "father high" (for that was his name at the time). *Rām* is the same word as that used in Is. lvii. 15 "Thus saith the *high* and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity." Philo (i. 103) commenting on Melchizedek's title, cautions us against supposing "that there is *another* God, who is *not* 'Most High,'" and says that a "representation (ἔμφασιν)" of Him as Most High is suggested by noble and "high" thoughts about Him. Melchizedek's ungrudging gift of bread and wine to Abraham is contrasted by Philo with the churlish inhospitality of the Moabites and Ammonites, which (Deut. xxiii. 3—4) causes their exclusion from the congregation. Some thoughts of this kind seem to be in some of the earliest of the Odes (iii. 7 "I shall not be a stranger, because there is no grudging with the Lord Most High," vi. 10—11 "there drank of it all the thirsty upon the earth...from the Most High was given the drink"). And again, when Philo speaks of Melchizedek as producing in us (i. 103) "a divine drunkenness," this, too, illustrates language about "the Most High" in the Odes (xi. 8 "My drunkenness was not that which is not knowledge, but I...turned my face to the Most High, my God").

[3922 *k*] It will be remembered that the third Ode mentions the "members" of the Messiah near a lacuna that makes the meaning doubtful. And Jerome, in his commentary on Genesis, in connection with Melchizedek and Abraham, also introduces a mention of "members," having regard to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church. "The Apostle," he says, "[writing] to the Hebrews—refers (refert) Melchizedek to Christ, and *through Christ to the Church of the Gentiles*. For all the *glory of the Head is referred to the members*, because one uncircumcised blessed Abraham the circumcised...."

Jerome also, as might be expected, refers the bread and wine of

Melchizedek to the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. The way for this was prepared by Philo (i. 103) who said that Melchizedek, in giving this, was acting as Priest and Logos, having as his portion Him who IS (*ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος, κληρὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄντα*), (*Son*, 3583 (xi)) and also by the second of two Jewish traditions (*Gen. r. ad loc.*) which declared the gifts to be either (1) the Law, or (2) the Shewbread and the Drink-offering.

[3922 l] For the "head" and the "members," compare Ode xvii. 14 "They gathered themselves unto me and were delivered, because they were to me *members* and I their *head*," to which the congregation replies, "Glory to thee, *our Head*, the Lord Messiah." It is worth noting that John Hyrcanus—who (*Joseph. Bell.* i. 2. 8) "alone possessed the three prerogatives of power" (as Ruler, Priest, and Prophet) and was called Priest of the Most High God—struck coins (Madden, pp. 54—9) that contained (*ib.* p. 49) what most have described as "Aaron's rod that budded" budding into a threefold blossom. Others describe it as "a triple lily." But, beside this, which occurs also (*ib.* p. 43) on the coins of his father Simon, coins of John Hyrcanus mention the "*Confederation*," or "*Gathering into a society*," (from *Chaber*, "neighbour") of the Jews; and some of them (*ib.* pp. 56—9) describe John as "High Priest" and "*Head of this 'Confederation,'*" or "*Gathering.*" This may help to explain the emphasis laid in the Odes upon the "crown." It is, in one aspect, a sign of the Lord's success *as a Ruler, in gathering the "confederation" of scattered souls*. And it enables the poet to dispense with the term "king" which he apparently dislikes. "I am a priest of the Lord" is the beginning of Ode xx., but nowhere is "king" mentioned. "Crown," however, and "kingdom" supply its place. And the Confederation of Israel might be described in Pauline language as the "members" of the Messiah (Eph. iv. 15) "growing up in all things into Him who is the Head, [even] Christ."

[3922 m] These considerations may help us to trace in the following passages, mentioning "the Most High," a development of the doctrine of "lifting up." If we could use in English the verb "heighten" as German uses "erhöhen," that would be the verb to use here in order to keep up the connection between "High" and "making high." As it cannot be so used, the Syriac verb is rendered "lift-on-high." The Syriac "the [Most] High," which is literally "the High [One]," *i.e.* "the [uniquely] High[One]," is rendered—after the first instance—"the Most High," without brackets. If space allowed the extension of the contexts, it would be easier to perceive the continuity of thought. Even as it is, a careful reader may see how from the first the poet warns us that the "height" of the Lord is not a thing of feet or yards but of "compassion," and how, at the last, it is revealed in "the Son of the Most High"—made "high" by His own "righteousness" and "in the fulness of perfection of His Father." But to

do justice to the subject the following passages should be examined in an edition that gives their full contexts:—

iii. 7 “And I shall not be a stranger, because there is no grudging with the Lord [Most] High and [Most] Compassionate.”

v. 1—2 “I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee, Most High (*or*; the Most High) (3731 *e*), thou wilt not forsake me....”

[3922 *n*] After this preparation there comes the first mention of “the Most High” absolutely and in the third person. As in the Matthew-Luke traditions quoted above (3922 *b*), it is connected with the thought of the Giver of rain, or at all events with the quenching of thirst. This is followed by a mention of the “Son,” and of others who proclaim the praise of the Most High:

vi. 10—11 “...and there drank of it all the thirsty that were upon the earth (3746 *j*). And their thirst was...quenched, for from the Most High was given the drink.”

vii. 18—19 “...and it hath rest in the Son, and, for the sake of its (*or*, His) redemption, He (*i.e.* the Son) will take (*or*; hold) everything soever. And the Most High shall be known in His holy-ones....” [In vii. 22 H. has “den Höchsten,” but Syr. has “the Lord.”]

vii. 25 “Those shall make-psalms who make-psalms-about the grace of the Lord Most High.”

viii. 6—9 “Ye that were despised...hear the word of truth and receive the knowledge of the Most High.”

[3922 *o*] In the next stage the Most High is mentioned, not indeed as being the Father, but in such a way as to suggest (see 3922 *g*) that He is the Father, by making “God the Father” parallel to “the Most High.” And after that, along with an identification of the Most High with “God my Father,” come suggestions of Abraham, or a Maccabean Prince-Priest, going up on high and leading captivity captive, or, according to many Jewish traditions, of Moses going up to Mount Sinai and bringing down the spoils of the Law. The “gathering” of “the peoples that had been scattered” would apply to Abraham, “the father of many nations” as seen through a Pauline medium, even though applied in Maccabean traditions to John Hyrcanus, “the head of the confederation of the Jews,” who was also, like Abraham, “Priest of God Most High.” The “circumcision with the Holy Spirit” and the “forsaking” of idolatrous “emptiness” would apply best to Abraham:

ix. 4 “Be ye rich in God the Father and receive the thought of the Most High.”

x. 4—6 “...and I led-captive the world. And it became for me to the glorifying of the Most High, and (*i.e.* even) of God my Father. And there were gathered together (*lit.* as one) the peoples that had been scattered.”

xi. 2 “For the Most High circumcised me with His Holy Spirit...and filled me with His fervent-love.”

xi. 8 "And my drunkenness was not that which is not-knowledge, but I forsook emptiness (*or*, vanity) and turned my face to the Most High, my God."

[3922 *p*] In the next group come two passages in an Ode that might be entitled "The Harmony of the Aeons." Both of them mention the "mouth" of God. But the second speaks of it as "*the mouth of the Most High*." This phrase, if we may judge from R.V. marg. and other sources, does not occur in the Bible except in Lam. iii. 38 (R.V.) "Out of *the mouth of the Most High* cometh there not evil and good?" This is punctuated interrogatively by R.V. but not so by LXX nor by the Targum. And the comments of the Jews and of Jerome on the passage shew that it was found difficult. Our author is perhaps alluding to it, and indicating his view, that the chastisements and the rewards that proceed from God are not in discord with His will or with one another. The instances that follow in this group call for no special mention. The contexts in all of them speak of blessing, not of chastisement, the Most High being regarded as the Guardian of man, or the Giver of Truth, or as lifting men on high in His Love, or as having men always in His Thought of Redemption:

xii. 3—4 "And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light; and the Most High has given it to His aeons, which are the interpreters of the beauty that [appertains] to Him."

xii. 9—10 "And from it (*i.e.* the Word) there came into being love and harmony (*Theo.* 4082) and they (*i.e.* the aeons) spake to one another whatsoever was [appertaining] to them.... And they knew Him that had made them, as they were in harmony, because the Mouth of the Most High had spoken to them."

xvii. 7 "...and He who knew [me] and brought me up—[namely, *or*, is] the Most High in all His fulness-of-perfection."

xviii. 1 "My heart was lifted-on-high in the fervent-love of the Most High."

xviii. 17 "And they (*i.e.* those who have understood) were not defiled in their minds (*litz.* designs) because they were [always] in the thought of the Most High." [R.H. and H. "Lord," but Syr. "Most High."]

xviii. 19 "They (*i.e.* those who understood) spake truth through the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them." [In xxi. 1 "I lifted up my arms to the height," H. "zur Höhe," R.H. has, against the Syr., "to the Most High."]

[3922 *q*] Next follow instances from what might be described (see 3895 foll.) as the Ode of the Wheel of Providence. The subject of it appears to be the Redemption of Man, in relation to the Most High, 1st, as being foreordained by His "knowledge," 2nd, as having its "design" sent down "like a letter" conveying His "good-pleasure," 3rd, as being carried by One whose relation to the redeemed is that of a Head, but

whose relation to the redeeming Power is that of Son—"the Son of Truth, from the Father the Most High."

xxiii. 4 "Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High (but Codex N has "the Lord")...to...and to the fulness-of-perfection of His knowledge."

[In a second passage—where H., following the Syr. of the 1st ed., has "Most High"—R.H. has "on high" instead of "Most High," both in 1st ed. and in 2nd ed. in the English text; but his Syr. txt, without note of change, has "Most High" in 1st ed., but "on high" in 2nd ed.:

xxiii. 5 "His design was like a letter, His good pleasure descended from —." Read "*the height*" with R.H. Syr. 2nd ed. and N.]

xxiii. 16—17 "And there was seen at its head the Head which was revealed, even (3763 *b—c*) the Son of Truth, from the Father the Most High, and He inherited everything and took possession [of it]."

[3922 *r*] In the next group of Odes containing instances (xxvi—xxxii), such phrases as (xxvi. 3) "His harp is in my hands," (xxviii. 11) "came about me like mad dogs," (*ib.* 16) (N) "cast lots," (xxix. 11) "His servant and the son of His handmaid" (cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 16, cxvi. 16) indicate that the poet has in mind the thought of David, as representing either the redeemed soul (as in Ode xxix) or the Messiah (as in Odes xxviii., xxxi., and xxxii).

xxvi. 8—10 "Who can write the Psalms of the Lord...? Or who can [so] rest on the Most High that with His mouth he may speak?"

xxviii. 18 "The thought of the Most High cannot be forestalled and His heart is superior to all wisdom." [Here H. has "des Herrn," but Syr. "the Most High."]

xxix. 11 "And I gave glory to the Most High because He magnified His servant and the son of His handmaid." [H. "dem Herrn," but Syr. "the Most High."]

xxxi. 4 "And he (3697 *b*, and 3793 *d*) lifted-on-high his voice to the Most High and offered to Him the sons that were in his hands."

xxxii. 1—2 "For the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them, and words from the Truth that is self-originate; for it (*i.e.* the Truth) is strengthened with the holy power of the Most High." [H. "des Herrn," but Syr. "the Most High."]

[3922 *s*] The final group seems to emphasize the connection between "the Most High" and "lifting-on-high," or "stretching out the hands" in prayer. Some expressions also prepare the way for the lifting up of the souls from Sheol, with which the volume concludes. The release from Sheol is also suggested in an Ode (xxxix) describing the "crossing" of "rivers" as being made safe for those who "clothe themselves" with "the Name of the Most High." The last instance of all (xli. 13—14) contrasts the Son's "humbling" with His "lifting on high," in which connection He is called "the Son of the Most High," appearing "in the fulness-of-perfection of His Father," and—as if accumulating the titles or attributes of the Son before the rescue of the dead that is to establish

finally (3953) His claim to those titles—the poet declares (*ib.* 15—17) that “Light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him,” that “the Messiah is truly One,” and that “He was known before the foundation of the world that He (*or*, as He that) should cause souls to live (*The.* 1252) for ever through the truth of His Name.”

xxxv. 8 “I spread out my hands in the ascension of my soul and I had-a-straight-path (*The.* 4509, quoting V Hh. Rom. i. 10 *εὐδοθήσομαι*) toward the Most High.” [R.H. “I was made right with the Most High,” H. “Ich nahm meine Richtung zu dem Höchsten.”]

xxxvi. 1—5 “I rested on the Spirit of the Lord, and it lifted-me-on-high to the high-place, and established me on my feet in the high [place] of the Lord.... According to the greatness of the Most High, so it (*i.e.* the Spirit) made me....”

xxxvii. 1 “I stretched out my hands to my Lord; and to the Most High I lifted-on-high my voice.”

xxxix. 7 “Take as clothing, therefore, the Name of the Most High, and know Him.” [H. “des Herrn,” but Syr. “the Most High.”]

xli. 13—14 “The Man who was humble[d] (*or*, humbled Himself) and was lifted-on-high in the righteousness that was His [own], the Son of the Most High, hath appeared in the fulness-of-perfection (3700) of His Father.”

ADDENDUM ON “SIGN” IN THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

[3922 *ι*] The Psalms of Solomon, besides (3913 *δ*) σημείον, have ἐπίσημον in ii. 6 οἱ υἱοὶ κ. αἱ θυγατέρες ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πονηρᾷ, ἐν σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν ἐν ἐπισήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. There the edd. refer to (1) Hesychius, who says ἐπίσημα, τὰ ἐπὶ προσώπῳ (? προσώπων) σημεῖα [*i.e.* δούλων], the *frontes literati* of Apuleius; (2) 4 Esdr. x. 23 signaculum Sion quoniam resignata est de gloria sua nunc et tradita est in manibus eorum qui nos oderunt, (3) *Acta S. Maximiliani* ap. Ruinart, p. 340 ...Accipe signaculum...non licet mihi plumbum collo portare; (4) *Sibyll. Orac.* viii. 244 (of the Cross) σῆμα δέ τοί τοτε πᾶσι βροτοῖς σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος, which, they say, “unites the two crucial words, and brings out the sense of a brand, with an obvious allusion to Ezek. ix.”—*i.e.* the *Thau*. The view that “*seal...neck*” refers to “a sealed collar” is adopted by the Syr. “on their neck was put the sealed yoke of the Gentiles.”

[3922 *υ*] Ἐν ἐπισήμῳ recurs in Ps. Sol. xvii. 32 “And he (*i.e.* the Messiah) shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord (edd.) *in a place to be seen* (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ) of the whole earth,” where Syr. has “*openly over all the earth*,” and “*they* (for, *he*) shall glorify.” The edd. say, “Geiger translates ‘durch Unterwerfung der ganzen Erde’ and regards ἐπισήμῳ as parallel to ζυγόν just as in Ps. Sol. ii. 6 it corresponds to σφραγίς”; but they prefer to regard it as an allusion to the conspicuous place implied in Is. ii. 2, Mic. iv. 1.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

§ 1. *A provisional Hypothesis as to date*

[3923] Since the Odes as a whole have not been presented to the reader it would be premature to set forth any detailed conclusions as to their authorship, object, and date of composition. Even if we could find one or two apparently date-determining passages—for example, the mention of some name, such as Hadrian—that would not settle the date of the work as a whole unless we could be sure that there are no interpolations or additions. Isaiah mentions “Cyrus.” But few believe that the name “Cyrus” *determines* “*the date of ‘Isaiah.’*” Isaiah—in such a sentence—might conveniently be printed in inverted commas, as meaning, not a person but a book, and a book composed by more authors than one. That part of “Isaiah” which mentions Cyrus may have been written after some parts, and before others, written by different authors.

Now the question whether in this book there are interpolations or additions is difficult to decide except by appeal to two kinds of evidence, (1) style, (2) subject-matter.

[3924] As to style, it may seem presumptuous for one without any claims to scholarlike knowledge of Syriac to express any opinion. But is it presumptuous for a man absolutely ignorant of Greek, to say, judging purely from our authorised English versions, that a passage out of the Fourth Gospel could not have been written by Luke? If not,

and if the reader finds in the Odes, so far as we have gone, such obvious peculiarities of style as any faithful translation must reveal, and even a free and florid translation cannot altogether conceal, he may fairly use his own judgment as to the style-argument for or against interpolation. In dealing thus with the Odes of Solomon the non-expert may feel all the more confident because, so far as we have gone, the arguments urged by Prof. Harnack for interpolation have seldom or never alleged the interpolator's introduction of alien *words* or *idioms* or *rhythm*, producing the effect of patch-work, but have relied almost entirely on the supposed introduction of alien *notions*, Christian thought breaking the stream of Jewish thought.

[3925] On the other hand, when regarded as non-interpolated, the Odes can be perceived even by those ignorant of Syriac to possess several obvious peculiarities. Some indeed are such as, being natural to all translations from Hebrew, may be found in the Psalms of Solomon (Introd. p. lxxvii. foll.) alleged as pointing to a Hebrew Original. There is also an indifference—partly perhaps Hebraic, but partly personal—to immediate clearness in the use of suffixes so that we have to consult the context in order to ascertain whether the meaning is “he” or “it”; and, if “he,” whether it represents man, or the Lord; and, if “the Lord,” whether it means the Messiah, or the Lord God. But, further, there is what is not in the Psalms of Solomon, a simplicity (even bordering on monotony) in the repetition of the same word, or different forms of the same word, in slightly varied contexts. At first this may seem to some an indication of barrenness of vocabulary. But afterwards it will often be found to indicate an appreciative play upon different forms of a word as expressive of different shades of a thought.

[3926] To these characteristics must be added another, which, until fully recognised, might easily mislead us into the false supposition of interpolation. It consists in a strange and almost singular abruptness—singular, that is to say, if the

author is one author. It would not, of course, be singular if his poems were like the Sibylline oracles, disconnected works of various writers and periods ; but, as far as we have gone, the abruptness has appeared to have a different origin. It seems to spring from a crowding of metaphor on metaphor and image upon image, sometimes so close together that the reader has to pause to extricate one from the other. Yet beneath this too frequent obscurity and appearance of confusion there will be found an arrangement of thoughts (whether conscious or subconscious) in many of the Odes, of such a nature as to prepare the reader to pass from the Ode's apparently simple beginning to a strange and—even in spite of the preparation—only half-expected, yet satisfying conclusion, which, in its turn, often prepares the way for a new beginning in the following Ode.

[3927] In poems thus simple in appearance yet subtly and delicately characterized, a controversial hand foisting in clauses of Christian thought, or conventional orthodox thought, interpolated "in the interests of the faith," would (it might be supposed) make its sign-manual immediately and obtrusively apparent. Such clauses would seldom or never be obscure. For why should the commonplace botcher of a beautiful poem, botching in the interests of definite dogma, with nothing of his own to say, be other than definite? Yet I think the charge of interpolation has sometimes been brought against passages that are decidedly obscure. Corrupt these may be, but hardly interpolated. To arrive at a scholarlike conclusion, the language of the Odes from first to last should be laboriously and carefully classified and analysed by experts in Syriac. Not being an expert, I can only say—awaiting any future consensus of expert opinion that may be ultimately pronounced—that the general uniformity of style appears to me to be against the view that there has been interpolation to any great extent.

[3928] On subject-matter, a non-expert in Syriac is more

competent to judge. And here it will be of use to refer again to one of the most prominent instances of apparent interpolation in the interests of orthodox Christianity—coming at the end of Ode XXIII:—"The name of the Father was on it and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah." Here, in favour of the theory of interpolation, a critic may point to the Christian custom of appending to each Jewish Psalm a Christian *Gloria Patri*. "This," he might say, "is precisely what we have here. Everything in the Ode is alien from such a clause. It is about a 'letter' that is like an 'arrow' from a 'bow'; about an irresistible on-moving 'wheel'; about a 'sign' of the Kingdom; and about 'persecutors' who 'become extinct.' Then the letter is spoken of as a great 'tablet wholly written by the finger of God.' Nothing in all this is distinctively Christian. But now, in the last verse, comes a formula based on the doctrine of the Trinity. Who can deny that this is a Christian addition?"

[3929] This objection has been stated at some length partly because it is natural, plausible, and indeed, at first sight irresistible; but partly also because, if it can be shewn to be unsound, the result must open our eyes to some unusual characteristics in our author, who abruptly introduces essentially Christian thought after a series of apparently non-Christian images. Reasons have been given above for believing that these unusual characteristics do explain the facts. The brief and obscure yet picturesque allusions with which the Ode is packed, when traced to their several Biblical sources, give us glimpses of a latent sequence of thought indicating that the suspected clause may be the final link of a chain of imagery which the author had in mind from the very beginning of the poem.

[3930] Not to repeat past arguments, the reader must be referred to the facts above alleged pointing to the conclusion that the "wheel" and the "bow," and possibly also the

"tablet," are derived from the vision of the Wheel and the Spirit and the Bow in Ezekiel. And it has been shewn (3900) that Origen himself saw in Ezekiel's vision an implied statement of a doctrine of a threefold personality in the divine nature.

This allusion to the Vision of Ezekiel, if admitted to be true, or even probable, puts an entirely different colour on the final clause and on its connection with the preceding images. No one would allege, I suppose, that Origen borrowed from the author of the Odes. If he did not, and if the final clause is a genuine part of the text, then all that we have to suppose is, that the poet and Origen independently—and perhaps other Christian authors whose writings are no longer extant—discerned a connection between the Spirit, the Man, and the Wheel in Ezekiel, of such a kind as to illustrate the connection between the Spirit, the Son, and the Father in their doctrine about the nature of God. Surely that is a very natural connection, not indeed for a prosaic Christian, but for a poetic Christian to see, even in the first century. Origen is a poet. Our author is a poet. And the poetic mind is always given to see likenesses where the scientific mind sees differences.

[3931] But suppose the final clause to be an interpolation. What follows? This, that the interpolator chose, for the place of his interpolation, just that place where no one except a poet or poetically minded writer could see any fitness for it. For a mere interpolator of a *Gloria Patri*, to insert his *Gloria* after the bewildering mixture of imagery above described is in the highest degree unlikely. There are many places in the Odes that would have been better fitted for such an interpolation.

[3932] Lastly, if the reader will refer to the last five verses of the Ode, he will perceive that it is almost impossible for us to cancel the last two verses alone. If we do, we are left with these as the Ode's final words:—"And those who persecuted

and were enraged became extinct." Surely, an impossible ending in any one of these Odes, all of which conclude in a strain of joy and close with Hallelujah¹.

[3933] But Professor Harnack may seem to meet this objection by his suggestion that we may go back still further in our search for the interpolator's work. "The interpolation may begin," he says, "at verse sixteen." If so, the last words of the Ode would be "the letter was one of command, for there were included in it all districts." Again, an impossible ending! Besides, that would oblige us to cancel the words about "persecutors" and "apostates." These have the ring of genuineness, and have been shewn above to be probably traceable to that history of Purim on which a part of the Ode appears to be based².

[3934] On the other hand, assuming that the clause is not an interpolation but a climax, we find in it a clue to the Ode, and a clue, in some sense, to the whole of the Odes. It is a clue to the Ode, because it leads us back to the preceding clause about "the Son of Truth," and that leads us back to the thought of the Sign or Seal of Truth, and that to the thought of Truth as being also the Bow that discharged the Letter, which Letter is ultimately called "a great Tablet wholly written by the finger of God." It is also a clue to the whole of the Odes, because, taken as a whole, they seem to shew a Christian climax to which the writer leads up his readers by Jewish steps, taking one step at a time but always having the topmost step within his prospect.

[3935] If this view is correct it will influence our estimate of all the Odes, of each of the Odes, and of almost every

¹ See 3691 *p* where it is shewn that the only omissions of Hallelujah in R.H. are explained either by the incomplete nature of the Ode, or by a misprint in his English text.

² It is not surprising that Prof. Harnack gives up the attempt to ascertain the original text: "Die christliche Interpolation mag schon v. 16 beginnen; aber es ist unmöglich zu sagen, wie der ursprüngliche Text gelaute hat."

sentence in every Ode. The author will be revealed as attempting from the first to act as our spiritual guide, not exactly through Judaism to Christianity, for he does not think in that sectarian way, but through falsehood, or illusion, or half-truth, to whole truth. He thinks in paradox and teaches us through paradox. Peace, he says, comes through war; darkness is the foil to light. Truth and freedom are always in his view, and it is to these as goals that he is leading us on. Yet he mentions them comparatively seldom because he always identifies them with a Person. When "freedom" is first mentioned it is to tell us that the Lord "leads captive a good captivity for freedom," and the last sentence in the last Ode represents the Lord as saying concerning the redeemed, "They are free men and they are mine." That is the poet's pervasive view of "freedom." It consists in being "*His*."

[3936] As to the date of these remarkable poems, if we are to offer a provisional hypothesis, it would be that they were written at the end of the first century, soon after the accession of Nerva. This suggestion is based partly on a similarity of thought between the Odes and the Fourth Gospel, and partly on the peaceful atmosphere of the former, appropriate to a time when the persecution of Christians had temporarily ceased¹. The Wheel at that time turned with a dramatic

¹ [3936 *a*] It may be argued that the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, soon after A.D. 70, would be, from this point of view, equally appropriate. Comp. *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 1117 *a* "The fact that the Christians had taken no part in the Jewish war of independence, and had withdrawn from Jerusalem before the siege, would have distinguished them favourably in Roman eyes from the other Jewish sects with which they were confounded. The reversal of the sentences on treason in the cases of all who had been convicted of *ἀσέβεια* in the reign of Nero and his three successors, and the prohibition of prosecutions on such a charge for the future (Dion. lxvi. 9), which was one of the first acts of Vespasian's reign, an example in which he was followed by Titus (Dion. lxvi. 19), must also have been very favourable to the Christians."

[3936 *b*] But (1) in the transition from Nero to Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian, the turning of the wheel in favour of the Christians was

suddenness and effectiveness that must have extended all over the empire, and did actually extend, as Eusebius tells us on ancient authority, to a celebrated Christian exile in Patmos, John the Apostle of the Lord¹. The Letter that

not nearly so rapid and decisive as it appears to have been after the assassination of Domitian. (2) For some time—some little time, at all events—after the capture of Jerusalem and the fall of the Temple, even a Christian, if he was also a Jew, must have felt a shock of horror and a thrill of sympathy with the sufferings of his non-Christian countrymen after the flesh, which would have prevented him from serenely moralising (as in Ode iv) on the unchangeableness of God's holy place. Very soon—and all the more quickly because of the acceptance of Christ's predictions that the Temple must fall—it would be possible to feel that it could not have been otherwise. But, for a few months at least, while the cessation of persecution was fresh in Christian minds, the thought of Israel's sufferings would also be fresh—for every decent Christian that called himself also an Israelite.

¹ [3936 c] Euseb. iii. 20, 7—11. Eusebius first quotes (not quite accurately) a rhetorical statement of Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) to the effect that Domitian "very quickly ceased persecuting" Christians and "recalled those whom he had banished." This he clearly disbelieves. For it is contrary to his own statement that (iii. 17) "Domitian at his close (*τελευτῶν*) made himself Nero's heir-at-law in God-hating and God-persecuting (*θεομαχίας*)."¹ And in support of his contradictory view Eusebius adds (1) a testimony from chroniclers *in writing* (probably not Christian and therefore impartial), and (2) *tradition* from Christians ("the report of our own ancient [authorities]"): "*After Domitian*—who had held power for fifteen years—when Nerva succeeded to the throne, the assembled Council of the Romans decreed that Domitian's honours should be cancelled, and those unjustly banished should be recalled to their homes, and also have their property restored to them. The *chronological writers* record [this] (*ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ γραφῇ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδίδοντες*). Accordingly it was then—such is *the tradition handed down by our own ancient authorities* (*ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος*)—that the Apostle John exchanged his exile in the island [of Patmos] for his life-as-a-teacher (*διατριβήν*) at Ephesus."

We must not infer that what happened in Bithynia happened everywhere; but still Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan about the state of things in that province leads to a reasonable inference that in many other parts of the empire Christianity had recently spread with marvellous rapidity. Writing to Trajan (A.D. 110—11) he speaks of an "infection" spreading to "many of every age and rank and of both sexes," and of "temples almost deserted."

sped through the empire like an Arrow had been preceded by an outburst of execration on the memory of the assassinated persecutor Domitian: "the crowd of *delatores*, who, under the heads of treason, atheism, and Judaism, had preferred accusations which, in the nature of the case, fell most heavily on the Christians, were banished, and those who had been sent to prison or exile on these charges were recalled and set at liberty¹." Purim and Ahasuerus and Haman, not the Senate and Nerva and the informers of Domitian's reign, were probably in the mind of the writer of the Ode, but still the words just quoted about the "*delatores*" agree fairly well with his saying that "those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct."

[3937] Some readers may be disappointed at this merely provisional hypothesis, as being a poor result of a laborious and even (so it may seem to them) a pedantically minute examination of the text of these ancient poems. But, after all, is the exact date of very great importance? Whether the poet wrote in the first century or in the second, is not he really valuable to us because, in either case, he reveals himself as a man of independent and original mind, linking together Jewish and Christian thought so closely that, for sentences together, we cannot tell whether he is a Jew on the point of becoming a Christian or a Christian fresh from the condition in which he thought as a non-christian Jew? With all his faults, and they are numerous and obvious, he is a poet whom we must no more think of patronising, and labelling, and then putting aside, than we should think of inflicting these enormities on Milton or on Wordsworth. Pauline he is, but not an imitator of Paul; Johannine, yet almost certainly ignorant of the Johannine gospel; a poet but also a teacher, at whose

¹ [3936 d] *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 28 a. See also Suet. *Domit.* 23. *Thes.* 33 gives an instance of the Syr. "letter" (used in our Ode) in the phrase "*epistolae reditus, quibus iis qui in exilium missi essent concedebatur ut domum reverterentur.*"

feet we must be content to sit as pupils, "knowing him in the Lord," that he may help us to "live by the living water that is for ever¹."

§ 2. *A provisional Hypothesis as to continuity of thought*²

[3938] If the Odes are to be regarded as a continuous work, then a few words may be in place about the relation between the first of them and the last. For the first will then appear to be the first of many stages by which we are led on to the last, while all, taken together, exhibit a mystical picture of God's Design or Plan of Redemption of Man. The first Ode begins with the fruitful Crown of Truth, ordained from the beginning. Then, after many preparatory Odes indicative of the need of a conflict for the Crown, the twenty-seventh Ode introduces the Cross under the title of "the upright tree (*or*, beam)" and in connection with the Lord's "sign." The last Ode takes up again the "tree (*or*, beam)" and describes, in effect, the triumph of the Cross through which the Crown was to be attained.

Again, the first Ode, and the third—(the second is lost) imply or say that the Crown is "living," and the Beloved is "He that dieth not." The last Ode describes the descent of the Crucified into Sheol to draw forth the sons of Man from captivity under Darkness and Death to freedom in Light and Life. The Crown of Truth in the first Ode is Solomon's Crown, that is to say, the Crown of the ideal Bridegroom, the Beloved, who was—as the name Solomon implies—the Perfect or Completed, or the Perfecter and Completer, or the eternal Peace—a Peace associated with the thought of Rest. The last Ode, though it does not mention Rest, implies it in

¹ Ode vi. 17.

² For the statements made in this summarising section about Crown, Bridegroom, Cross, Father, Son, Mother, Spirit, Virgin, Aeons &c., see these words in the Index.

the proclamation that those who were once slaves are henceforth to be the Lord's ("they are mine").

[3939] But this Rest is not to be the Rest of stagnation. It is, in various ways, to be the Rest of Motion, variously manifested. It may be the Rest of the willing service of free agents ("they are free men and they are mine"). It may be the Rest of a river rolling on its fertilising course, with a surface changing every moment though apparently the same. It may be the Rest of the fruitful earth bringing forth its gifts to the Lord in the unchanging circle of the changes of each year. Or it may be the harmonious Rest of the aeons speaking one to another in a choral symphony of love and concord, even as "day unto day uttereth speech¹." All these metaphors appear in the Odes; but in this last, perhaps, the author best expresses his sense of the perpetual motion that underlies the apparent stillness and the perfect unity of the Divine Life. It is all one piece of Music. For mortal eyes, it must be written (as music is) with treble above bass, and in consecutive notes, with intervals of rest; and even though mortal ears may take in treble and bass together, they cannot simultaneously take in consecutive notes and intervals of rest, much less whole pages. But God, the Composer, takes in the whole at once from the keynote or alpha, to the last note or omega, having the whole in His mind as one vast harmony of moving yet restful Thought. This Thought, to our poet, seems Life and includes every joy of Life. Whoever is so far in union with God as to be able to take in even a faint far-off echo of

¹ Comp. Ode xii. 8 R.H. "and by it the worlds (footn. "*or possibly* the aeons") talk one to the other." H. has "und die Welten haben dadurch mit einander geredet," but in a footnote on the latter part of the verse he uses the term *aeons*, "Die Äonen, die an sich keine Sprache hatten." The context speaks of "love" and "concord." I regret that it has not been possible to include this Ode in this volume. It would be interesting to discuss whether xii. 8 "there were those [aeons] that were silent" could refer to "ages" that appear to man mere wastes or blanks, but, to God, "rests" in the aeonian music. See the note on "aeons" in 3781 *i*—*z*₃.

this divine Harmony, is "delighting-sweetly in the delightful-sweetness of the Lord." Philo, as we have seen (3867), says much the same thing, in the person of Abraham, whom he describes as faring sumptuously on the "well-mixed symphony" of the "fear" of God and the "trust" in God; but he does not (as far as I can ascertain) approach our author in his recognition of the harmony of the aeons as they evolve the revelation of God's Thought in the history of Man.

[3940] One reason for this impassioned recognition of the unity of things may well be that the author—if we assume, as is highly probable, that he was a Jewish Christian in the days when Christianity was fresh—appreciated with a Pauline fervour, hardly possible for us in modern times, the revelation of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Family of God. He never speaks of God as King¹ but often as Father,

"THE KINGDOM" AND "HEALING EVERY SICKNESS"

¹ [3940 a] "King" does not occur at all in H.'s Index. "Kingdom" does not occur till Ode xviii. 3, and then in xxii. 12, xxiii. 11 (xxxvi. 8 has "government" not kingdom). Comp. 3781 z.

The first mention of "kingdom" is connected with "sickness" (xviii. 3) "sicknesses have removed far from my body, and it stood up to [serve] the Lord (*Thes.* 3525, comp. the dative in *Exod.* xxxii. 26 *Heb.*) in [accordance with] His good-pleasure, because His Kingdom is true." The second is xxii. 12 "on it (*i.e.* on thy Rock) thou didst build thy Kingdom." For the third, xxiii. 11 "a sign of the kingdom and the government," see 3887, 3906 foll. The second instance recalls a passage in Matthew (xvi. 18) "on this rock will I build my Church." The first still more manifestly recalls the passage where Matthew first mentions "kingdom" (sing.) in his own person (iv. 23) "And Jesus went about...preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every sickness (*πᾶσαν μαλακίαν*) among the people." No other evangelist has the italicised passage. But Matthew (ix. 35, x. 1) twice repeats "heal(ing) every disease and every sickness," as the action of Christ and the Apostles. In Hebraic Greek—which does not use the word *παντοῖος*, but only *πάν γένος* where *παντοῖος* is urgently needed—"every sickness" may mean "all sickness." The ambiguous phrase is rare. It occurs nowhere in LXX except Deut. vii. 15 "The Lord will take away from thee every (R.V. *all*) sickness, and he will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt...upon thee," *ib.* xxviii. 60—61 "He will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt...also every (so R.V.)

sickness and every plague....” The former conveys a promise conditional on Israel’s obedience to the Law; the latter, a threat, in case of disobedience. *Μαλακία*, without *πᾶσα*, recurs, in a promise again, in Exod. xxiii. 25 (LXX) “Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God...and I will turn *sickness* away from you.” Elsewhere in LXX it is very rare, outside narratives (2 Chr.) of the sicknesses of Asa, Jehoram, and Joash, which are regarded as visitations from God. In all these visitations (exc. 2 Chr. xxi. 19) the Heb. and Greek are the same (forms of מַלְאָכָה and *μαλακία*).

[3940 *b*] The judicial and retributive associations of the word “sickness” make its use surprising in Isaiah xxxviii. 9 “the writing of Hezekiah ...when he...was recovered from his *sickness*.” The parallel narrative in 2 K. and particularly 2 K. xx. 7 “and he recovered,” does not insert it. Had it any allusive suggestion that might make it acceptable to some Jews and distasteful to others? We know that some Jews regarded Hezekiah as having Messianic claims. And the only remaining important LXX use of *μαλακία* is in a passage of Isaiah regarded as Messianic (liii. 3) “a man of (?) pangs and *knowing how to bear sickness*,” Heb. “*knowing sickness*,” and so R.V. marg., but txt “*grief*.”

In the story of Hezekiah, it is said by Isaiah (xxxviii. 21, comp. 2 K. xx. 7) that he was afflicted by a “*boil*.” This may at first sight seem an insignificant detail. But this very rare word (Gesen. 1006 *b*) is definitely connected with “*Egypt*” in Exod. ix. 9—11, and in Deut. xxviii. 27 “the Lord shall smite thee with *the boil* (A.V. *botch*) of *Egypt*,” and with the action of Satan in Job ii. 7, and with leprosy in Lev. xiii. 18—23. Hezekiah, therefore, as a faithful disciple of the Law, might complain that God would not seem to have kept His “promise” or “truth” with him, if he died under such a judicial plague. To die thus was not to die as the seed of Abraham should die. It was to die under God’s wrath, cut off from God’s “truth.” And this may partly explain the impassioned tone of his Song of Recovery, and, in particular, the difficult words, “They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy *truth*.”

[3940 *c*] Returning to Ode xviii. 3 “*sicknesses* have removed from my body...because *His* (i.e. *the Lord’s*) *Kingdom is true*,” we find that the Syr. for “sicknesses” is the same as in Is. xxxviii. 9 “[Hezekiah] was recovered from his *sickness*,” Deut. xxviii. 61, and Is. liii. 3; and this indicates that the writer is not borrowing from Matthew his view of the antithesis between “sicknesses” and the “Kingdom.” Both the Evangelist and the Odist appear to have in view the ancient promise in the Law, namely, that “every sickness” should be taken away in the new Kingdom of Jehovah over redeemed Israel, if only Israel would be loyal to its Redeemer and King. “‘Sicknesses’ must needs be ‘removed far off’ from the faithful, because the King promised that it should be so, and ‘His Kingdom is true’”—that appears to be the Odist’s thought. And he puts it into the mouth of the redeemed soul identifying itself with the

and once as "Father of the aeons." Along with this, there is an underlying assumption of the existence of a Mother, seldom so called, but implied in mystical mentions of "milk" and "breasts" and "bringing forth," and sometimes mentioned in such a way as to leave it doubtful whether it means the eternal Wisdom, as the Mother of wise souls, or Zion the Mother of the faithful, or the literal Mother of the Messiah. There is also a frequent and definite mention of the Son¹.

good king Hezekiah, who, after being conspicuously delivered from a "sickness" that was specially "Egyptian," then "stood up to [serve] the Lord," for the fulfilment of the promise (2 K. xx. 5, comp. Is. xxxviii. 22) "On the third day thou shalt go up to the house of the Lord."

The only other instance of "sickness" is xxv. 9 "Thy right hand... removed sickness from me," where the context ("holy" and "justified") implies spiritual as well as physical healing.

[3940*d*] Origen has left no commentary, and Jerome scarcely any, on Matthew's phrase "healing every disease and every sickness." About the Deuteronomic threat however (Deut. xxviii. 58—61) of the "diseases of Egypt" and "every sickness," Origen discourses at great length in his comment on Ps. iv. 6 "who will shew us any good?" He tries to shew that physical disease and pain are not in themselves evil, and combats the opposite view. When he passes on to Christ's acts of healing, he implies, in the first place, that they were not universal or indiscriminate (*εἰ δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ τὰδε τινὰ ἴασατο*), and secondly that His powers of healing men's bodies—besides being subordinate to His powers of healing men's souls—were merely temporary expedients, adapted for the men of that day, "in order that those who would not be persuaded by demonstrative words might be shamed into assent by the Lord's portentous powers." His language is very different from that of Chrysostom who, in his comment on Mt. iv. 23, describes the Evangelist as compressing into a few words whole "snowshowers" of miracles. Origen sees difficulties where Chrysostom sees none.

The passage in the Odes, and the refrain in Matthew, are mutually illuminative. They help us to understand how narratives of Christ's faith-healing, which was a historical fact, might be treated poetically as fulfilments of the Promise in the Law. Thus treated, they would go vastly beyond the historical facts and would enter the most dangerous region of deceptiveness—deceiving without any intention to deceive.

¹ [3940*e*] The varying contexts in which the Son is mentioned cause some perplexity. This may sometimes be diminished by remembering

[3941] Thus from the beginning, the poet gives us the continuous impression that he holds the doctrine of the three divine Persons, although introduced in a way unusual and likely to be suspected as heterodox by orthodox Trinitarians. He seems to hold this belief partly on a scriptural or traditional basis, like Philo's belief in God, and the Logos or Son, and the Spirit; partly on a basis of natural religion, having a glimpse of a God who is both One and Three and who in the latter aspect represents the indissoluble Family in heaven, to the vision of which we approach through the ordinary experience of the family on earth; but partly, and perhaps mostly, on the new and extraordinary experience of the Spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, in the poet's heart, inspiring unutterable thoughts and praises and exultations in a new and absorbing sense of a Supreme Beloved. Putting forth such a doctrine as this—poetic or emotional conviction rather than religious formula, and suggested rather than defined—he might refuse to be bound by the formal Christian teaching about the Trinity, even if he knew of it, and might go back to the mysterious Origin in a way of his own, or at least in language of his own.

the poet's habit of superimposing one Biblical character on another to obtain an impression of the Messiah. For example Ode xxxvi. 1—5 beginning "I *rested on* the Spirit of the Lord," goes on to say "It (*i.e.* the Spirit) brought me forth before the face of the Lord, and, although a son of man, I was named *the Light* (or, *the Illuminated*), the Son of God"; after which the speaker says "According to the greatness of the Most High so it (*i.e.* the Spirit, fem. subj., see H.) made me." This seems bathos. But "made" may mean—according to a frequent Hebrew usage—"had made," expressing God's consistent purpose in preparing the Redeemer of Israel. Similarly Philo, maintaining God's predestination, alleges (i. 102) Noah, as "*resting upon goodness* (*ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ*)" as it were by predestination, in virtue of the name (Noah, "*rest*") given him at his birth. Then, in rapid succession, he cites Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Bezaleel, and Moses, the last of whom (*ib.* 108) saw, in fact, and "in the Mount," what Bezaleel saw as it were "in shadow." Our poet, like Philo, is passing perhaps from Noah, the type of "*rest*," to Moses, the type of "*illumination*," in his vision of the fore-runners of the Messiah.

[3942] And so, in the first Ode, he actually does. But at the same time he takes advantage of Scripture. Having resolved to write his songs in the name of Solomon, he utilises the two books ascribed to Solomon. The Book of Proverbs describes the Lord as Creator, and Wisdom with Him, in the beginning of His way, as a "Nursling¹." The Song of Songs, though it does not mention the Bridegroom by name, implies that character throughout, under the title of the Beloved, and once expressly connects the thought with the name of Solomon thus: "Behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother hath crowned him in the day of his espousals²."

[3943] In the history of the Christian Church, as in any work of modern fiction, we mostly think of the wedding as coming, not at the beginning, but at the end of the story. But a Jewish Christian might say that, although in its earthly manifestation, the wedding came at the end, yet really, in God's Thought, it came at the beginning of beginnings, since there never was a time when the eternal Mind, wedded to the eternal Thought, was not in relation to the eternal Word—the Father, the Mother, the Son, the Family in heaven, corresponding to what was to be, but was not yet, the Family on earth. That seems to have been our poet's conception³.

[3944] Almost at once⁴, in the third Ode, he passes to the thought of the Head and the Body of the Bridegroom in whom each son of Man is to be made one by "loving Him (3999 (i) *a*) the Son," and also to the thought of the Spirit of this "love," of which Spirit he says, "This is the Spirit of the Lord, which is not falsehood, which teacheth the sons of Man to know His

¹ Prov. viii. 22—30, on which see 3766 foll., and 3775 *a*.

² Cant. iii. 11.

³ Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 8) in a passage that follows a reference to Hermes [Trismegistus], seems to find a Trinity in God, the Breath (*or*, Spirit), and the Word, corresponding to the Father, the Spirit, and the Son. See 3781 *z*₁ on the possible influence (actionary or reactionary) of "the books of Hermes" on our poet.

⁴ These first Odes are very short. The second is lost.

ways¹." There seems no trace here of an interpolation foisting in a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity ; had it been so, the interpolator (one would think) would have interpolated more formally. But there is a trace of the working of a Jewish mind, imbued with Jewish literature, superimposing, so to speak, on the picture of the Bridegroom in the Song of Songs, and on the picture of the Nursling in Proverbs, who delighted in "the sons of man," the Christian picture of the Bridegroom, who, as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, was pre-eminently the "Son," and who became as one of the "sons of man" mentioned in the eighth Psalm, in order to fulfil the will of the Father "in bringing many sons unto glory²."

[3945] If indeed the expression "loving Him, the Son," were an interpolation, and this so early in the volume, we should probably find (as we do find in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) many more such interpolations at once and throughout the series. In that case, wherever the Jewish poet sang of God as giving gifts or grace to men, we should expect to find some Christian addition saying, in effect, "yes, but through the Son." For example, in the fourth Ode, after the words "Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers," how easy to have added "*through thy Son* ;" or, in the fifth, after the words "freely I have received thy grace," to have made a similar addition³.

[3946] But in fact, having once struck the keynote of Sonship, the writer does not mention the term Son again until, after singing of the River of the Spirit, he comes, in a natural sequence, to sing of the Way to God, where the whole of the Ode implies that "the Way" is the Son. Even in the Odes where the Son is not mentioned, there are many where the thought is implied, not only by such terms (above-mentioned) as describe the relation of the Babe to the Parents, but also

¹ Ode iii. 9, 12.

² Heb. i. 2 foll., ii. 10, see 3709 *b*.

³ Odes iv. 5, v. 3.

by descriptions of the love of God toward Man and the answering gratitude of Man to God, in language that points to the ideal Son as the avenue both of the gift and of the response.

[3947] It was remarked above that in the mind of a non-Jewish Christian the thought of the Bridegroom would come naturally after the thought of the incarnation of the Son, but that in the Odes it was otherwise. We must add, however, that the Odes exhibit a kind of compromise between the two trains of thought. For, though they imply the Bridegroom from the very first, they do not mention Him till the very last—in the 42nd Ode, where the Messiah descends to Sheol to rescue from darkness the imprisoned sons of Adam who hail their Rescuer as “Son of God.”

[3948] For this climax, a preparation in some of the later Odes is fairly traceable on Jewish lines. But, in order to trace it, we must recognise that this rescue was a kind of “passing over,” and that there were many mystical Jewish traditions about “passing over.” To “pass over” Jordan into the Promised Land was a type of passing from sorrow to joy, or from this world to the next. The first person described as “passing over Jordan” is Jacob. “With my staff,” he said, “I *passed over* this Jordan¹.” Rashi says that he parted the waters asunder with his staff. This, however, describes his going from the Promised Land, not his return to it. Jacob’s “passing over Jordan,” on his return, is nowhere expressly described. The Midrash declares that Israel “*passed over* the Jordan” afterwards “in the strength of the merits of Jacob.” Abraham himself—when mentioned as on the point of rescuing Lot, is abruptly and unexpectedly called “Abraham the *Hebrew*,” and the LXX renders this “Abraham the *Perātēs*,” i.e. the “Passer Over,” nowhere else using this word². Philo,

¹ Gen. xxxii. 10.

² Gen. xiv. 13 *περάτης*, Aq. *περαιτης*, on which see Field. The verb *περάω* occurs nowhere in LXX exc. Wisd. xix. 5 (v.r.) concerning the

at the beginning of his treatise on the Migration of Abraham, describes it as a migration from the region of the senses to that of the mind or spirit, and soon afterwards says that "the name Hebrew is interpreted *Perâtés*," and that it signifies "those whose custom it is to migrate from the things of the sense to the things of the mind¹." Elsewhere, speaking about "rivers," about "*the great river*, the river Euphrates," and about the river Nile, in connection with "the wise Abraham," he says that these two represent severally the passions of the soul and the passions of the body².

[3949] Even the early Targum of Onkelos defines the "passing over" in the Song of Moses by naming rivers: "Fear and dread will fall upon them...until thy people, O Lord, *pass over Arnon*, until thy people whom thou hast redeemed *pass over Jordan*"; and the later Targums do likewise, mentioning severally the Arnon and the Jabbok, or the Jabbok and the Jordan. The object of this insertion was to explain from the history of Israel the double promise implied in the Scripture, "till thy people *pass over*, O Lord, till the people *pass over* which thou hast purchased³." How natural for a Jewish Christian, finding an established tradition among his countrymen concerning a mystical "passing over," to interpret this repetition as indicating that the Messiah

passage of the Red Sea. R. Jehuda said (Midr. on Gen. xiv. 13) that "Abraham was on one side, and the whole world on the other."

¹ Philo i. 436—9.

² Philo i. 518, comp. *ib.* i. 692.

³ [3949 a] Exod. xv. 16. See *Expos.* Feb. 1912 p. 111 where Prof. Wensinck instructively compares:—

Ode xxxix. 8: "The Lord has bridged them [the rivers] by His word"; 11 "and a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him."

Ephrem i. 99, 19 *et seq.*: Christ's birth, baptism, death and resurrection "are a fourfold bridge to His kingdom; and lo, His flock are crossing it in His steps."

The amplification of the thought in the Ode by Ephrem is somewhat like the amplification of the words in Exodus by the Targums, and distinguishes the elaboration of an imitator from the simplicity of a poet.

would "pass over" the River of Death and lead His people after Him into the habitations of the blessed !

[3950] Thus and only thus can we fully understand the reasons that induce our poet to devote to the subject of "passing over rivers" the whole of the 39th Ode, and the remarkable words with which it begins: "Great rivers are the power of the Lord." That is to say, they are the trials and temptations with which He chastens His people, while guiding them safely across if they will but trust in Him. The poem goes on to say "They that *pass over* in faith are not moved... the Lord walked and *passed over* them on foot...the footprints of our Lord Messiah stand firm...a way has been appointed for those who *pass over* after Him." That is to say, as Israel "passed over Jordan in the merits of Jacob," so are Christians to "pass over" the River of Death in the merits of Christ.

[3951] This Ode on the Passage of Rivers (which are the symbols of the errors and passions that sweep men away to destruction) immediately follows an Ode (the 38th) about Truth and Error. There the Bridegroom is mentioned for the first time, but only as Error, the false Bridegroom. It will be found, however, that the poet is thereby preparing us, after a manner not unusual with him, to pass through the untrue and unreal to the true and real.

[3952] After the Ode on the Passage of Rivers come two Odes of Praise. One is but short, from the poet speaking individually, curiously likening the flow of his hope in God to that of (xl. 2) "the milk" that "flows from the woman that loves her children" (where one would rather have expected the "milk," as elsewhere in the Odes, to have come from God, and the "hope" to be as a babe, hanging, as elsewhere, on God's "breast"). The other is much longer, from the redeemed, as "sons," collectively. Both indicate an ecstasy of babelike or filial joy in the Father's love. The second begins thus, "All the Lord's children will praise Him...and His *sons* shall be known to Him. Therefore we will sing in His love." This

mention of the "*sons*"¹ of the Lord prepares the way for a mention of the Messiah, the Word from whom "light dawned," the Saviour, the Son of the Most High, "known before the foundation of the world, that He might cause souls to live for ever by the truth of His name."

[3953] And now everything is ready for the "dawning" of this "light" on the captives in Sheol. And in the last Ode of all, the poet describes this, speaking in the person of the Saviour Himself. There is nothing in it for which the way has not been artistically prepared (though perhaps rather by a spiritual than by a conscious art) in various preceding stages. There is, for example, almost at the opening, the "stretching out of the hands," mentioned before, and now repeated, as the "sign" of the Lord, indicating the triumph of the Cross; there is also the Bridegroom, no longer merely the Beloved, but with His "arm over the Bride," the wedding being consummated; there is the rescue of the dead, like Israel of old "brought again from the depths of the sea"²; lastly, there is a "running" of captive Humanity towards its Rescuer, and a simultaneous recognition of Him as "Son of God." Great difficulty besets the hypothesis, either that there are any serious Christian interpolations in this Ode, or that, among the Odes, the whole of the Ode itself is a Christian interpolation. Rather, it appears to be a fit close to a series of poems by a Jewish Christian, not later than the first century, depicting—in a series of visions derived from the history of the guidance of the sons of Israel by the divine Spirit—the continuous development of the Purpose of the Father to redeem from Sheol, through the Son, not Israel alone, but "a congregation of the living among his (*i.e.* Sheol's) dead"—as many as "run" to "the Son of God" for help³.

¹ Ode xli. 1—2. R.H. and H. have "children" in both clauses, but the Syr. has first "children" and then "sons."

² Ps. lxxviii. 22.

³ See Ode xlii. 19—21, and Note on "the Messiah" (3819 *a*—*b*₆).

APPENDIX I

"SIGN" IN THE ODES

§ 1. *Passages in the Odes mentioning "sign"*

[3954] It has been shewn above (3906 foll.) that the first mention of a "sign," in the same Ode (xxiii. 11—16) that uniquely mentions "the Son of Truth," is not accompanied by any definite mention of the Cross, though possibly preparing the way for it. In subsequent Odes, the Lord's "sign" is connected with the "stretching out of the hands," and with "the rod of His power"; and it is even said to be "the Lord" Himself, and "a way of those who cross." Without attempting to discuss these and other passages in detail, we shall find it convenient to have them before us in order, noting a few prominent points of interest in each extract, but reserving judgment as to the ultimate and total conclusion to which they lead.

[3955] Besides (1) Ode xxiii. 11—14 (3906 foll.), "sign" is mentioned in xxvii. 2, xxix. 7, xxxix. 6, xlii. 2—all in the latter half of the Odes.

(2) Ode xxvii. 1—3 "I spread-out my hands and ascribed-holiness unto my Lord; for the stretching-out of my hands is His sign, and my spreading-out is the upright tree (*or*, beam). Hallelujah."

R.H. 1st ed. "I stretched out my hands and sanctified the Lord; for the extension of my hands is His sign: and my expansion is the upright tree (*or* cross);" 2nd ed. "sanctified my Lord," with n. "U.-S.: und heiligte [sie] meinem Herrn." Both edd. omit "Hallelujah," but it is in the Syr. text (3691 *p*).

H. "Ich habe meine Hände ausgestreckt und dem [but Syr. "my"] Herrn geheiligt, denn das Ausdehnen meiner Hände ist sein Zeichen, und mein Ausbreiten das aufgerichtete Holz. Hallelujah."

[3956] The word rendered here "tree," "beam," "cross," "Holz," has three meanings ("lignum," "arbor," and "crux") assigned to

it in *Thes.* 3606, besides “*rariores sensus*,” meaning anything made of wood. It freq. represents ξύλον where it means “tree,” *e.g.* Lk. xxiii. 31 “green *tree*,” Rev. ii. 7 “the *tree* of life”; also in Judg. ix. 48 “cut down a bough from the *trees*,” Jerem. xi. 19 “let us destroy the *tree* with the fruit thereof” (where the Heb. (Gesen. 781 *b*) means “tree, trees, wood,” including “articles of wood”). *Thes.* 3607 indicates that in Syr. outside the Bible the word is used of growing “plants,” *e.g.* asparagus. And the Syriac play on the word as being at once Eve’s “tree” and the “tree” of the Cross (*Thes.* 3606 “*lignum [crucis] absolvit lignum [cujus fructum decerpit Eva]*”) was probably current before the end of the first century. I have therefore preferred “tree (*or*, beam)” as the rendering, so as to retain “tree” yet warn the reader that it is not the same word as that rendered “tree” in Odes xi. 16, 18, xx. 7. “His tree” in xx. 7 is probably connected, in the poet’s mind (3664 foll.), with “the tree (*or*, beam)” mentioned later on, and is preparatory for the latter.

[3957] Ode xxvii might refer to Moses (Exod. xvii. 8—15) “lifting up his hands” for Israel before erecting the altar, which he calls “Jehovah-nissi,” *i.e.* Jehovah my *ensign*, *beacon*, or *uplifted sign*. On this, a tradition says (Levy *Ch.* ii. 113 and *Mechilt.* ad loc.) somewhat obscurely that, as (Is. lxiii. 9) Israel’s “affliction” is the Lord’s “affliction,” so Israel’s “ensign” may be regarded as God’s “ensign,” being wrought for His sake as well as Israel’s. Barnabas and others (3964) regard Moses here as a type of the Cross of Christ. This passing on, so to speak, of the *ensign* from the Lord to Moses and from Moses to Israel is illustrated in *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xxiv. 1, Wü. pp. 278—9) from several instances. Abraham is a blessing to others, but it is because he himself has first been blessed by God. David, the shepherd of Israel, has God for his Shepherd. Jerusalem, the light of the world, has God for its Light.

In connection with the thought of God’s “ensign” as being also man’s “ensign,” attention may be called to the very copious Midrash on Numb. ii. 2 “each man by his standard,” which (Wü. p. 12) quotes Cant. ii. 4 “his standard over me was love,” and which regards the “standards” as God’s gift (Wü. p. 14) making Israel (Cant. vi. 4) “terrible as an army with standards.” They differ for the different tribes and families, but they are all (it is implied) God’s “love.”

[3958] (3) Ode xxix. 6—7 “For I believed in the Anointed of

the Lord; and it appeared to me [in a vision] that He is the Lord. And He shewed Him (but R.H. conj. "me," and so H.) His sign: and He led me in His light and gave me the rod of His power." On this use of "*appeared*," comp. Mt. ii. 12 (Syr. Burk.) "*and it appeared to them in a vision* that they should not return unto Herod."

[Instead of R.H. "His sign," H. has "das Zeichen dafür," i.e. "*its* sign." This is explained by the fact that the Syr. txt in R.H. 1st ed. has "its sign" with fem. suffix, which could not mean "his sign." But the Syr. txt in R.H. 2nd ed. has "His sign" with masc. suffix; it adds a note suggesting that we should perhaps read "*to me a sign*," but not explaining whether the 1st ed. contained a transcriptional error. See also 3961 where R.H. 2nd ed. exhibits a similar change of Syr. text.

The facsimile of R.H.'s MS. in the British Museum has "*His* sign." This is also the reading of Codex N.]

This extract suggests a picture of Moses (the type of the redeemed soul) seeing the Messiah in the Burning Bush, before the mention of (Exod. iv. 2, 20) "the rod of God," Jer. Targ. "from the sapphire throne of glory" (see *Aboth* v. 9). Rashi (on Exod. iii. 12) represents God as saying to Moses concerning his mission to Pharaoh, "This is not thy business, but mine, because I will be with thee, and *this vision, which thou hast seen in the bush, is to be a sign unto thee*, that I have sent thee." Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 59) and Irenaeus (iv. 10. 1) take the "angel" that spoke in the Bush as being God, but not God the Father. Irenaeus definitely calls Him the Son. Doubtless Paul would have called Him "Messiah" (1 Cor. x. 4 "...a rock that followed them, and the rock was *Christ*"). Our poet might therefore say that Moses "believed in the 'Anointed' or Messiah, of the Lord." If "*shewed Him* His sign" were the correct reading, the meaning would seem to be that the Father shewed the Son His "sign," and that the Son, passing it on, so to speak, to Moses, led him in His light. But the conj. of R.H. "*me*" (for "*Him*") is supported by Codex N.

[3959] (4) Ode xxxix. 6 "For the sign in them is the Lord, and the sign is the way of those who cross [rivers] in the name of the Lord." This Ode begins with the words "Great rivers are the power of the Lord," and apparently refers to the passage of the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua (whom the LXX calls Jesus) when the Ark of the Lord, going first before the army, prepared the way for Israel across the river. "The sign in them"—that is,

in those who cross rivers in faith—"is the Lord," apparently means "The sign in the redeemed is the Presence of the redeeming Lord." This, for Israel after the flesh, is represented by the Ark. But Origen, contrasting the passage of the Red Sea by Moses with the passage of the Jordan by Joshua—whom he, of course, calls Jesus—says that in the Ark (*Comm. Joann.* vi. 26, *Lomm.* i. 245) "there is inwardly-shewn (*ἐμφαίνεται*) the mystery of the Economy of the Father in relation to the Son."

[3960] Origen says that what Paul said about the Red Sea Paul would also have been ready to repeat about the Jordan thus: "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that all our fathers *passed through Jordan, and all were baptized into Jesus in the Spirit and in the river.*" That thought is probably present to our author also. But he writes like a poet, simply and briefly. The "sign" is the Ark, the whole Presence of the Lord. It is also the "way" across Jordan for those who follow the Ark, crossing in His "name." The rest of the Ode contains other references to the passage of the Jordan.

[3961] (5) Ode xlii. 1—3 "I spread-out my hands and drew-near unto my Lord. Because the stretching-out of my hands is His sign. My spreading-out [is] the tree (*or*, beam) spread-out, which was suspended (*or*, lifted up) on the way of the Upright [One]."

First, as to the text, H. remarks that the fem. suffix demands the rendering "*its* sign," which he would explain as "the sign of my drawing-near." But R.H. 2nd ed. alters the fem. suffix in the Syr. txt to masculine, adding, however, no note. It is to be regretted that we are thus left uncertain whether R.H. is amending the text so as to make the meaning "His sign," or correcting a transcriptional error that has misled H. I have adopted "*His* sign" as making better sense, and also as being probably the correct reading in Ode xxix. 6—7 quoted above (3958).

[3962] Next, as to the interpretation of the text, and especially of the word rendered above "suspended," R.H. "was set up," H. "hing." The instances of the word in *Theo.* 4442 decidedly favour the rendering "suspended." Possibly the word is corrupt; the insertion of one letter would make it (as in *Numb.* xxi. 8 *Jer. Targ.*) "place of suspension," (*or*, "place aloft," see *Levy Ch.* ii. 539 *b*) used of the "ensign" on which the brazen serpent was hanged. Or is it possible that the poet may be seeing the Crucified and the Cross rising to heaven on "the [upward] way

of the Upright [One]"—and possibly seeing it as (3965 a) "a sign-post or way-mark"? The *Acts of John* § 13 describes "a Cross of light¹ firmly-fixed (πεπηγμένον)" up above, invisible to the crowds below, during the Crucifixion itself. And the *Gospel of Peter* (§ 10) describes the Cross as "following" the Saviour as He is in the act of being "carried upward" by two Angels. This would suit the contextual "drew-near unto my Lord." There would seem thus a consistent advance in this version as compared with that in Ode xxvii. quoted above. There, "ascribed-holiness unto my Lord" was the expression used; here, "drawing-near unto my Lord." There, "the upright tree (or, beam)" was mentioned in a somewhat obscure play on the word "upright"; here the moral meaning is distinctly expressed by "the Upright [One]." Here, too, the "hanging²," connected with Christ's "members" in the third Ode, is connected with "beam" or "tree" in the last, so as to suggest what the Law (Deut. xxi. 23, Gal. iii. 13) called "accursed," but the poet regards as Christ's triumph. Or perhaps he may regard the horizontal "beam" of the Cross as "suspended" like a sign-post on the Way of Life (3965).

¹ [3962 a] The "Cross of light" combines with the Christian Cross a suggestion of the Jewish Shechinah. Comp. *Beresh. Rabba* quoted by Prof. Bacon, from "Bigg's comments on 1 Pet. iii. 19 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*, p. 163)," in *Expos.* April 1911, p. 337, "But when they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive Him," and "This is that which is written: 'We shall rejoice and exult in thee.' When? When the captives climb up out of hell, and the Shechinah at their head." [I should like to verify these interesting passages. But Bigg simply says "Weber (quoted by Kühl) cites two passages"—and gives no references. The words "This is that which is written, 'We shall rejoice and exult in thee,'" apparently refer to Cant. i. 4. Now *Beresh. R.* refers once, and I believe only once, to Cant. i. 4 but (Wü. p. 231 on Gen. xviii. 17) in terms quite different from those quoted above.]

A restoration of souls from Sheol is also prayed for thus in the first-century *Apocalypse of Baruch* xxi. 21—3 (ed. Charles) "On account of thy name Thou hast called us a beloved people"—[*Every nature therefore from this onward is mortal* (to be read after xxi. 17)]—"Reprove therefore the angel of death, and let thy glory appear, and let the might of thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them."

² [3962 b] "Hanging." Perhaps the only other instance of "hanging" is (Ode iii. 2) "*In them* (i.e. the members of the Messiah) *do I hang*." The present instance suggests that, contrary to the view expressed in 3671—7, the first instance (Ode iii. 2) implied the "tree" of crucifixion, being intended to prepare for the "tree" definitely expressed here.

§ 2. *Symbolism connected with the "sign"*

[3963] It will be noted that the foregoing instances begin from the Kingdom above and end with prayer below. First comes "a sign of the Kingdom"; last comes "I drew near unto my Lord, for the stretching out of my hands is His sign." Somewhat similar is the sequence of thought in Ezekiel. His prophecy begins with the opening of the heavens, but ends with the plan of the New Temple to be built on earth¹. Yet, in the Odes, what may be called the "sign" of the petitioner below (as being made by him) is also the "sign" of Him who grants the petition above:—"the stretching out of my hands is *His sign* (3957—8)."

[3964] This writer agrees with Barnabas and Justin Martyr in this, that both he and they see types of the Cross in some of the acts of Moses. If also we could be sure that, in the first passage of the Odes mentioning "sign," there is an allusion to the T, or *Thau* in Ezekiel, so that this symbolic letter was, as it were, impressed on the Chariot of the World, we might then fairly find therein some Jewish basis for the extraordinary view of Justin that Plato, borrowing from the Hebrew scriptures, said "concerning the Son of God" that God "made Him a *Chi* (X) in the universe²." Of such symbolisms, of which now few traces remain, there were probably many specimens in the first century. Clement of Alexandria³, in his curious phrase "being faithful to the sign-letter," testifies to an earlier stage of thought when a Seer spoke freely of Alpha and Omega as being Christ, and of "the number of the Beast," and when Barnabas found T, the sign of the Cross, in the number 318 (3915 *b*). Also Ode xxiii. 16—17, in speaking of the

¹ [3963 *a*] Ezek. i. 1 "*the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God,*" xlviii. 35 "*it shall be eighteen thousand [reeds] round about: and the name of the city from that day shall be, The Lord is there.*" So our *Te Deum* begins with heaven ("*Thee*") and ends with earth ("*let me never be confounded*").

² [3964 *a*] Justin Mart. *Apol.* 60 καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Τιμαίῳ (p. 36 B—C) φυσιολογοῦμενον περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτε λέγει "Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί" παρὰ Μωυσέως λαβὼν ὁμοίως εἶπεν.

³ [3964 *b*] Clem. Alex. 812 τῷ ἐπίσημῳ πιστός. See Notes 2942* (i) *l*, and Grabe (on Iren. i. 14. 4 Ἰησοῦς...ἐπίσημον ὄνομα) "Ἐπίσημον hic non *insigne* vel *celebre nomen* denotare puto, sed *sex constans literis*, ut mox additur. Cum enim ἐπίσημον βαῦ sextum in Alphabeto locum teneret, indeque numeri 6 nota esset, tam hic ipse numerus, quam quae illum haberent, ἐπίσημα dici sueverunt." On ἐπίσημος in Ps. Sol. s. 3922 *l—u*. On Barnabas see 3820 *h* and 3915 *b*.

all-controlling or all-inheriting Son—soon after mentioning (*ib.* 11) the “sign of the Kingdom and the Government”—as “the Son of Truth,” suggests that the sign of the Kingdom, or of the Son, is also the sign of the Truth. This somewhat resembles the saying in the *Didaché*, “Then shall appear the *signs of the truth*¹.” But our poet differs from these writers in that he draws out, or suggests more clearly, a *moral* meaning in the correspondence between the “sign” and the thing signified.

[3965] For example, “the sign” is not only “a tree (*or*, beam),” but an “upright tree (*or*, beam)” —probably so called with allusion to the moral meaning usually attached in Syriac to the word “upright.” It is a “rod” and a “rod of God’s power,” but it is not for despotic power, but to “subdue the imaginations of the peoples².” It is a sign-post, or way-mark³, that not only points out the way, but also is “the Way”—the Way across waters of temptation and death, our Red Sea and our Jordan.

[3966] Lastly, it represents Prayer⁴. For it is, so to speak, a

¹ [3964 c] *Didach.* xvi. 6. Three are mentioned. The first is “the sign of spreading out [of hands] (*ἐκπένδσεως*) in heaven”—where the allusion to the crucifixion (and not to “opening” in heaven) is made almost certain by Is. lxxv. 2 as applied by Barnabas, Origen (on Rom. x. 21 &c.) and Jerome, as well as by the meaning of *ἐκπέντασις* (see *Son* 3407 (iv) b). *Orac. Sibyll.* ii. 187 foll. describes Elijah as shewing “three signs to all the world” (*Son* 3407 (v) d) but not the same as the three in the *Didaché*.

² [3965 a] Comp. Clem. Alex. 134 *ῥάβδον παιδευτικὴν, ἀρχικὴν, κατεξουσιαστικὴν*, and see 3975.

³ [3965 b] Comp. Jerem. xxxi. 21 “way-marks,” where LXX attempts to transliterate Heb. as *σιών* or *σειών*, al. exempl. *σκοπούς*, but Syr. has “signs,” and Theodoret says Ὁ Σῶπος σημεῖα. Similarly Dom Connolly (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1912 p. 304) connects “footprints” in the Odes with “sign” as “some sort of road-post.”

⁴ [3966 a] “Prayer” occurs in Ode xvii. 12 “My prayer” (H. “Gebet”) was in my fervent-love,” and H.’s Index also gives a few instances of “bitten” and “anbeten.” But perhaps the only instance of a word meaning “prayer for help” is in Ode xxvi. 4 “I will cry unto Him from my whole heart.” This is the more remarkable because R.H. describes the whole Ode as (p. 127) a “song of praise,” and translates the context as follows: (xxvi. 1—5) “I poured out praise...I will cry unto Him from my whole heart; I will praise and exalt Him with all my members. For from the east and even to the west is His praise.” The Syr. (*Thes.* 759) here used for “cry” occurs in Heb. and Aram. and Syr. of 1 S. vi. 12, Job vi. 5 to mean the “lowing” of cattle. And Levy i. 350 b quotes *j. Taan.* Anf. 11. 65 a to the effect that horns were blown on the Fast day, as though to say to God “Reckon us as cattle lowing [for fodder] before thee.” So here, perhaps, the Odist represents himself—in accordance with his favourite metaphor of a child at the breast—as thirsting and “crying” for more, even while “praising” for what he has received

representation of “Thy Will be done,” impressed on the Universe, in the Son of God above and in the regenerate sons of Man below. As the human representative of the power of prayer, Moses, in the Old Testament, stands out conspicuously, even above Abraham. Our author does not indeed (as Barnabas and Justin Martyr do) mention Moses by name; but he draws out all that is most spiritual and picturesque in the acts of Moses, so as to shew that the *stamp* of the Cross is impressed on the Giving of the Law of Moses, as also on the whole of the Design of Redemption, throughout the aeons.

§ 3. *The “sign” and “spreading out”*

[3967] Incidentally, the thought of Moses lifting up, or spreading out, his *hands* in prayer, may throw light on one of the most perplexing problems in the Gospels, namely, the mention of “the sign of the Son of man” by Matthew (xxiv. 30), and its omission by all the other evangelists. For there are indications that the “sign” was taken by many—as it is by the author of the *Didaché*—to be a “spreading out.” And this might be variously interpreted as “spreading out of the hands” (1) on the Cross in crucifixion or (2) on the Cross in benediction, or (3) on the Cross in intercession, or even, though wrongly (3973, 3977) (4) a “spreading out,” not on the Cross but in the heavens, and this in the sense of “opening,” not of the hands but absolutely, so that “*an opening [of the hands] in the heavens*” might be taken to mean “*an opening of the heavens*.” Such variations shew that, if Jesus said what Matthew has assigned to Him about the “sign of the Son of man,” it might have had—or at least it might have been interpreted as having—a spiritual meaning very much like that in the Fourth Gospel (Jn i. 51), “Ye shall see the *heaven opened* and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man.”

[3968] The probable source of these divergent traditions may be illustrated by the use of (1) Heb. “*lifting-up* of the hands,” as interpreted in Syr. and Aram. “*spreading-out* of the hands,” “*making-offering*” &c., combined with (2) Heb. “*spreading-out* of the hands,” used by Isaiah (lxv. 2) and quoted by Paul (Rom. x. 21). The “*lifting-up* of the hands” *to bless*, appears to be uniquely used

and is receiving. Compare the words of Wisdom, the Mother, in Sir. xxiv. 21 “They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.”

in O.T. in Lev. ix. 22 of the High Priest, Aaron, blessing Israel for the first time. There, Onk. and Syr. have "*lifted-up*," but Jer. Targ. has *pâras*, "*spread-out*," Walton "*extendit*." R.V. marg. gives no instance of this except in Lk. xxiv. 50—1 "And he *lifted-up his hands and blessed* them. And it came to pass, while he *blessed* them, he parted from them [and was carried up to heaven]."

[3969] In Ps. cxli. 2 "Let my prayer be set forth as incense before thee, *the lifting up of my hands* (lit. *my palms*) as the evening sacrifice," the Syr. has "*the offering of my hands*" (and so Breithaupt's rendering of Rashi "id quod *fero* manibus ad te," but I am informed that the correct rendering is "when I lift up my hands unto thee") but Targ. "*the lifting up of my hands in prayer*," and the Midr. paraphrases thus (Wü. ii. 235) "But now, since we have neither altar nor high priest, receive thou my *prayer*, and *may the sky be rent asunder* (zerrissen) *that my prayer may find an entrance*." If prayers are regarded as "angels," this resembles the Johannine saying that "the heavens" are to be "opened" and "angels" to be "seen ascending and descending on the Son of man"—the "ascending" being placed first because the prayer must first "go up" before it can "come down" answered (*Son* 3379—80 &c.). The same Midrash quotes, as a parallel, Ezra ix. 5 "at the evening oblation...I *spread-out my hands* unto the Lord," thus identifying the "*lifting-up*" with the "*spreading-out*."

[3970] In Gen. xii. 3 "I will bless them that *bless thee*," Targ. Jer. I. has "I will bless the priests who will *spread-out their hands in prayer and bless thy sons*." Levy Ch. ii. 293 *b* gives other instances of this, including one where "hands" is omitted, 1 S. ix. 13 "he (*i.e.* Samuel) doth *bless* the sacrifice," Targ. "*spread-out [the hands]* over the sacrifice," where Walton also omits "over."

[3971] We now pass to a prediction in Isaiah (lxv. 2). Paul (Rom. x. 21) applied it to the appeal of the Gospel, but not—or at least not necessarily—to the crucifixion. It is however so worded that Christians would naturally give it the latter application, and it is thus applied by Barnabas (xii. 4), Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 97), Irenaeus (iv. 33. 12), Origen (on Rom.) and Jerome (on Isaiah). It reads thus in the Epistle (and sim. LXX):—"All day long *did I spread-out* (A.V. *I have stretched-forth*) (ἐξέπρασά) my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people." The word for "spread-out" in the Syr. of Isaiah and Romans is the same as that in Ode xxvii. 1—3 "I *spread-out* my hands and ascribed-holiness unto my

Lord...and my *spreading-out* is the upright tree (*or*, beam),” and again in xlii. 1—3 “I *spread-out* my hands and drew-near unto my Lord...my *spreading-out* is the *outspread* tree (*or*, beam) which was suspended (*or*, lifted up) on the way of the Upright [One].”

[3972] It should be noted that in both these passages—between the two mentions of “spreading-out”—the poet inserts “the *stretching-out* of my hands is His sign,” using a word that corresponds to ἐκτείνω (rather than to ἐκπετάννυμι) and is used (*Theo.* 2.247) of “stretching” or “straining” a bow, and also of “tension” of mind, e.g. “intense (ἐκτενής)” prayer. The reason for this insertion may be that “drew-near,” in Syr., from the root of “Corban,” implies, or at all events suggests, making an offering. It is parallel to “ascribed-holiness unto,” which also might well imply, or accompany, an offering of praise, prayer, or sacrifice. Possibly this “stretching-out” is to be distinguished from “spreading-out” and to be taken in a special sense: “Because I accepted the [actual] *stretching-out of my hands on the cross* as His [will and] sign, therefore, in that faith, I spread-out my hands in blessing and intercession, and drew-near to make an offering unto my Lord.”

[3973] On Didach. xvi. 6 σημείον ἐκπετάσεως (ed. Funk), the Editor says that it must mean the “expansion,” i.e. the opening of heaven: “Vox haud dubie a verbo ἐκπετάννυμι derivanda est ac denotat explicatio, expansio, ita ut sensus sit quando coelum Christo adveniente aperietur.” To this confident statement, however, he adds that others differ, e.g. taking it from ἐκπέτομαι, meaning (1 Thess. iv. 17) that saints will *fly up* to meet the Lord. But Dr Taylor (*Teaching of XII Apostles* p. 102 foll.) declares that “it means a spreading of the hands out transversely to the body so as to form a cross,” quoting *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 302 (comp. i. 372) and illustrating from Jn xxi. 18, and from Tertullian (*De Orat.* § 29) who says that birds, “instead of hands, *spread out* a cross of wings, and utter a something that seems to be a prayer.” Perhaps Tertullian himself was doubtful whether “fly” or “spread” was the original meaning of the traditional ἐκπέτασις.

[3974] To these add a remarkable passage from Clem. Alex. 112 about the “discipline (lit. child-training, παιδεία) of that Little Child (παιδίον), which has extended to all the children (παιῖδας) guiding-as-children (παιδαγωγούσα) us His babes. This [Child] *spread out* (ἐξεπέτασε) His hands....” Here, on the surface, there is no connection between this “child-training (παιδεία)” and the

Crucifixion. But παιδεία means the "chastening" of the Child by the Father (as in Heb. xii. 5—11). And that it here refers to the special "chastening" of the Son by the Father on the Cross can be demonstrated as follows. Clement has just been quoting Isaiah on the Child, which runs thus in Hebrew (ix. 6—7) "and the *government shall be upon his shoulder*...of the increase of his *government*." Now here both Origen and Jerome (though in various ways, and Jerome with an alternative) take "*government... shoulder*" as referring to the Cross of Christ (3911). But, instead of "*government*," Symmachus has, in both clauses, "*child-training* (παιδεία)." And Clement himself here adopts παιδεία in the second clause (very possibly having adopted it in the first clause also, though scribes may have corrected his text) just before introducing his remarks about "the *child-training* of that Little Child," and about "*spreading out the hands*."

[3975] Here we may add that this same Isaiah-passage, being associated with the thought of Christ's "child-training" and the Cross, would also be associated with the "rod," which is the emblem of authority in general as well as of child-training. Philo (i. 83) says that when Jacob (Gen. xxxii. 10) crossed the Jordan with his "staff, *or, rod* (ῥάβδος)" it is a mean-and-low (ταπεινόν) interpretation to render it "stick," but he crossed ἐν παιδείᾳ, "in discipline." Also the Sibylline Oracles (viii. 244 foll.) composing an acrostic on *stauros*, "cross," make *rabdos*, "rod," the beginning of their fifth line. And Clement (134) speaks of the three different aspects of the "rod," of which the first is that of "child-training (παιδευτική)."

[3976] Lastly the Isaiah-passage may explain the tradition of the Sibylline Oracles concerning Jesus on the Cross (viii. 302) "He will spread out His hands and measure (μετρήσει) the whole world" (comp. i. 372). For Jerome has pointed out that Aquila in both the clauses above-quoted where the Heb. is ordinarily rendered "*government*," has "*measure*." Of course, the poetic beauty of the conception would influence a Christian poet, but it would seem almost certain that the poet did not invent it but borrowed it from an early interpretation of Isaiah.

[3977] That ἐκπέτασις was originally used by any Greek writer to mean "opening [of heaven]" may be safely denied until some authority can be alleged for it. No doubt, ἀναπεράννυμι is used of "throwing open folding-doors or gates" (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* vi. 86,

p. 1240, vii. 11, p. 1337, comp. x. 15, p. 2023); but no instance is alleged of ἐκπετάννυμι thus used. Even if it had been thus used, with "gates," it could not be used absolutely without "gates," until long after the full phrase had become quite common. On the other hand, "*spread-out the hands*" is very common in O.T. (and was made familiar to non-Jewish Christians by the Epistle to the Romans). We have also seen that "spreading-out," without "hands," might be used by Jews absolutely to mean "blessing as a priest blesses." It may therefore be taken as certain that, many years before the writing of the *Didaché*, and some years before the Epistle of Barnabas, Christians regarded "the spreading out (of hands)" as a "sign" of the coming of Christ.

[3978] But whereas the *Didaché* makes the *ecpetasis* only the first of three signs, Matthew represents Jesus as speaking of "*the sign of the Son of man*." Is it conceivable that Jesus regarded, or was believed by any of the evangelists to have regarded, the *ecpetasis* as His own peculiar "sign" in any sense? If so, in what sense? And whatever the sense may be, why do Mark and Luke omit the prediction?

[3979] It is impossible to answer these questions with confidence. Matthew may have been misled by the similarity (*Son* 3289 c, 3407 (v)) of the Aramaic of "*sign*" and "*coming*," and may have repeated, in two versions mentioning both "*sign*" and "*coming*," what originally mentioned "*coming*" alone. But, on the other hand, since the preceding context in Matthew (and in the parallel Mark) has just mentioned an "abomination of desolation," which might well be regarded as a kind of "sign," or "ensign," of the Man of Sin, an antithetical mention of the "sign," or "ensign," of the Son of Man would fitly follow. Such an "ensign" would be a fulfilment of the triumph over evil typified in "Jehovah-nissi." It would also be a "signal (σύνθημα)," such as Philo mentions (*Son* 3289 b), calling the children of God together. This, being rendered by the same Greek word as renders "*sign*," may have led some evangelists to the conclusion that "sign," *i.e.* token, was meant. But the original may have meant (1) an uplifted "standard" or "beacon," preceding (2) the sound of the trumpet, which itself preceded (3) the gathering—three "*signs*"—as in the *Didaché*—the first being "the standard."

[3980] These facts may help us to realise, 1st, in what sense Jesus might have spoken of "*the sign, or ensign, of the Son of man*," 2nd, the senses in which it might have been interpreted, 3rd, the

need felt by many early Christian writers (such as our author) to explain the meaning of "sign" when it came to mean, in some materialistic minds, simply a "cross." Jerome, in his comment on "the sign of the Son of man," says "Let us understand *sign* here [to be] *either [that] of the cross*—so that the Jews may 'see,' (according to John and Zechariah) 'him whom they pierced,' or *the standard of victory*."

[3981] Origen (*ad loc.*) says, not that it is the Cross, but that it is "*the power that the Son wrought when hanged on the beam (ligno)*." He inserts, after "*signum Filii hominis*," the words "*in quo coelestia facta sunt quae in coelis erant et quae in terris*." This seems to imply that "in this sign," or "in the Son of man," the material heaven and earth were made spiritually "heavenly." Later on he says, "*Tunc quod clarum est* apparebit in coelo, et 'omnis (MSS. omni) qui portavit (? portabit) imaginem Coelestis.'" This refers to 1 Cor. xv. 49 "so we shall bear the image of the heavenly." The text is obscure and perhaps corrupt; but apparently Origen does not suppose the manifestation to be that of a visible cross or a visible standard of wood, or even of light; it is to be a "power," and it is to be revealed as light or bright ("*clarum*"). His thought seems to be that human Redemption is made somehow visible to redeemed souls and "lifted up" as a standard, so that it draws redeemed mankind toward itself. ["*Omni*" might imply that the Sign was visible to all the spiritual but not to others; "*omnis*," that (1 Thess. iv. 16) all the departed saints were seen by the side of the Sign.]

[3982] We may also gather from Luke's description of Christ's post-resurrectional appearances that the figure of the Cross had some connection with historically accurate traditions concerning His "outspread" form, the semblance of "arms spread out" to pronounce a blessing, in "the breaking of bread" for His disciples or when He "separated" from them. These details in Luke's gospel, when interpreted allegorically, would harmonize with the thought of the inclusiveness of the salvation of the Saviour who, as the Sibylline oracles say (viii. 302) "will spread-out His hands and measure the whole world." Our author suggests that this "measuring" by the "hands" of the Crucified is ordained that He may (Ode xxiii. 17) "inherit" all mankind, making it the family of the righteous Father. Such is the effect of the "upright tree," which is also the "outspread tree," and the "way" to eternal life¹.

¹ [3982 a] It is worthy of note that "cross" does not occur in H.'s Index. It is represented—as also in the Petrine Epistle (1 Pet. ii. 24, comp. Gal. iii. 13)—by "beam, *or*, tree" (3664 a). The Jewish loathing of crucifixion is expressed in a passage where Philo (i. 236—7) describes it as the condition of "carnal (φιλοσώματα) souls:—"Those who are in this state *hang on lifeless-objects* (ἀψύχων ἐκκρέμονται), and, like the crucified (οἱ ἀνασκολοπισθέντες), are nailed-fast (προσήλωνται) to corruptible substances up to the moment of their death"—which contains a play on "*hanging*" (Deut. xxi. 23) and "*depending*" (comp. 3674). Elsewhere (i. 687) he describes them as being "nailed-fast to the beam (*or*, tree) of helpless and destitute ignorance (τῆς ἀπόρου καὶ πενιχρᾶς ἀπαιδευσίας)."

ADDENDUM ON THE INFLUENCE OF EZEKIEL ON THE ODES

[3982 b] Ezekiel, alone among the prophets, (*Son* 3095 a) was bidden to say to Israel "I am *your sign*," and he alone records the setting of a *thau*, or "mark," upon those who were to be saved from destruction. These conceptions seem to have influenced our poet. So too (3738—48) does the prophetic vision of a River of God, and (3716—18) the prophetic promise of the gift of a "new heart" from God to man. Such similarities may sometimes be obscured by the poet's brevity. His sketch (Ode xi) of the Orchard, or Paradise, has none of the details found in Ezekiel's (xlvi. 12) picture of "every tree for meat" by the River of God. Ezekiel takes nearly two chapters to predict the destruction and putrefaction of the ignorant oppressors whom he calls "Gog." We have seen (3855 x) that our poet assumes the prophecy, and the putrefying carcasses, in his brief saying (xviii. 14) "Ignorance appeared like a blind man, and like *the stink of the sea*." We have seen also that Ezekiel's vision of the Wheel of Providence is assumed (3897—902) in an Ode apparently describing the spread of the Gospel. Here it will be convenient to note that each of these probable Ezekielisms makes the rest more probable and should prepossess us to expect others.

[3982 c] For example, in Ode xxii. 9—10 "Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies; they were without motion and thou gavest them *help*" (for *help*, see *Thes.* 2816, quoting Col. i. 29 ἐνέργειαν, i.e. the power of the indwelling Spirit) "toward life," all will agree that this refers to Ezekiel's vision of the "dry bones." But, if it does, then *ib.* 5 "He that overthrew by my hands *the dragon of seven heads*," will seem probably to allude to Ezek. xxix. 3 "I am against thee, O Pharaoh, *...the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers*"—Rashi "*rivis Nili*," i.e. *the seven outlets of the Nile*. Again, if that is so, going back to *ib.* 1—6 (3999 (ii) 3) "He that brought me down from on high and brought me up from the region below...in every place thy Name was encircling me," we shall find it not improbable that the poet has in view the aerial journeys of Ezekiel, called "son of man," after he had seen the human figure on the Throne, surrounded by the bow, in the Vision of the Wheel, commonly called by the Jews the Chariot. Finally, if this is so, there is an antecedent probability that xxxviii. 1 "I went up into the Light of Truth *as if into the Chariot*"—as will be maintained in the next Appendix—alludes to Ezekiel, and needs no alteration of the text.

APPENDIX II

THE CHARIOT OF TRUTH¹

[3983 (i)] Among the doctrinal developments—better perhaps called poetical transitions—in the Odes, few are more interesting than the poet's successive pictures of Truth, and his manner of introducing, continuing, discontinuing, and resuming them, in different environments.

In Ode I, Truth is our Crown. It is also the semblance of the Lord. We are in possession of it. It lives—"He lives"—upon our head: "The Lord is on my head like a Crown...they wove for me the Crown of Truth...thou livest upon my head..." The whole of this short initial Ode breathes peace and perfection.

The next five Odes (III—VII, Ode II being missing) do not speak of Truth. When the poet returns to it, the atmosphere is not that of perfect peace and perfection. Ode VIII resumes it with a mention of peace and war; Ode IX tells us that the Crown is indeed Truth, but that "wars have come to pass for the sake of this Crown." Then, after one Ode of silence, the tone rises in Ode XI, which, though it contrasts Truth with "folly," sings joyously of "the Way of Truth" and "the Rock of Truth" and of the entrance into "Paradise." Odes XII and XIV continue the strain of joy; the poet is filled with "words of truth," and proclaims concerning the Word that "His Truth is fervent-love"; and he desires to learn "the psalms of God's truth" that he may "bring

¹ See Preface p. xliv "'Antecedent literature' will also explain another passage that has caused great difficulty to some critics. It is in the Ode (xxxviii. 1) that begins, 'I went up into the Light of Truth as if into *the Chariot*, and the Truth...caused me to pass over pits...and it became to me *for a garment* of Salvation....' Here, instead of 'garment,' Dr Harris has, in his first edition, '*instrument*,' but in his second edition, '*haven*.'"

More recently, as will be seen below (3983), Dr Harris has proposed to substitute "ship" for his earlier rendering (in both editions) "chariot."

forth fruit" in God and "glorify" Him. A higher strain still is reached in Ode XV in which he declares that he has "acquired" new senses for receiving the Truth: "In Him have I acquired eyes...ears have become mine and I have heard His truth¹."

[3983 (ii)] From this point onwards Truth is connected with a regenerating and uplifting power by which human nature is raised above weakness, darkness, and falsehood. Sometimes, but not often, there is still a painful sense of contrast—as in the case of Bacon's Lucretian philosopher "on the vantage ground of truth," beholding "the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below"; or as when Christian and Hopeful, on the Delectable Mountains, looking down on the dead bodies of those who have fallen from the precipices, see "men walking up and down among the tombs that were there" and "perceive that the men were blind, because they stumbled."

But more often, without any such contrast, there is the pure and unmixed delight of ecstatic exaltation. There are retrogressions and cessations in the advancing tide of joy, but still it advances. Carrying on the above quoted saying "the Truth of the Word is fervent-love," the poet exclaims "My heart hath been lifted up in the fervent-love of the Most High," and then sings of the health and strength that are in the "Kingdom" that is "true," and of the victory to be gained by Truth over darkness and falsehood. But then the saints are somewhat harshly described as "laughing over those that wandered in error." That the laughter does not involve an indifference to the claims of the wanderers to have the Truth proclaimed to them, is shewn by the words that follow:—"They spake Truth through the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them²." Yet still it is harsh.

¹ The references in this Paragraph are to Odes viii. 8 foll., ix. 8 foll., xi. 3 foll., xii. 1—11, xiv. 7—8, xv. 3—4.

² [3983 (ii) a] Ode xviii. 1—19. Interpreted in the light of the Odes as a whole, the words mean that the enemies and persecutors of the Truth, who were great in their own eyes and the eyes of the world, the Nimrods, Gogs, Pharaohs, and Sennacheribs, seem to the saints as men wandering in error, having (3855 x) "no knowledge," not to be feared or flattered but to be laughed at (3870 a₁).

Philo (ii. 412) describes the three Patriarchs as despising the objects of the admiration of the multitude and "*laughing also at Infatuation* (γελάσαντες δὲ καὶ τῷφον)" who is "the Juggler, the Maker of Gods out of things devoid of life...." But this contempt for the multitude is not quite what is meant in Ode xviii. 1 foll. which begins "*My heart was lifted up in the fervent-love of the Most High...that I might glorify Him....Sicknesses removed far from my body and it stood up to*

[3983 (iii)] Perhaps the harshness is intentional, as a supplementary contrast or set-back to the preceding Ode, which begins with the words "I was crowned by my God: my crown is living." In that Ode, all is joy; but the joy, not so much of love (which is but once mentioned) as rather of triumph. The Redeemed becomes Redeemer and ascends exclaiming, "The thought of Truth led me on...He who knew and brought me up is the Most High... And He glorified me by His kindness and raised my thought to the height of the Truth." To this ascending Redeemer every door is opened, and He becomes the Door of all things. He looses all that He finds bound; He "imparts" His "knowledge without grudging." "My Prayer," He says, "was in my fervent-love." Responding to His song of exultation, the chorus of the redeemed Saints sings back in answer, "Glory to thee, our head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah¹." This sounds as though it might be a climax to the whole collection of the Odes. But it is, in fact, only a prediction, or sketch, of the picture to be brought before us in the final Ode, which will describe the Messiah's Ascent from Sheol to heaven with the rescued sons of men in His train, all bearing His name on them, the name of the Son of Truth. Having that culminating glory in prospect, the poet may perhaps have intended consciously or subconsciously to temper the expectation of his hearers, after this outburst of exultation, by sounding a note of warning in the comparative sombreness of the eighteenth Ode, which suggests the thought, "The hour of the perfect glory has not yet arrived. There remains an enemy still to be overcome."

[3983 (iv)] The twentieth Ode mentions Paradise by name as the place where the soul in joy, clothed in God's grace, and faring

[serve] (3940 a) the Lord in [accordance with] His good-pleasure...." This (3940 b) alludes to Hezekiah, regarded by many Jews as the type of the Messiah, or Christ. Our author notes that the real Messiah surpassed him. The Chronicler says of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxii. 25) "*His heart was lifted up*, therefore there *was wrath upon him*...." The poet says, in effect, "It was not so with the real Christ. His heart *was 'lifted up'* but *it was 'in the fervent-love of the Most High.'*" Thus, and perhaps only thus, can we explain the poet's use of a phrase that is used by O.T. almost, if not quite, invariably in a bad sense. Later on, the Ode seems to pass away from Hezekiah, but still, in xviii. 18 "*they laughed at them that were walking in error*," the "*error*" is that of Hezekiah's enemy, Sennacherib, the typical world-conqueror, to whom God's Prophet says (Is. xxxvii. 22) "*The virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn.*"

¹ Ode xvii. 1—15.

sumptuously on the food of His Truth, will utter the praises of His holiness. Similar to this, in tone, is the next Ode, overflowing with exultation in the putting on of light and casting away of darkness; but it does not expressly mention Truth. Nor does the next Ode, which is of a more mixed character, declaring that the Deliverer, or perhaps Messiah, is both "brought down from on high" and "brought up from below"; that there is "poison" to be destroyed by God's right hand; and that "corruption" (*i.e.* destruction) must be brought on the world by Him whose Way is "without corruption." Out of this welter of ruin there is to arise a renewal, an emergence of God's Rock¹.

That Rock is, doubtless, Truth; and, though Truth is not mentioned, some will feel that the way is being prepared for its introduction in the next Ode, the twenty-third, in an entirely new aspect—no longer in the familiar image of the immoveable Rock but in connection with an ever-moving irresistible Wheel. This Ode has been discussed above (3885 foll.). Suffice it to say here that it introduces Truth for the first time as part of a personal title, "the Son of Truth²," who is, in effect—like "the appearance of a man" above the "wheel" in Ezekiel—the predominant Charioteer of the Universe and its controlling Head.

[3983 (v)] The next Ode might be entitled "The Dove over the Messiah." Besides the apparent allusion to the Dove over Jesus at His baptism, it reminds us of the Holy Spirit that brooded on the face of the deep, and of the dove that flew—in vain, at first—seeking foothold over the waters of the deluge. It speaks of Truth, but only negatively, describing the Lord as "destroying the [evil] imaginations of all those with whom the Truth [abode] not," who "were rejected because the Truth [abode] not with them." Conflict also, or persecution, is implied in the first part of the next Ode, but it ends on a note of triumph, "I was covered with the covering of thy Spirit...I became mighty in the Truth and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me³."

A break of five Odes follows, after which the word recurs in three consecutive Odes. The first describes the triumph over

¹ [3983 (iv) a] Ode xxii. 1, 7, 11. With xxii. 1 comp. Jn iii. 13 "No one hath ascended into the heaven but he that descended out of the heaven," on which see *Son* 3386 foll., and add Clem. Alex. 79 who says, in effect, that "the way to heaven is the way from heaven."

² Ode xxiii. 16.

³ Odes xxiv. 1—9, xxv. 8—10.

darkness, and error, and folly—which is “submerged by the Truth of the Lord,” while the speaker stands “unshaken like a firm rock.” The second sings of joy for the blessed, and light, and words from the Truth, who “existed from Himself¹.” In the third, “a perfect virgin”—presumably, Wisdom (comp. Prov. i. 20 foll.)—beseeches men to let her make them “wise in the ways of Truth,” that they may not perish but be redeemed and possess the new world².

[3983 (vi)] One more interval brings us to the thirty-eighth Ode, one needing special consideration, beginning with the words “I went up into the Light of Truth as if into the Chariot.” The details of this Ode, and the reasons for adhering to this rendering of the text, will be discussed later on. Here we may simply point out that, if we suppose “the Chariot” to mean—as it means almost invariably in New Hebrew and frequently in Syriac—the Chariot described by Ezekiel, then the words will accord with what has gone before in the Odes concerning the uplifting of man to the glorious height and light of Truth. For the Chariot in Ezekiel is, so to speak, the Shechinah in action, overriding evil with good. Therefore to be in it is more, very much more, than merely to look down from a height and to see the evil present with the good, “men walking up and down among the tombs.” It is to be in the companionship of God, the Supreme Mover, and to see His ultimate end, the evil constrained to subserve the good.

To supplement this monologue of the Seer there comes a final mention of Truth in the forty-first Ode, where the race of the elect celebrates in united song “the Truth of the Lord’s faith.” The Song is apparently to be regarded as divided—sung partly in melody

¹ [3983 (v) a] Ode xxxii. 2 *lit.* “existed (*or*, was) from His soul” (see *Theos.* 2431 on “*from his soul*” meaning “spontaneously”). Comp. Jn v. 26 “For as the Father hath *life in himself*, even so gave he to the Son to have *life in himself*.” The Ode, by immediately adding “for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High,” appears to imply that the “self-existence” of the Son of Truth is from the Father. But is it not possible that the Original may have meant “light from Him...and words from the Truth that was from His [very] soul”? In Jn v. 26, the Syr. does not express “himself” by “soul.”

² [3983 (v) b] Odes xxxi. 2, xxxii. 1—2, xxxiii. 8. As regards xxxiii. 5—6, “...as a perfect virgin who was.. *saying*, O ye sons of Man, return ye...” it suggests that we might suppose an idiomatic omission of “*saying*” thus, in iii. 12 “This is the Spirit of the Lord, which teacheth the sons of Man to know His ways, [*saying*], Be ye wise...and take knowledge and awake.” For “*saying*” omitted in Hebrew but to be supplied in English, see Ps. ii. 2, xxii. 7, cv. 15. A.V. supplies it, about Wisdom, in Prov. i. 21.

by the single voice of the Messiah, and responded to, in harmony, by the chorus of the redeemed. Truth here receives its highest glory in being connected with the name of the Father by the Messiah, who Himself has been previously brought before us as the Son of Truth: "All those will be astonished that see me. For from another race am I. For *the Father of Truth* remembered me, He who possessed¹ me from the beginning." To this it is added, concerning the Messiah, the Son of the Most High, that He "was known before the foundation of the world that He might cause souls to live for ever (3922 s) by the Truth of His Name²."

[3983 (vii)] The last Ode of all, though not naming Truth, celebrates it perhaps all the more conspicuously, by singing, not of its name but of its Champion, the above-mentioned Son of Truth, who is now brought before us for the last time as performing for men the supreme work of Truth. That work is to make them free, and to make them free by making them His own: "Jesus said... If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free³." This "freeing" is the "causing to live" mentioned at the conclusion of the last Ode but one, which says that the Messiah is to "cause souls to live for ever by the Truth of His Name." Accordingly, the final words of the final Ode, without mentioning Truth, point toward Truth, when they describe the Messiah as bringing "freedom" to the prisoners of Sheol in the power of His "name." "I heard their voice," He says, "and I signed (*but Codex A* put, 3999 (ii) 16) my Name upon their heads. For they are free men and they are mine."

There follows the usual "Hallelujah," but the last word is really "*mine*." This is the final outcome, uttered by the Lord—that we are the Lord's. In one sense, this might be thought a coming down from our high estate, as described in the first Ode, when we reigned as kings, each with a "crown" on his head. Now we might be called servants. For we belong to Another. But even in the first Ode the "crown" on our head was said to be "the Lord"—that is, *our* Lord, *our* Master, implying our subjection to Him. So there is nothing inconsistent in the transitions by which the poet has led us on to recognise that our "crown" is ours only so long as we are in Another; and this, not only as passive

¹ Ode xli. 8—9 "possessed," or "gotten" (*Son* 3501 b—c).

² Ode xli. 16—17.

³ Jn viii. 31—2.

incorporate members in the body of the Beloved, but also as free servants, and voluntary soldiers of Truth, which cannot make us free unless we have served, and cannot bring us peace save through war.

[3983 (viii)] Reviewing these transitions and recognising in them—along with the advancing tide of exultation in Life and Light and Truth—the retrogressions, or interruptions, that follow almost immediately after the first short Odes of ecstasy, we can hardly deny that there seems to be in the thoughts, though not in the style, something that suggests, if not two authors, at least an author in two minds. In his first mind, we find him rejoicing in the Crown, and incorporate in the Beloved. But even as early as the conclusion of the third Ode there comes a warning “Awake ye¹.” And then follow, in three consecutive Odes, protestations that God’s “Holy Place” cannot be “changed” nor His promise repented of; that the Lord will not forsake the singer, who, though everything should be shaken, will “stand firm”; that “nothing shall oppose the Lord,” and that “the restraints of the sons of man” have not been able to restrain the flow of the stream of the Spirit to the Temple². How are we to reconcile these notes of protest, self-reassurance, and suppressed alarm—coming, it is true, only at intervals, but still not infrequently—with the opening key note of rapturous exultation in perfect and consummate bliss?

[3983 (ix)] A reconciliation may be found in the twofold Jewish aspect, combined with the Christian aspect, of the character in whose name the poet sings—Solomon the son of David, that is to say, Perfect Peace the Son of the Beloved. As Adam was created to be in the image and according to the likeness of God, so Solomon was born to be a Jedidiah, or Beloved of God, the Builder of His Temple, in which was to be consummated the union between the true Bride and the true Bridegroom. But simultaneously with the completion of the House of the Lord came Solomon’s marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh, the corrupt Bridegroom wedding the corrupt Bride; and from that day forth, so said a Haggadic tradition of the Jews, the Lord set Himself against the House, as Jeremiah testified “This city hath been to me a provocation of mine anger... from the day that they built it even unto this day³.”

¹ See 3691 *m—n*. The rendering of R.H. and H. “Be vigilant” would also be of the nature of a warning.

² Odes iv. 1, 11, v. 2—10, vi. 4—9.

³ [3983 (ix) *a*] Jerem. xxxii. 31. There is no quotation of this in Jer. Talm.

[3983 (x)] Let us attempt to put ourselves in the position of a Jewish poet in the first century, taking this view of Solomon, a Jew yet also a Christian, a Jew accepting Jesus as the *real* Son of David, and the real Builder of the Temple. To such a Jew, Solomon, in his historical aspect, would appear to be nowhere admirable except as the newborn Jedidiah still "trailing clouds of glory" from the Shechinah, or in his cradle, where "heaven," as Wordsworth says, "lies about him in his infancy." As he grows older, "shades of the prison-house begin to close" about him; the Lord stirs up "adversaries" against him; the Daughter of Zion is subordinated to the daughter of Pharaoh; on the very night after the dedication of the Temple, he is overcome with wine and sleep, and his mother has to awake and warn him that he has neglected the morning sacrifice. Where now is there a trace of the glory of the "trailing clouds" of the Shechinah? Gone in the commonplace full-grown man:—

"At length the man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day."

[3983 (xi)] What wonder if our poet, after the first few Solomonian Odes—that is, the Odes devoted to Solomon as the Beloved, or Jedidiah—passes away from the thought of Solomon as Israel's representative, and on to better representatives, such as Abraham and Moses and the Prophets, who did not let fall the Promise made at the Creation to newborn Man, but took it up and carried it forward and developed it, preparing the way for the new Solomon, the Little One, who was to be at once "babe" and "full-grown man," that "full-grown man" into whom, as Paul says, the Church is to grow up.

The words taken above from Wordsworth may remind us of others, which our poet himself might have used, and perhaps even more appropriately, about the Little One as conceived by him, the Son of Truth, who became "little" that He might help us to grow up into greatness:

"Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
On whom those Truths do rest .
Which we are toiling all our lives to find
In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave;

(Schwab's Index) nor in Goldschmidt's published vols. (Sept. 1912) of *Bab. Talm.* But it is quoted in *Lev. r. Wü.* p. 82, *Numb. r. Wü.* p. 212, *Lam. r. Wü.* p. 110. Also, in *Sanhedr. 70 b*, R. Jochanan testifies to the currency of the tradition.

Thou, over whom thy immortality
 Broods like the day, a master o'er a slave,
 A presence which is not to be put by;
 Thou little child, yet glorious in the might
 Of heaven-born freedom on thy being's height...."

[3983 (xii)] In this Wordsworthian combination of the thoughts of "height," "immortality," "glory," "truth" and "freedom"—and all these in connection with the "little child"—there are some things that present even a verbal similarity to the language of the Odes, and many more that present a similarity of thought, shewing how poet and poet are akin. Though, for example, the Odes contain no mention of a "prophet," and only mention "seers" once in the plural, referring to Moses and Aaron going before Israel in the procession of Song after the passage of the Red Sea, yet our author manifestly regards Abraham, Moses, Ezekiel, and other heroes of Israel, as playing the two parts assigned by Wordsworth to his "little child." Each one of these heroes, while he is toward God "a little child," is toward man a "mighty Prophet" and a "Seer blest."

Again, the English poet declares that "truths" "rest" on this little child, and that the truth of his "immortality," in particular, "broods like the day" upon him and makes him "glorious." So, too, the Jewish poet, speaking repeatedly of God's "rest," says that God's Light "rests in the Son¹," and that the redeemed soul wears the crown of Truth and is clothed in garments of light. Wordsworth believes that this little child is "on his being's height," apparently implying a declension from that "height" in the full-grown man; our poet, from a different point of view, repeatedly and variously describes the "uplifting" of the soul to the "height" of the Lord. Wordsworth's sombre phrases about "toiling all our lives" to regain the "truths" that are "in darkness" lost, imply not only an effort but a conflict, a struggle to re-ascend from darkness up again to the light. Our poet, too, says the same thing, though more hopefully. Partly, perhaps, he feels as a Jew that the "heaven" that "lay around" the babe Moses in his cradle² was a poor thing compared with the glory that shone on the face of the full-grown man Moses, when he descended from Horeb to interpret God to man; partly he

¹ Comp. Ode vii. 18.

² Comp. Rashi on Exod. ii. 2 "Quando ille nascebatur, tota domus luce replebatur."

feels, as a Christian, that, in Christ, "babe" and "full-grown" are one, developed into an infinitely greater glory than anything that even the most optimistic of poets could find in any cradle of earth. Lastly, Wordsworth identifies this glory that broods on the little child with freedom—"heaven-born freedom on thy being's height"; and freedom, as we have seen, comes at the end of the Odes as a climax to the triumph of the Son of Truth, "leading" up His "captivity" from the darkness of Sheol to the Light of the Presence of the Father.

We must not, of course, allow considerations of general poetic appropriateness, or even of consistency and accordance with what the poet has said elsewhere, to bias our minds against any interpretation of his Syriac that may be necessitated by Syriac usage. But weight may be reasonably given to those considerations before examining textually and grammatically the arguments that have induced some critics to suspect as corrupt the opening words of this Ode, rendered above "I went up into the Light of Truth as if into the Chariot."

To this textual and grammatical examination we must now proceed.

[3983] "Chariot" is mentioned but once in the Index ("Wagen") as occurring in the first verse of Ode xxxviii. (R.H. 1st and 2nd ed.) "I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot," (H.) "Ich bin hinaufgestiegen zum Lichte der Wahrheit wie auf einen Wagen." Since the publication of his second edition, Dr Rendel Harris has proposed in the Expositor to substitute "ship" for "chariot." The substitution would directly and seriously affect the interpretation of that Ode as a whole, and, indirectly, the interpretation of many passages in other Odes. It therefore deserves detailed discussion¹.

¹ This is all the more necessary because the correction is said to have received "almost complete approval," *Expos.* Nov. 1911 p. 405, "It will be remembered that by reforming the opening stanza of the hymn from

I went up into the light of truth as into a chariot,
to
I went on board the Light of Truth, like a ship,
or a little more freely,

I went on board the ship Light of Truth,

it was possible to make the opening verses lucid and intelligible, the ship being brought into harbour, and the verses into reasonable thought: and I believe that these first corrections have met with almost complete approval."

The word *mercaba*¹, rendered "chariot" and "Wagen" above, is mentioned in *Thes.* 3917 as representing "chariot" about 25 times in the Bible, and frequently in later Syriac. In particular, the exact form used in Ode xxxviii. is mentioned as being used in Syriac absolutely to mean "*currus quem vidit Ezechiel*," that is to say, the Vision of the Four Living Creatures (called in Revelation (A.V.) "Four Beasts"). These, with their accompanying "wheels" and "throne" and "likeness as the appearance of a man," were called by Jews *Mercaba*, "Chariot," meaning etymologically "riding-thing," from *râcab*, "ride." Both Origen and Jerome (*Son* 3040 d) recognise the term as applied to the Vision.

No doubt, as the English "vehicle" may mean a ship, so may the word *mercaba*, and *Thes.* gives two instances of this from a passage in *Sanct. Vit.* 37 v. But not a single Biblical instance is given; and the use would seem to be late, and rare, and perhaps sometimes to spring out of something peculiar in the context. *Thes.* 3917 concludes thus "Tres sensus distinguit K., 1) *thronus Dei*, sc. *currus quem vidit Ezechiel*...2) *currus*...3) *navis*." It is previously said that, in the sense of the mysterious CHARIOT, "Syri in officiis suis de B.V. Maria exponunt." That is to say, the Jewish Mystery of the CHARIOT became the Christian Mystery of the Mother of the Lord, the "vehicle" of the Incarnation. Of this, copious instances are given.

[3984] The Syriac tendency to apply the word to supra-mundane mystery corresponds to a tendency apparent in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Aramaic (*Levy Ch.* ii. 70 a) the form corresponding to the Syriac one in the Ode is used "only of God's Chariot." The Scriptures (*Gesen.* 938—9) using the word *mercaba*, speak of God's "chariots" and of God Himself as "charioting." In New Hebrew, *Levy* (iii. 252) gives *Mercaba* as meaning especially the Theogony (*i.e.* the Spiritual Creation) as distinct from the Cosmogony, and no instance of its meaning an earthly chariot. The Mishna of *Chag.* i. 8 forbids a man to discuss *Mercaba* by himself. Resh Lakish (*Gen. r.* on *Gen.* xvii. 22, xxxv. 13) said that "the Patriarchs composed the *Mercaba*." As to this, some might say that it means no more than

¹ I am informed that the Syr. would be transliterated as *markēbā*, emph. *markabtā*. But as the word has been previously discussed in its Hebrew form (*Son* 3080) as "*Mercaba*," *i.e.* "the Chariot [of Ezekiel]," and the word is better known as Hebrew than as Syriac, I have used the Heb. form throughout this Appendix.

that they were the Chariot in which God rode on earth, and that it is quite different from the statement in the Ode. But surely it is merely a difference of metaphor. It makes no spiritual difference whether man goes up in the *Mercaba* to be with God, as in our Ode, or God comes down in the *Mercaba* to be with man, as in the tradition of Resh Lakish. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, who taught the above-quoted Mishna about the Chariot, said (*Chag.* 14 b) to two other Rabbis, who had discoursed rightly about it, "Blessed are ye...In my dream, I and ye were resting upon Mount Sinai, and a Bath Kol (*i.e.* Voice from Heaven) was sent to us from heaven which said, '*Come up hither, come up hither.*'"

If Rabban Jochanan and Resh Lakish could speak thus, what might we not expect from a Christian Jewish mystic, who believed that the true disciple of the Lord was in the bosom of the Son, and the Son in the bosom of the Father!

[3985] Compare Revelation (iv. 1 foll.) "*Come up hither*, and I will shew thee the things that must come to pass hereafter. Straightway I was in the Spirit, and behold there was a throne... and a rainbow round about the throne...and in the midst of the throne and round about the throne *four living creatures* (A.V. *beasts*)."

Here we have a vision of the CHARIOT, with the "*four living creatures*," and the "throne," and the "bow," mentioned by Ezekiel. Both visions come as prefaces to a series of visions in which Ezekiel the Prophet and John the Seer severally see the Way of the Lord from the Old Temple toward the New, on which Way there rolls forward irresistibly the Chariot of His invisible Creation revealing the real and ultimate triumph of Right over Wrong, and shewing that, for God's children, "all things work together for good."

[3986] But there is a noteworthy difference as to the way in which the Prophet and the Seer receive their revelations. Ezekiel is "lifted up"—on one occasion he says (viii. 3) "by a lock of mine head"—and transported from place to place so as to see first various scenes of abominations and retributive chastisements, and then visions of future regeneration and blessing. But Rashi tells us that Ezek. viii. 3 means no more than this, "He made me see, *just as if He had carried me and brought me down to Jerusalem.*" This shews how natural it would be for some later Jewish prophets or poets, when carrying on the traditions of the *Mercaba*, to drop ancient materialistic details as to the "lifting up." We have seen

that the Jewish Rabban Jochanan and the Christian John substitute a call, "Come up hither." But another way would be simply to insert "as it were" after "lifted." Then the Seer might say "I was lifted up as if, or, *as it were*, into the Chariot"—as a preliminary to the revelation of the divine progress underlying, as well as overruling, the stormy surface of the conflicting elements.

[3987] This is what Ode xxxviii. 1 actually makes the Seer say. But it adds a few words for the unlearned reader who might not know exactly what "the Chariot" meant. Above, in the 23rd Ode, under the symbol of the Wheel, he has, in effect, connected it with Truth, describing the chariot-like progress of the "Kingdom" of "the Son of Truth." But in this Ode, the Ode of the Chariot, he makes the connection more clear and more emphatic, not only reiterating "truth" as many as six times in twenty-one verses, but also expressly combining it with Chariot in the first verse:

1. I went-up into the Light of Truth as if into the CHARIOT.

[3988] The Jewish connection between the *Mercaba* and a divine "fire" or "brightness" or "lightning" (derived from the first chapter of Ezekiel) may be illustrated by a story, in the context of Chagigah 14 *b* above quoted, that when R. Eleazar expounded the *Mercaba*, "fire" came down from heaven, and "encircled" (without consuming) "all the terebinth trees," so that "they all opened their mouths and uttered a song."

[3989] Before leaving this verse, it should be noted that the Syriac "went-up" (*Thes.* 2646) although sometimes used of "ascending" a vessel, is also used, and much more frequently in O.T., of "ascending" a chariot. But it is obvious that neither Syriac, nor any other language current among people conversant with ships and chariots, could possibly use *the same verb and the same noun together* systematically, or even frequently, to mean "ascend a chariot" and "ascend a vessel." Writers might use the verb, *separately*, to mean (1) "mount," (2) "go on board." They might use the noun, *separately*, to mean (1) "chariot," (2) "vessel." But they could not use the verb and the noun *together*, to mean (1) "mount a chariot," (2) "go on board a vessel," according to the reader's taste. The Thesaurus, *while giving abundant instances of "ascend a chariot (mercaba)," and "ascend a vessel" (with various words for "vessel"), does not give a single instance of "ascend a mercaba" as meaning "ascend a vessel."*

[3990] The Ode goes on to say :—

2. And the Truth led me and brought me, and caused me to pass over pits and clefts ; and from the rocks and the waves it saved me.

This may contain allusion to scriptural precedents—sometimes perhaps misunderstood—about the transportation of prophets by the Spirit. After Elijah's ascension in a chariot of fire, the sons of the prophets say (2 K. ii. 16) "Peradventure the Spirit of the Lord hath taken him up and *cast him down upon some mountain or into some valley.*" Ezekiel, besides being "brought" by the Spirit to this place and to that, is also "carried," (xxxvii. 1) "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and he carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and *set-me-down* (lit. *caused-me-to-rest*) *in the midst of the valley.*" and comp. xl. 2 "In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and *set-me-down* (lit. *caused-me-to-rest*) upon a very high mountain, whereon was as it were the frame of a city on the south."

The last two instances precede the revelation of (1) the Resurrection of the dry bones of Israel, and (2) the Rebuilding of the Temple, whereas the other transportations precede revelations of chastisements in store for the abominations of Israel. And it may have been thought by some that a distinction of this kind was implied by Ezekiel's phrase—which occurs (Mandelk. 729 *d*) only in these two places in the Bible—"and he *caused-me-to-rest.*" (Comp. Prov. xxix. 17 "*and he shall cause-thee-to-rest.*")

In fact, however, the Hebrew verb, when thus used without the preposition "to," generally means (Gesen. 628 *b*) "to place," or "leave in a place," "let alone" &c. When it means "cause-to-rest," it is generally (though not always) used with a dative of the person *e.g.* "he-caused-rest to me." That is precisely what our author has here, for he uses the Hebrew verb found in Ezekiel, but with the dative of the person. He also adds words indicating that "cause-to-rest" does not mean "deposit" in a valley or on a hill (as Ezekiel was "caused to rest") but means "*rest*" in motion, "*rest*" in *progressive knowledge*:—

4. And it (*i.e.* Truth as the Chariot) went with me and *caused-rest for me*, and suffered me not to go astray, since it was the Truth.

[3991] But it might be urged that the metaphor of a ship is implied by the intervening words :—

2. "...caused me to pass over pits [Codex N "*empty* pits," see 3999 (ii) 13] and clefts ; and from the rocks and the waves it saved me."

In reply, it may be pointed out, first, that the Syr. here used for "rocks" (*Thes.* 4296) is *never used for "rocks" in the sea*. The word, when used as a noun, means a steep rock *on land*, and when as an adjective, "praeceps," sometimes meaning "praeceps in errorem" (see the very similar form (*ib.* 4295) used of the "buffeting" of saints by Satan). In the whole of the Bible, the metaphor of sunken rocks occurs perhaps only—if it occurs at all—in Jude 12 where the Syr. differs, and the marg. has "spots" (and so has the parall. 2 Pet. ii. 13). There it is used of false brethren. In the very next verse, "wild *waves* of the sea," like Jas. i. 6 "*surge* of the sea," is a metaphor describing unbelief. Also "*pits*" (i.e. *Thes.* 3086, χάσματα, comp. Lk. xvi. 26) and "*clefts*" (lit. "*schisms*," *Thes.* 2531, σχίσματα) point to the conclusion that the author is thinking, not of a ship steering clear of rocks and battling successfully with the waves, but rather of the celestial Chariot conveying the soul high up above all spiritual dangers, and errors, and enemies that may be typified by things on land or on sea¹.

[3992] Now comes a verse about the Light of Truth rendered by R.H. 1st ed. "it became to me *an instrument* of Salvation," but by R.H. 2nd ed. (tacitly following H.) "it became to me *a haven* of Salvation." To be literal, the former rendering should have been "*for* (i.e. *equivalent to*)² an instrument." (Comp. "*for*" in Ps. cxviii. 22 (Syr.) quoted in Mk xii. 10 (Syr.) and parall.) The Syr. of "*for an instrument*" is identical with the Syr. of "*a haven*." H. has preferred the latter, presumably because it seemed to agree with

¹ Comp. Ps. xci. 11—12 "He shall give his angels charge over thee...They shall *bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone*," and the following words about the "lion" and the "adder," and about being "*set on high*."

² [3992 a] Neither R.H. nor H. remarks on the use of the preposition "for" or "to" as meaning "equivalent to." *Thes.* 1868 perhaps refers to it as "*in loco, pro, vice*," 2 Sam. xxiv. 22; Jes. xxxviii. 17." But Nöldeke (Syr. Gr. transl. Crichton p. 191) says that cases like Gen. ii. 7 (Syr.) "*became for a living soul*" are to be regarded as Hebraisms, and bids us note the Pesh. "circumlocutions" to express the Heb. "*anoint him for King*." The Hebraic "for" is certainly omitted in Gen. ii. 24 (Syr.), and also in Mk x. 8, Mt. xix. 5 (Syr.) when quoting it. But it is inserted in Ps. cxviii. 22 (Syr.) and in the Synoptic quotations of that verse, as also in Lk. iii. 5 when quoting Isaiah. The Syr. usage with "anoint" appears to vary. In 1 S. ix. 16, it retains the Heb. "for," but not in *ib.* xv. 17, 2 S. v. 3. If it should be decided that the preposition is an integral part of the text in the Ode under consideration, it would point to a Hebrew original literally rendered by translators.

the contextual mention of "rocks" and "waves." Also, perhaps, "instrument" seems to make rather poor sense. That is undoubtedly true. But "instrument" is not by any means the only meaning of the Syriac word. It covers (*Thes.* 1991) a wide range of meaning, including not only instruments of war but also utensils of almost any kind, *e.g.* ornaments, and *sumptuous* (or *sacred*) clothing. For example, it is used no less than four times in the Syriac version of the passage in Zechariah iii. 3—5 where the High Priest has his "filthy garments" taken away and "rich apparel" bestowed on him. "*Garment*" would be suitable here.

[3993] It is appropriate that, when a prophet is taken up into the light of the Truth, he should be regarded as *clothed in the light of the Truth*—somewhat as the Epistle to the Ephesians (vi. 14) speaks of being "*girt with truth*" and the Epistle to the Romans (xiii. 12) of "*putting on the armour of light*." The word here used is capable of meaning (*Thes.* 1991, 1 S. xvii. 38—9 &c.) "*armour*," as well as priestly "*vestments*," so that it is more appropriate than the ordinary "clothing." But a preceding Ode (xi. 9—10) also describes the redeemed soul—speaking perhaps in the character of Abraham—as "stripping off folly," as being "renewed in the clothing of the Lord," as being "purchased in His light," and as receiving His "rest" in incorruption. And another Ode (xxv. 7—9) associates "covering" (*i.e.* "clothing") and "light" with "lifting up" as follows: "...nothing in me that is not *Light*. And I was *covered* with the *covering* of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my *clothing* of skin [see *Son* 3501 *h* on R. Meir's play on *light* and (Gen. iii. 21) *skin*], for thy right hand hath lifted me up...." The text, therefore, as it stands, seems to be perfectly intelligible:—

3. It became to me for a *garment* of Salvation.

[3994] Before proceeding to consider how far this rendering, besides being intelligible in itself, is also intelligible in connection with its context, we may well ask the same question as to the alternative renderings "ship" and "haven." Would that which is like a "ship" be said to become a "haven"? Would it not rather be the means of transporting us to the "haven"? And even about "haven," in accordance with Jewish thought, can we say that it is an appropriate metaphor to denote God's Truth or Light? To sea-traversing Greeks of old, and to Englishmen now, it may seem so; but Jews would prefer the Rock, or the Holy Hill, or the Holy Habitation. The beautiful words (Ps. cvii. 30) "And so he bringeth

them unto the *haven* where they would be" would be used over and over again in proverbs and metaphors by a people of mariners; but they are not referred to more than once in the seven (1912) published volumes of Goldschmidt's Babylonian Talmud, nor at all in Schwab's Index to the Jerusalem Talmud, nor in six volumes of Wünsche's translation of the Midrash. Indeed the word in the Psalms does not mean "haven." It is a loan-word (Gesen. 562 *b*) meaning "city," and is taken thus in the only Talmudic quotation known to me (*Berach.* 57 *a*, which says that if you dream about entering a "city" you will obtain whatever you desire). In the only other passage where the English Concordance to O.T. mentions "haven" (Gen. xlix. 13) R.V. marg. adds "Heb. *beach*." The fact is that the children of Israel had no such thing as a harbour, worthy of the name, on their small strip of coast. That the word does not occur in their Scriptures is a natural consequence¹. It is a fair inference that

¹ [3994 *a*] A Syriac expert, who has done me the favour of inspecting this Appendix, remarks, "This is perfectly true, but the Odist must have been a Hellenist. To him, therefore, the idea of *haven* will be quite natural." This assumption that the Odist "*must have been* a Hellenist" appears likely to prevent many from understanding, or rightly investigating, his meaning. It may be well, therefore, to summarise here the present state of the evidence.

(1) Prof. Harnack says (p. 11) "Harris hat die Frage nicht erörtert (trotz der Ankündigung auf p. 35)." This, which is said about Dr Harris' first edition, applies also to the second: "The intention to discuss the question has nowhere been carried out." A Greek original is repeatedly assumed but nowhere proved. (2) The very few passages in the Odes alleged by Dr Harris as pointing to a Greek original having been examined, have been found not to prove it, but indeed, in some cases, to point rather to a Hebrew than to a Greek original. (3) The Greek words used by the *Pistis Sophia* when quoting the Odes prove nothing, because they are a part of the writer's habitual language, being sometimes used more frequently just before, or just after, a quotation, than in the quotation itself. (4) The single quotation of the Odes in Lactantius—who usually quotes a Greek book in Greek—is not quoted in Greek but in Latin. (5) Ephrem Syrus, who is alleged by Dr Harris to have used the Odes, is also alleged by him *not* to have used them in a Greek form. (6) No instance has been alleged shewing that the Odist, like Philo and Paul, used the LXX. (7) The Odist is imbued with the thoughts of the Song of Solomon more obviously than with those of the Wisdom of Solomon. If to be a "Hellenist" means to have a tincture of Greek thought and literature, then we may admit that our poet could probably claim that title; but if it means to be unimbued with the Hebrew Bible and the first-century Jewish poetic traditions that had collected round the Bible, then we cannot safely make any such admission. (8) Nothing (at present) has been alleged in respect of rhythm or idiom (with the exception of the argument met in 3781 *h*₁) to shew that the Odes were originally composed in Greek; and the style has not been shewn to be greatly different from that of the Syriac versions of O.T. books which

their later poets were not likely to base metaphors on it, and that the poet now before us—permeated as he is with Jewish thought and Scriptural imagery—did not base a metaphor on it here.

[3995] If it should be urged, against the text as it stands, that there is a confusion of metaphor in saying about the Light of Truth, regarded as a Chariot, "It became to me for a garment of Salvation and set me on the arms of immortal life," it may be replied that this metaphor, in any case, is not more confused than if we suppose Light to be regarded as a flying "ship," setting its passengers in "the arms of immortal life." It is much more easy to regard the Light of the celestial Chariot as performing a twofold work, both clothing the believer in its light, and also lifting him up, arrayed in his "wedding garment," unto the heaven of heavens. So the poet says elsewhere (xv. 2) "The Lord...is my Sun and *His rays have raised me up* (or, *caused me to stand fast*)...and His light has *dispelled all darkness from my face*" and again (xxi. 5) "I was *lifted up* in (or, *into*) *His light*."

[3996] We are not bound, of course, by adopting this reference to the "Chariot" of Ezekiel, to suppose that the poet will continue, throughout the Ode, while describing the life of the redeemed soul in the Light of God, to refer to the same prophet. That is not *a priori* probable, or consistent with his habit of superimposing one scriptural character, as it were, upon another, in order to exhibit the nature of the Lord's Way. But the following apparent parallelisms are worth noting, between Ezekiel and the character whom we may call the Uplifted Prophet personified in this Ode.

First, as regards the "going up." It is not enough to say that Ezekiel is the only prophet in the Bible who is said to have been repeatedly "lifted up" and carried from place to place by the Spirit. It must be added that, during one of these celestial transportations, he is described as hearing (iii. 13) "the noise of the wings of the living creatures." These are the steeds of the Chariot, and the prophet is apparently carried on it¹. Again the Lord said to him (iii. 22) "Go forth into the valley and I will there talk with

(Burkitt's *Syriac Forms of N. T. Proper Names*, p. 3) "were translated originally direct from the Hebrew, probably by Jews rather than Christians."

¹ Ezek. iii. 12—13 "Then the Spirit lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing...and [I heard] the noise of the wings...and the noise of the wheels..." The Spirit appears to be that which is repeatedly described (Ezek. i. 12 &c.) as moving the wheels, and Ezekiel is supposed to be conveyed by the Chariot.

thee," and, on that and other occasions, gives him minute and, so to speak, private guidance as to his course of prophesying. This illustrates the words of the Ode (xxxviii. 4) "It went with me...and suffered me not to wander because it was the Truth."

Again, on one of these occasions of "lifting up," the Spirit brought Ezekiel to Jerusalem and shewed him (viii. 5 foll.) the Image of Jealousy, and the Elders worshipping "abominable beasts" and the women (*ib.* 14) "weeping for Tammuz." The Jewish Midrash (*Deut. r.* Wü. p. 29, *Lev. r.* Wü. p. 114, *Lam. r.* Wü. p. 18) refers to this Image of Jealousy as denoting the Intruder between Israel and Jehovah, and, in effect, the Paramour intervening between Wife and Husband. Also *Deut. r.* p. 29 adds a tradition that this Image of Jealousy had "four faces" in order to rival the "four faces" of "the living creatures" that drew the Chariot.

This Ode declares, in the name of the Prophet who is "lifted up," that he "made no error" because the Truth "revealed to him all the poisons of Error¹," and shewed him the false "Bridegroom"

THE MAN THAT "DROPPED WATERS OF LYING"

¹ [3996 a] Comp. the following extract, from a work published by Dr Schechter under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge, 1910, describing the deception of Israel and the "poison" of the deceivers, Heb. p. 8, l. 9 foll. "And they cast off restraint with an high hand to walk in the way of the wicked; concerning whom God said (*Deut.* xxxii. 33) 'Their wine is the poison of dragons and the head (so Aq. and Targums) of asps that is cruel.' The dragons are the kings of the nations, and their (*or*, the) wine is their ways, and the head of the asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them. But upon all these things they meditated not who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar."

The *Fragments* contain two texts, A and B, of which B is for the most part the ampler (though sometimes the briefer). And some of the variations and amplifications suggest that, even if this document at first referred to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, it might also be applied, in a later recension of the work, to the influence of Herod Antipas, and those Pharisees who connived at Herodism, *e.g.* (p. 4, ll. 19—21) "They that builded the wall (*i.e.* the Pharisees) who (*Hos.* v. 11) 'walked after the commanding-one' (*i.e.* Herod)." The text proceeds:—"The commanding-one is he that drops [waters of lying (3996 d)] [as to] which he said 'Dropping they drop [waters of lying]' (comp. *Mic.* ii. 6, 11)—they [I say] are ensnared by two: by fornication, *taking two wives* during their lifetimes...." Concerning (1) this, and (2) the following reference to *Gen.* i. 27 "male and female," and (3) "as to the prince it is written (*Deut.* xvii. 17) 'He shall not multiply wives,'" and (4) the excuse for David that, in his days, the Book of the Law was sealed, Dr Schechter says "The argument is evidently not only directed against polygamy, but also against *divorce*."

[3996 b] It would therefore apply to Herod Antipas, whose divorce of his first

wife (see Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1) brought on him the reproof of John the Baptist. Herod's subsequent defeat by Aretas his former father-in-law was thought by many, says Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 2) to be a judgment on him for putting the prophet to death. Mark (x. 2) and Matthew (xix. 3) somewhat obscurely represent the Pharisees as "tempting" Jesus by questioning Him about *divorce*. Luke does not. But elsewhere, in repeating the substance of His reply, Luke throws light on the connection between "tempting" and questioning about "divorce." The Pharisees, he implies, sought to get rid of Jesus as they had got rid of John, by bringing Him into collision with Herod (Lk. xvi. 14—18) "And the *Pharisees*, who were lovers of money...mocked at him. And he said unto them...The law and the prophets [were] until *John*: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached...Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery..." These words of Jesus have been supposed to lay down a universal law as to divorce. More probably they simply record His endorsement of John's protest against a special act of treacherous immorality in high places condoned by lax and compliant Pharisees. This is most clearly indicated by Tertullian. Origen indeed (on Mt. xix. 3) recognises, as also does Jerome, that the "tempting" is of the nature of a dilemma; and Origen adds that it was parallel to the "tempting" of Jesus by the Pharisees and Herodians "in the matter of the tribute"; but he does not mention Herod, and he has left no commentary on Lk. xvi. 17—18. Tertullian however says "Facta igitur mentione Joannis Dominus—et utique successus exitus eius—illicitorum matrimoniorum et adulterii figuras *jaculatus est in Herodem*, adulterum pronuntians etiam qui dimissam a viro duxerit, *quo magis impietatem Herodis oneraret*...."

[3996 c] Let us return to the word (s. Gesen. 846 b) rendered "*the commanding-one*" (of whom it is said that he "*drops*," where I have ventured to supply "*waters of lying*," in accordance with a phrase used later on). It occurs in only two passages of O.T. and is rendered by R.V. "*command*" in one and "*precept*" in the other:—(1) Hos. v. 11 "Ephraim is oppressed...because he was content to walk after the *command*." Here LXX and Syr. have "vanity," Vulg. "filth," Targ. "the mammon of unrighteousness." As to this last phrase, comp. Lk. xvi. 11—13 "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon...Ye cannot serve God and mammon," coming immediately before the above-quoted "mocking" of the "Pharisees" followed by Christ's mention of "John," "divorce," and "adultery." Jewish tradition agrees with Rashi that "command" means *idolatry*:—"volens secutus est mandata nova prophetarum Bahalis." Dr Schechter, however, personifies this influence as "*the commanding-one*"; and, if such a personification of the insidious leavening power of idolatry was made by a Jew in the first half of the first century, or, being of an earlier date, was applied and adapted to that later period, then Antipas, "the fox"—and perhaps "the hypocrite" (*Corrections* 466 (ε))—would most appropriately be identified with it.

[3996 d] (2) The second O.T. instance of this "*command*" (R.V. "precept") is one where Isaiah (xxviii. 1 foll.) complains that "the drunkards of Ephraim," with their "crown of pride"—their judges, their soldiers, their priests and their prophets—"are gone astray through strong drink." They need to be taught (*ib.* 10) as babes have to be fed, drop by drop, "*command upon command, command upon command*." And they will be taught thus (while mocking at the simplicity of the teaching) with painful experience—these (*ib.* 14) "*men of mocking*." This final phrase is referred to by Dr Schechter in his note on p. 1, ll. 14—15

"As a backsliding heifer so did Israel slide back (Hos. iv. 16) when there arose the *man of mocking* (Schecht. *man of scoffing*) who dropped to Israel waters of lying" (with which compare text B, p. 20, ll. 9—11 "who placed idols on their hearts (Ezek. xiv. 4)... with the *men of mocking* shall they be judged"). This appears to justify us in supplying "*waters of lying*" after "*drop*" in 3996 a, and therefore to identify "*the commanding-one*" there mentioned with *the person that "dropped the waters of lying."* Texts A and B—after agreeing as to the "daubers of the wall," or Pharisees, "upon all these things they meditated not who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar"—diverge concerning the "*dropping*," variously interpreting an extremely difficult passage of Micah (ii. 11) as follows:—

A p. 8, l. 13.

For one confused of spirit and *dropping*
lie(s) dropped [lies] to them.

B p. 19, l. 25.

For one walking in wind (*or*, spirit) and
weighing storms (comp. Eccles. xi. 4)
a *dropper [of words]* of man for *lying*.

Micah, as Dr Schechter indicates, has "the people" where B has "man." The prophet is apparently playing on the word "*drop*" as applicable both to good and to evil teaching, to drops of life-giving wisdom and drops of poisonous or intoxicating falsehood—(Mic. ii. 11) "If a man be walking [in] wind and falsehood telling-lies [saying] I will *drop* for thee [words that shall be] for wine and for strong-drink, then he shall be *dropper [of words]* (i.e. popular prophet) of this people." In Scripture, "*drop [words]*" is more often used in a good than in a bad sense, but in Prov. v. 3 "the lips of the strange woman *drop* honey" Rashi says "*Labia extranea i.e. Epicureismus.*" That explains the meaning in Micah (Rashi "*seducens...ut inebriarent se*") and seems best to explain the meaning in this Jewish work, namely, *Hellenism*, *Epicurism*, or *Herodism*.

[3996 e] We have been led to the conclusion that "*the commanding-one*," who is connected with the charge of "*taking two wives*," is also "*the man of mocking*," who "*dropped to Israel waters of lying*." But the following extract from text B, besides calling him "the man of lies," gives him a military environment as follows, p. 20 ll. 14—15 "And from the day when there was gathered in the only teacher until the consuming of all *the men of war* (Deut. ii. 14) who walked with *the man of lies*—about forty years." This "war" seems referred to elsewhere in p. 1, l. 21 "they rejoiced at *the war of the people*" where Dr Schechter suggests as an alternative "*they goaded the people into war*." Also, that Herod Antipas was "a man of lies" appears to be implied by Lk. xiii. 32 "that fox." And Luke adds that (Lk. xxiii. 11) "Herod, *with his soldiers* (A.V. men of war) set him (i.e. Jesus) at nought, and *mocked* him..." As to the "war," we must remember that the *Fragments* repeatedly speak of "Damascus" as the home of the Sect. And Damascus is mentioned by Paul as being (2 Cor. xi. 32) "under Aretas the king," Herod's aggrieved father-in-law. If, as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 1—2), *the total destruction of the army of Herod by Aretas* was caused by the desertion of some of his men who belonged to Philip's tetrarchy, and was believed by "the Jews" to be a retribution on Herod for the execution of John the Baptist, it is easily intelligible that some Christians (especially in Damascus) might join with Jews in this belief, and might add to it a tradition that it was also a retribution on "*the man of mocking*" for his "*mockery*" of Jesus.

As Israel's "men of war" rejected Moses in the Wilderness, and not till they had been "consumed," in "forty years," did the nation receive the Promise, so

and the false "Bride." These appear to mean the parody, or false image, or evil antitype, of the union that should join the true

the Coming of Christ's Kingdom did not begin till forty years had elapsed after His rejection, when the last of those who mocked Him had perished either by the sword of Aretas or by the sword of Rome:—some tradition of this kind may possibly explain this obscure passage.

[3996 f] It has been ably maintained (see *The Sadducean Christians of Damascus*, by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A., *Expositor* Dec. 1911 and March 1912) (1) that the *Fragments* contain references to John the Baptist and to Jesus, but, as it appears to me, less convincingly, (2) that "the man of mocking" refers to Paul. The first of these two conclusions appears to favour, and to be favoured by, the above-stated evidence indicating that Herod Antipas plays a large part in the work, both personally as the enemy of the Prophet and the Messiah and impersonally as the symbol of what Rashi calls "Epicurism." The second conclusion does not seem to me so probable. At the same time it must be admitted that a work of this kind, edited perhaps and re-edited in different centuries, might reproduce in different forms allusions to that duality of evil influence—action combined with speech—which we find in Dan. vii. 8 "a mouth speaking great things," and in Rev. xiii. 4—5 where "the dragon" gives his authority to "the beast" and "the beast" receives "a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies."

[3996 g] It may be added that this work appears to throw light on *Hermas Sim.* v. 1 "While fasting...and giving thanks...I see the Shepherd...saying 'Why have you come hither [so] early in the morning?' 'Because, sir' (I answered) 'I have a *station* (*σταθιον*).'" "What is a *station*?" he asked. "I am fasting, sir," I replied." Comp. *Fragments* p. 2, l. 9 "He knew the years of the *station*"; *ib.* p. 3, l. 19—p. 4, l. 5 "He built them (*i.e.* God built for the remnant) a sure house in Israel...as God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel...(comp. Ezek. xlv. 15) saying 'The priests and the Levites *and* (sic) the sons of Zadok that kept...shall bring near unto me fat and blood.' The priests are the *repentants* (as in Schecht. note—not as in Schecht. text, *captivity*) of Israel...and the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel.... Behold...the end of their *station*." "Station" (*Levy* iii. 193 *b*) *lit.* "standing," means a section of Priests, Levites, and Israelites, appointed to "stand and wait" on the Lord in the service of the Offering for each day. It is represented by *στασις* in LXX; but as *στασις* in N.T. almost always means a "seditious standing apart," or "sedition," *Hermas* adopts a Latinised form of it signifying "standing on guard." Jerome explains Ezek. xl. 46 "sons of Zadok" as "sons of the Righteous one, *i.e.* of God." It was open to Jewish sectarians to explain it in the same way, and to say that the *real* "priests" were "the repentant," the *real* "sons of Zadok" were the "sons of the Righteous one," and the *real* "station" was not necessarily a band of ministrants in the Temple, but a gathering together of faithful worshippers in any place whatsoever, for prayer. God heard such prayers, they would say, and fore-ordained their consummation, end, or fulfilment: "He knew the end of their *station*."

[3996 h] Such a "standing" or "station" as this does not imply "idling," though it implies "rest," *i.e.* restful activity in the Lord. Comp. Ode xxvi. 13 "the psalm-singers *stand* in rest." When it is intended to suggest "idleness," the context adds the latter, xvi. 15 "They know not *standing and being idle*."

"Bridegroom" with the true "Bride" (Ode xxxviii. 6—9) (H. "Sie sind das böse Gegenbild der wahren bräutlichen Gemeinschaft zwischen dem Herrn und den Seinen)¹."

[3997] The latter half of the Ode returns to the brighter aspect, with which it opened—not Error, but Truth. Here (Ode xxxviii. 15—21), like the Song of Moses, it blends two metaphors—the thought of (Exod. xv. 17) "planting" in "the mountain" of the Lord's inheritance with the thought of "the Holy Place," which His "hands have established." And in dwelling rather fully on the thought of "planting," the poet not improbably has in view thoughts such as Philo's, about God, the first "planter," and Noah, the second. Noah was associated with the thought of "rest," though of an inferior kind, and with the "plantation" of the first vine, though with some lamentable results in his "drunkenness" which followed. To this the poet may possibly be referring in Ode xxxviii. 10—13, mentioning "the wine of their drunkenness" in connection with "the Deceiver and the Error." Not that he would call Noah a "deceiver." But the thought of him as having been a sharer, in some sense, of "rest," and yet as having been "deceived" into "drunkenness," may have suggested to him both a contrast, and a similarity, between the planting of Noah and God's "planting" of the seed of Abraham. Noah planted for himself, and received for himself—drunkenness. God planted—not for Himself, in the ordinary sense of the expression, but for Israel—(Is. v. 2) "the choicest vine." Yet the Vine gave Him (*ib.* 4) "wild grapes." Such was the power of the Deceiver over both Noah and Israel.

[3998] In conclusion, it should be added that there are allusions, throughout this Ode, to Moses, as being the Uplifted, the Illuminated, and the Leader who brought Israel toward the Lord's Holy Place which is regarded as "the planting of His right hand." There may also be an allusion to the Ark of Noah as being (Gen. vii. 17) "lifted up"—on which Philo (*Quaest. Gen.*) comments as indicating that "our body" is to overcome hunger and thirst, cold and heat, by being "lifted up" amid such "fluctuations." And there is certainly an allusion (3781 g) to the twofold meaning of "*corrupt*" and "*destroy*," attached in Gen. vi. 11—13 to one and the same

¹ The Johannine Apocalypse exhibits similar antitypal thoughts, but the Seer and the Poet appear, independently, to derive them from the Prophets and especially from Ezekiel. In the Apocalypse the influence of Daniel is much more noticeable than in the Odes.

Hebrew verb concerning the "corruption" that preceded the Deluge. The passage in Ode xxxviii. 9—14 repeatedly mentions "*corrupt*" in various forms—the Bride that is "*corrupted*," the Bridegroom that "*corrupts* and is *corrupted*," and then others who go about "*corrupting*." All this is preceded by "I saw (*lit.*) the *corrupter of corruption*." Here the Syr. for "corrupter" is (*Thes.* 1180) that which represents ὁ ἀλεθρεύων "*the destroying [angel]*" in Exod. xii. 23, Wisd. xviii. 25, and ὁ ἀλοθρευτής in 1 Cor. x. 10. Hence also we see that "the *corrupt* Bridegroom *is corrupted*" really means that he "*destroys*" and "*is destroyed*."

[3999] In all this, although the play on the words goes back to Genesis, and the days of Noah, the main thought is the thought of Ezekiel. For his prophecy, in effect, is continually rebuking Israel for being (xxiii. 11) "*corrupt* in her doting" on her Paramour. Ezekiel also sees the Angels of Retribution descend—in effect, to "*destroy*" this "*corruption*"—(ix. 1) each "with his *destroying* weapon in his hand." And this is part of the Law of Truth set forth in this Ode about the Chariot of the Truth, namely, that whoever "*destroys*"—in the sense of "*corrupting*," or attempting to "*corrupt*" what is living—shall be himself "*destroyed*." The same thought, and other thoughts in this Ode, might (if space allowed) be found also in Revelation, and might be found to be, in both writings, connected independently with Ezekiel in general and with the CHARIOT in particular.

Consequently, to substitute "ship" for "chariot" in the opening of this Ode, and "haven" for "clothing" (or for "instrument") later on, appears to obscure its connection with Ezekiel, with Revelation, and with others of the Odes, and to introduce a thought more natural to insular Englishmen than to a nation whose coasts were practically harbourless, and in whose ancient literature—with all its range of history and poetry—the word "harbour" does not occur¹.

¹ [3999 a] The Odes mention "sea" but once, xvi. 11 "He spread out the earth and gave to the waters their home (*lit.* "caused to sit (or, dwell) the waters," R.H. "settled," H. "Wohnung angewiesen") in the sea." Comp. Prov. viii. 29 "When he gave to the sea its bounds (*marg. his decree*) that the waters should not transgress his commandment, when he marked out the foundations of the earth"—that is to say, that they should not overflow the earth. This is expressed in Ps. civ. 5 foll. "who laid the foundations of the earth...thou coveredst it with the deep...the waters stood above the mountains; at thy rebuke they fled," referring to Gen. i. 9 "Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear." "The waters under the earth" are regarded, in Jewish

literature, as always ready to break out in a deluge but for the restraining hand of the Lord. In the light of these and other Biblical passages we may see that this feeling, which is expressed in Proverbs, is also implied in the Odes.

THE "WAY" OF "THE SIMPLE HEART"

[3999 *b*] The Ode (xxxviii) above discussed describes the soul as going up to the region of Truth. Its meaning may be illustrated from another Ode which regards the soul not as *going up* above, but as *being* above: (xxxiv. 4—5) "Whosoever is surrounded on every side by beauty—in him there is nothing that is divided [against itself]. The pattern (3858 *p*) of that which is below is that which is above. For everything soever is above. Below is nothing soever. But it merely seems to be—[seems] to those who have no knowledge." The variations of text (3999 (ii) 12) do not affect the conclusion that the soul will find beauty above.

A condition, of course, is implied—namely, that the soul must have eyes to perceive the beauty that is above. In the titles of the Psalms, "seeing with understanding" is the Jewish interpretation sometimes given of "Maschil." The Midrash on Ps. xxxii tit. illustrates it from the word *maschil* in Prov. xv. 24 "The way of life is upward for *him that sees* [with understanding]," and this again from Ps. xxxiv. 5 "they *looked unto him* (i.e. to the Lord) and were lightened." This Ode, however, instead of the condition of *seeing* rightly, "the single eye," implies the condition of, so to speak, *feeling* rightly—"the single, or simple, heart" mentioned in its opening words (xxxiv. 1) "No way is rough (3999 *d*) where there is a *simple heart*."

[3999 *c*] The poet's meaning deserves study, not only for its own sake but also because it may throw light on Christ's doctrine about "the heart." For example, in the Parable of the Sower, why does Matthew (xiii. 14), alone of the Synoptists, quote "Isaiah" by name about Israel's "heart" as being "made gross" lest they should "understand with their heart"? Why does John, who omits the Parable, nevertheless quote these words of Isaiah at great length to shew why the Jews (xii. 39) "were not able to believe"? The one passage in which Luke agrees with Mark and Matthew as to any doctrine of Christ about *the heart* concerns the command to *love God* "with all the heart," as well as with the other faculties. Luke does not have (Mt. v. 8) "Blessed are the pure *in heart* for they shall see God," nor the warning (*ib.* v. 28) against committing adultery *in the heart*, nor (*ib.* xi. 29) "I am meek and lowly *in heart*"; nor Mark's and Matthew's free quotation of Is. xxix. 13 (Mk vii. 6, Mt. xv. 8) "this people honoureth me with their lips, but *their heart* is far from me"; nor their doctrine about the distinction (Mk vii. 19—21, Mt. xv. 18—19) between that which "cometh into the mouth" and that which cometh into "*the heart*" and out of "*the heart*." On the other hand, where Matthew (xii. 35) has "the good man out of the good treasure brings forth good things," Luke (vi. 45) has "the good treasure of *the heart*," and changes the order of Matthew's text. Matthew spoke of "the abundance of *the heart*" immediately after the mention of the fruit-bearing tree as though the heart were a *vital source*, but Luke apparently takes it to be a *treasure*, or perhaps *treasury*. Again, in the Parable of the Sower, Mark (iv. 15) makes no mention of *the heart* in connection with the seed that fell on the way; but Matthew (xiii. 19) and Luke (viii. 12) severally describe it as "sown *in the heart*" or "snatched *from the heart*." Subsequently Luke, and Luke alone, says that some receive the seed (viii. 15) "*in an honest and good heart*." All these passages, with the exception of Jn xii. 40, are records of Christ's own words.

[3999 *d*] Returning to the short Ode under consideration we find that it ends thus (xxxiv. 6) "Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe, and live, and be saved"; and its opening has been quoted above (3999 *b*) "*No way is rough.*" The Syr. for "*rough way*" (a rare phrase in Heb.) occurs, as also does "revealed," in Isaiah's Return of the Ransomed, for whom (xl. 4—5) "the crooked shall be made straight and the *rough* places plain, and the glory of the Lord shall be *revealed*"—where the "glory" consists in the redemption of Israel. In thought, the Ode recalls the Deuteronomic warning about the "nearness" of the "commandment" of God (xxx. 12—16) "*It is not in heaven...neither is it beyond the sea...but the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart...* See, I have set before thee...life and good...in that I command thee this day *to love the Lord thy God...*" Thus the poet, in effect, combines Isaiah and Deuteronomy by saying that the "way" of the redeemed is not a way of the Law (3756 *a*) or of Commandments, but a way of the "heart," and in the "heart." A previous Ode has said (iv. 5) "Thou hast given *thy heart*, O Lord, to thy believers." Hence it follows that the "*simple* (or, *singleminded*) *heart*" in man below is one with the heart of God above, and the "*way*" of the man below is the "*way*" of God above. For the simple-hearted, then, "everything is above."

This emphasis on singleness of heart illustrates other passages in the Odes mentioning the "heart" of God: xvi. 20 "The aeons were [made] by His word and by the design (or, purpose) of *His heart*," and xxviii. 18 "Not to be forestalled is the thought of the Most High, and *His heart* is superior to all wisdom." The poet teaches us that, if we try to go down toward the bottom or root of things—beneath Wisdom, beneath the divine Purpose of Redemption, beneath the divine Thought of Redemption—we shall find something very human. It is a "*heart*"—only a heart that is always true to itself, and never vacillates. To the same effect is another short Ode xxx. 1—5 "Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord...it flows forth from the lips of the Lord, and from *the heart of the Lord* is its name"; and still more to the point is the final mention of the word in xli. 10 "His riches (3817 (i) *a*₁ and 3820 *a*) begat me, and so did the purpose (or, design) of *His heart*."

[3999 *e*] "*Heart*," in Heb. (Gesen. 523—4) sometimes means the hidden centre of anything, e.g. the sea, the heaven (comp. Mt. xii. 40 "in the *heart* of the earth"). This gives the Hebrew word associations unknown in non-Hebraic Greek. Applied to man, it denotes the inner man (as distinct from the outer) the source of understanding, thought, and affection. Applied to God, it is freq. in the Prophets (once in the Psalms) in adverbial phrases ("in his heart" &c.); but perhaps the only instance where they use it as a subject is Hos. xi. 8—9 "*my heart* is turned within me, my compassions are kindled together...I am...the Holy One in the midst of thee." In the historical books of O.T. God's "*heart*" is mentioned four times. Two instances are in Gen. vi. 6, viii. 21 "*at*, or, *in*, *his heart*." Two are in 1 K. ix. 3 and parall. 2 Chr. vii. 16, "mine eyes and *my heart* shall be there," that is (3712 *a*) in the Temple. This promise is made more emphatic by comparison with Deut. xi. 12 "a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it":—on the *land*—only "the eyes," in the *Temple* "the heart" as well. It implies a loving presence, we may almost say passionately loving, as in Hosea.

Hence *Mechilla* (on Exod. xx. 24, Wü. p. 231) represents God as saying to Israel, "If thou comest into my house, I come into thy house.... Toward the place that *my heart* loveth, my feet lead me." *Pesikt.* (sect. 5, Wü. p. 55)—on

Cant. v. 2 "I sleep, but *my heart* wakes"—represents Israel as saying "O Lord of the world, I sleep [away] from the Temple, and my heart wakes in the houses of assembly...; I sleep [away] from the Redemption [of Israel] but *the heart of God* awakes to redeem us"; where the meaning is that, although the Temple has fallen, God's "heart," according to His ancient promise, is still with Israel when worshipping Him. Levy (ii. 463) gives no instance of God's "heart" except the one quoted above from *Mechilta*. It does not occur in the *Psalms of Solomon*, nor does it appear in the Subject Index to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Nor do Christian writers in the New Testament, or in the early days of the Church, appear to have taken up the phrase. Its fourfold mention in the small volume of the Odes leads to the conclusion that the author was a man not only of Hebraic (as distinct from Hellenic) thought, but also of a highly poetic originality, who thought in personifications, not in abstractions.

[3999 f] At the same time we must not forget that Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Psalms, had prepared the way for some doctrine about God as imparting His "heart" to man. Jerem. xxxii. 39 "I will give them *one heart* and one way," meant, in effect, "*my heart*" and "*my way*," as is shewn by the following words—"that they may fear me for ever." That "*one heart*" does not there mean simply "*one and the same heart*" is indicated (Gesen. 402 b) by the Heb. txt of Ps. lxxxvi. 11 "Teach me thy way, O Lord, I will walk in thy truth; *make-one my heart* to fear thy name," the first part of which is quoted by *Exod. i.* (on *Exod. xii. 43*, Wü. p. 146) along with Ps. cxix. 80 "Let my heart be *perfect* (Wü. *ganz ungetheilt*) in thy statutes." Concerning this kind of "undividedness" of heart—or "simplicity," or "complete unity," or "perfection"—Jesus said to His disciples (*Son 3479*) "Ye shall be *perfect* as your heavenly Father is *perfect*." Abraham, after God had promised to give Himself to him (*Gen. xv. 1* "I am thy exceeding great reward") received the precept (*Gen. xvii. 1*) "Be thou *perfect*." This did not mean "Commit no error." It meant "Be thou at one with thyself, thy real self, the divine image in thee."

All these passages might be said to imply, not only singleheartedness, but also, in some sense, the possession of "the heart of God." And perhaps Ezekiel had most clearly of all implied it in the words (xi. 19) "*I will give them one heart*" and (xxxvi. 26) "*A new heart also will I give you*." But it was one thing to imply this and another to express it. Paul ventured to say "we have the *mind* of Christ." And that a man "has the Spirit" of Christ, or of God, has become a commonplace. But neither Ezekiel nor Paul nor any prophetic or apostolic writer has ventured to say what our poet says, "Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers."

[3999 g] What precisely did "giving the *heart*" mean, as distinct from "giving the spirit"? For Jews, the latter would often have a technical meaning as being the special source of prophecy. But to give the heart would mean giving a hidden root, or source, or motive power in man, that could not fail of a resultant moral action, not words but *deeds*. The Midrash on Ps. xiv. 1 says that, "as *the eyes go after the heart* (comp. Numb. xv. 39) so the ears and all the 248 limbs follow the heart." That is one of many possible illustrations (see Schlatter on Jn xvi. 22 "your heart shall rejoice," and *Aboth* ii. 12 where "a good heart" is preferred to "a good eye"). It appears to be a Hebrew or Jewish, not a Greek, thought. The Greeks cannot use *δικάρδιος* (see Steph. *Thes.*) to express "double-heartedness." James (i. 8, iv. 8) has to use *διψυχος*. But double-heartedness is implied in 1 Chr. xii. 33, Ps. xii. 2 "a heart and [then] a [different] heart," Sym. *καρδίᾳ*

ἀλλη καὶ ἀλλη, and expressed in Sir. i. 27 ἐν καρδίᾳ δισση. God's gift of a "heart," then, was a Jewish metaphor implying the gift of a pure source of consistently pure action.

[3999 *h*] A second question is, why did the poet use and reiterate this phrase? Was it because he was a poet, and, like all original poets, saw things, and spoke of things, in a way of his own, not for the sake of seeming, but because he was, original? Or was it because he had some special reason for not being content with the ordinary phraseology expressing God's gifts to man? Probably for both these reasons. First, he was a poet, and a Jewish poet imbued with the poetry of the Song of Songs in which the "heart" of the Bridegroom and the "heart" of the Bride find natural mention. But in the second place, he was a Christian poet, trying to express, like Peter (i. 8) "joy unspeakable," and like Paul (2 Cor. ix. 15) "thanks to God for his unspeakable gift." Like Paul (*ib.* xii. 4) too, this poet, in one of his Odes, tells us that he had gone "into Paradise." There we may suppose that he had heard "unspeakable words." The effort to express the inexpressible gifts of the Father to the disciples of His Son appears to have taxed the Evangelists to the utmost. Mark and Matthew (*Son* 3617) mentioned "the Holy Spirit" or "the Spirit of your Father" as "speaking" in the Disciples during their hour of trial. Luke added (*Son* 3617 foll.) some mention of "a mouth" and "wisdom." John (*ib.*) develops at great length his doctrine of the Paraclete performing an ampler office. Our poet, most briefly, adds his contribution for the same purpose. Perhaps indeed he may be alluding to such traditions as Luke's. Luke (xxi. 15) represents Jesus as saying "I will give you a *mouth* and *wisdom*." Unless one is penetrated with the Hebrew conception of an emotional and spiritual "wisdom," this seems cold. It seems rather in the spirit of Philo, who twice (i. 614, ii. 406) paraphrases "heart," in Deut. xxx. 14 "in thy mouth and in thy *heart*," as counsels (βουλαί, or βουλευματα). But this is not the Pauline view (Rom. x. 6-9). Nor is it the view of the Odes, which say (xxviii. 18) "*His heart* is superior to all *wisdom*." Later on, speaking of "the living fountain of the Lord" that "flows from His lips," the poet adds (xxx. 5) "from *the heart of the Lord* is its name."

It should be observed, in conclusion, that this possession of the heart of God does not make the possessor think meanly of God's other gifts—God's gifts, for example, of things on earth. On the contrary, he thinks more nobly of them. For "everything soever is above." That is to say, "the earth is the Lord's" not less truly but more truly, for one that is going "the way of the simple heart."

APPENDIX III

TRANSLATIONS OF ODES I—XI, XIII

[3999 (i)] The translations contained in various chapters and sections in the preceding pages are here given consecutively, with paragraph numbers attached, so that the reader may read any one Ode, or all the Odes, continuously, before studying the text in detail. Bracketed words, including the titles, are not part of the Syriac text, but are added for the sake of clearness.

ODE I (3646—68)

[THE CROWN OF THE LIVING TRUTH]

1. The Lord is on my head like a crown, nor shall I be apart from Him. 2. THEY (*or*, they) wove for me the crown of Truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me. 3. For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not, but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head. 4. Thy fruits are full and perfect, full of thy salvation....

ODE II

(Missing)

ODE III (3669—710)

[THE BELOVED]

1. ...I put on. 2. And His members are with Him and in them do I hang and He dearly-loves me. 3. For I should not have known how to love the Lord if He had not loved me. 4. Who is able to discern-and-interpret love except the one that is loved? 5. Dearly-love I the Beloved, and [indeed] my soul loveth Him. 6. And where His rest [is], there also am I. 7. And I shall not be a stranger, because there is no grudging with the Lord [Most] High and [Most] Compassionate. 8. I have been mingled [in wedlock]

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because the loving-one hath found Him¹, the Beloved. 9. Because I shall love Him¹, the Son, I shall be the Son. 10. For he that cleaveth to Him that dieth not—he, too, will become one that dieth not. 11. And he that delighteth in Life [eternal]²—living shall he be. 12. This is the Spirit of the Lord, which is not falsehood, which teacheth the sons of Man to know His ways [? saying] (3983 (v) *b*) 13. Be ye wise, and take-knowledge, and awake. Hallelujah.

ODE IV (3711—27)

[THE HOLY PLACE OF GOD]

1. No man changeth thy Holy Place, O my God. 2. And [there is] not [one] that shall change it and put it in another place, because he hath not over it the power [to do so]. 3. For thy Holy [Place] thou didst will-and-purpose before thou madest places. 4. The Elder shall not be changed by those that are inferior to (*or*, younger than) itself. 5. Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers; never wilt thou fail-or-become-futile, and thou wilt not be without fruit. 6. For one hour of thy belief is more than all days and years. 7. For who is there that shall put on thy grace and be wronged [? by being deprived of it]? 8. Because thy seal is known, and known unto it are thy creatures (*i.e.* thy creatures know it) and thy armed-hosts possess it, and the elect archangels are

¹ [3999 (i) *a*] Ode iii. 8—9 “Him, the Beloved,” “Him, the Son.” The Syriac pronoun consisting of the letters *hw* (Nöldeke §§ 6, 67, 227—8) means “*that* (masc.)” when dotted above the letter *w* (pronounced *haw*) and “*he*” when dotted below (pronounced *hū*). Here it is dotted above. But “*that* the Beloved” or “*that* Beloved” would convey no meaning or a wrong meaning. Probably the meaning is “*ille*” in the sense “*He* [whom we all know as] the Beloved (*or*, the Son).” Comp. Rev. i. 17—18 where *hw* occurs thrice, dotted above, and Walton, punctuating as follows, “Ego sum *ille* primus et *ille* ultimus: Et [*ille*] qui vivus sum,” omits the third “*ille*,” but it is in the Syriac.

In Jn i. 1 (Syr. Walton) the pronoun is twice dotted below, so that it ought to mean “*he*”:—“In the beginning was the Word, and *He* [*namely*] the Word was with God, and (lit.) God was *He* [*namely*] the Word,” where Prof. Burkitt renders the undotted text of the Curet. Syr. “He, the Word.” In that sentence, “*he*” appears to mean simply “the person previously mentioned,” and the emphasis is due, not to the pronoun “*he*” alone (Nöldeke § 227), but to the repetition of “Word”—Word being needed, not for sense, but only for emphasis. If the Syrian translator had meant “He [whom we all know as] the Word,” it would seem that he might have used the pronoun in the first clause, “In the beginning was He, the Word.”

² See note above, which shews that if the poet had meant “the Living One” he could have written “*ille* qui vivus [est],” which he has not done.

APPENDIX III

clothed therein. 9. Thou hast given us thy fellowship. It was not that thou didst need [gifts] from us¹, but we need [gifts] from thee. 10. Sprinkle on us thy sprinklings [of dew], and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us the Milk and Honey [of thy Promise]. 11. For there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldst repent anything that thou hast promised. 12. And the end [of all things] was open-and-visible to thee; for indeed whatever thou hast given thou hast given freely. 13. So that thou wilt not draw them back and take them [again]. 14. For everything soever—[to thee] as God—was open-and-visible to thee, and was ordained from [that which was] in the beginning before thee (*i.e.* before thy face), and thou, O Lord, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

ODE V (3728—37)

[THE HELP OF GOD]

1. I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee. 2. Most High, thou wilt not forsake me, for thou art my hope. 3. Freely have I received thy grace, I shall live thereby. 4. My persecutors will come and will not see me. 5. A cloud of gloom shall fall on their eyes and an air of thick darkness shall darken them. 6. And they shall have no light to see—that they may not take me. 7. May their thought become a thick-fog, and whatever they have planned-wisely [as they suppose]—may it return on their own heads. 8. For they have designed a thought, and it hath not come to pass for them; they have prepared themselves with-evil-intent and they were found to be empty. 9. For on the Lord is my hope and I shall not fear, and (*or?* yea) because the Lord is my Salvation I shall not fear. 10. And as a crown is He on my head, and I shall not be shaken; and [even] if everything soever should be shaken, I (*emph.*)² stand-firm. 11. And [even] if everything soever that is visible be destroyed, I (*emph.*)² shall not die. 12. Because the Lord is with me and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

¹ A closer rendering would be “fall short of us,” see 3999 (ii) 17 *k*.

² “I (*emph.*).” Here and elsewhere where Syr. inserts the personal pronoun, the insertion is indicated by “*emph.*” *i.e.* “*emphatic.*” Sometimes the emphasis may be slighter than that which would be implied by the insertion of “*ego*” in Latin. But mostly, as here, there is some emphasis.

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ODE VI (3738—48)

[THE RIVER OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD]

1. As the hand goes-its-way in¹ the harp and the strings speak,
 2. So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord and I (*emph.*)
 speak in His fervent-love. 3. For that destroys whatever is alien
 [from Him] and [thus] everything soever is (*i.e.* becomes the posses-
 sion) of the Lord. 4. For thus was it from the beginning and [thus
 will it be] until the end, that nothing soever should oppose Him,
 and that nothing soever should stand-up in opposition to Him.
 5. The Lord hath multiplied His knowledge (*i.e.* His [gift to us of
 the] knowledge [of Himself]) and is zealous that those things should
 be known which in His grace have been given to us. 6. And His
 glorifying (*i.e.* the work of glorifying Him) He hath given to us to
 (*i.e.* to the glory of, *or*, for the sake of) His name. Our spirits to
 His Holy Spirit ascribe-glory. 7. For there came forth [from God]
 a rill and became a river great and broad. 8. For it overflowed
 everything soever and broke-in-pieces [everything] and brought
 [everything] to the Temple (*lit.* Palace). 9. And they found not
 [how] to restrain it—they, the restrainings of the sons of man—and
 also the [evil] arts of those who restrain waters². 10. For it came
 [spreading] over the face of the whole earth and filled everything
 soever, and [there] drank of it all the thirsty that were on the earth.
 11. And their (*lit.* the) thirst was [first] loosened and [then] quenched,
 for from the Most High was given the drink. 12. Blessed therefore
 are the ministers of that drink who have been intrusted with His
 water. 13. They have refreshed the dry lips, and the will that
 was paralysed they have raised up. 14. And the souls that were
 near departing they drew [back] from death. 15. And the members
 that had fallen they straightened and raised up. 16. They gave
 strength for their coming and light for their eyes. 17. Because
 every human-being knew (*i.e.* acknowledged) them in the Lord
 and they lived [for ever] by the living water that [is] for ever.
 Hallelujah.

¹ "In" (not "*ou*"). The Syr. has "in," and it suggests a parallelism between
 "*in* [the strings of] the harp" and "*in* my members."

² That is, "the restrainings and arts found not how to restrain."

ODE VII (3749—96)

[THE WAY TO GOD]

1. As [is] the running [forth] of wrath over (*i.e.* because of) iniquity, so is the running [forth] of joy over (*i.e.* because of) the Beloved (*or*, the beloved) and it brings in of its fruits without restraint. 2. My joy is the Lord and my running is toward Him; this [is] my way [my] excellent [way]. 3. For it is to me a helper to the Lord. 4. He hath-caused-me-to-know His soul (*i.e.* Himself) without grudging, in His singleness [of heart]; for His gracious-kindness (*or*, sweet-kindness) hath-made-small (*i.e.* caused-to-condescend) His greatness. 5. He became like-me in order that I might receive Him. 6. In similitude He was supposed like-myself in order that I might put Him on [as a robe]. 7. And I trembled not when I saw Him because He it is that is compassionate to me. 8. Like my nature He became that I might learn Him, and like my form that I might not turn away from Him. 9. The Father of Knowledge is the Word of Knowledge. 10. He that created Wisdom is wiser than His works. 11. And He that created me knew, [even] when yet I was not, what I should do when I came-into-being. 12. Because of that, He compassionated me in His great compassion, and He gave me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice. 13. Because He it is that is [alone] above the power of corruption (*lit.* that is not corrupt, *i.e.* not liable to decay)—the Fulness of the aeons and their Father. 14. He hath given to Him to be seen by (*or*, to shew Himself to) His own (*lit.* those who are His), 15. In order that they might come-to-know Him that made them, and that they might not suppose that from themselves (*lit.* from their souls) they came-into-being. 16. For to knowledge He hath appointed His way; He hath made-it-broad and made-it-long and hath-caused-it-to-come to all fulness (*or*, perfection). 17. And He hath set upon it the footprints of His light, and (?) His goings [therein are] (*but txt*, I have gone [therein]) from the beginning even to the end. 18. For from Him it was wrought and it hath rest in the Son, and, for the sake of its (*or*, His) redemption, He (*i.e.* the Son) will take (*or*, hold) everything soever. 19. And the Most High shall be known in (?) through His holy-ones, [so as] to bring [the good] tidings (*i.e.* so that they may bring the good tidings to others) [He shall be known, I say,]—to them that have [in their hearts] psalms that [tell] of the Coming of the Lord. 20. That they may

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go-forth to meet Him, and may sing-psalms (*or*, make-psalms) to Him with joy, and with a harp of many voices. 21. There shall come before Him the seers and they shall be seen before Him. 22. And they shall glorify the Lord in [respect of] His great-love, because He is near and seeth. 23. And hatred shall be thrown from the earth, and together-with envy shall it be drowned (*or*, sunk). 24. For destruction-hath-befallen ignorance (*lit.* not-knowledge) because there hath come the knowledge of the Lord. 25. Those shall make-psalms who make-psalms-about the grace of the Lord Most High. 26. And they shall bring-as-an-offering their psalmody, and like the day shall be their heart and like the greatness of the beauty of the Lord [shall be] their sweetness [of song]. 27. And there shall not be any soul soever that shall be either devoid of knowledge or dumb. 28. For a mouth hath He given to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth toward Him, to His glorifying (*i.e.* to glorify Him in praise). 29. Acknowledge-with-praise (2nd pers. pl.) His power and shew-forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE VIII (3797—817)

[THE SECRET OF THE LORD]

1. Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord. 2. And let your fervent-love abound from the heart and [even] unto the lips. 3. [So as] to bring-forth fruit unto the Lord, [namely] a holy life, and [so as] to speak [His praise] in wakefulness in His light. 4. Rise up and stand-erect, ye that at [one] time bowed down [as slaves]. 5. Ye that were in deep-sleep, speak ye, [declaring] that your mouth hath been opened. 6. Ye that were despised, be ye henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been lifted up. 7. For the right hand of the Lord is with you and He is [become] to you a helper. 8. And peace was prepared for you before ever your war was. 9. Hear the word of truth and receive the knowledge of the Most High. 10. Your flesh hath not known what I am saying to you; also not (*i.e.* not even) your hearts [have known] what I am shewing to you. 11. Guard* my secret, ye that are guarded* by (*or*, in) it. 12. Guard* my faith (*or*, belief), ye that are guarded* by (*or*, in) it. 13. And know my knowledge, ye that in truth are knowing me. 14. Love me with fervent-love, ye

* "Guard," or "keep."

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that are loving. 15. For I do not turn my face from my own. 16. Because I know-them, and before they came-into-being I observed-them (*or*, reviewed-them) and their faces [too]. [Yea] I (*emph.*) sealed them (*emph.*). 17. I (*emph.*) framed their members, and my own breasts did I prepare for them, that they might drink my own holy milk, that they might live thereby. 18. I-was-well-pleased in them, and am not ashamed of them. 19. For my own work are they and the strength of my designs. 20. Who therefore will rise up against my work, or who will there be that is not compliant with them? 21. [It was] I [that] willed-by-my-good-pleasure and [thereby] formed-and-fashioned the understanding and the heart; and they are verily my own; and on my own right hand have I set my elect. 22. And my righteousness goeth before them, and they shall not be bereaved of my name, because it is [ever] with them. 23. Ask ye, and exceed [that which ye asked, in your receiving], and wait-patiently in the love of the Lord. 24. And the dearly-beloved in the Dearly-Beloved, and they that are [safely] guarded in Him that liveth, 25. And the redeemed in Him that was redeemed. 26. And incorruptible shall ye be found in all the aeons to the Name of your Father. Hallelujah.

ODE IX (3818—32)

[THE VICTORY OF THE LORD]

1. Open your ears and I will speak to you; give me your souls that also I may give you my soul—2. The word of the Lord, and His good-pleasures, the holy design that He hath designed concerning His Anointed. 3. For in the good-pleasure of the Lord your life exists, and His thought is the life that is for ever; and incorruptible is-verity your fulness-of-perfection. 4. Be ye rich in God the Father and receive the thought of the Most High. 5. Be ye strong, and receive-redemption (*or*, be-redeemed) through (*lit.* in) His grace. 6. For I (*emph.*) bring-tidings-of peace to you, His pious-ones. 7. That all those who hearken may [be safe and] not fall in [the] war, and that those again who have known-Him may not perish, and that those who have received may not be ashamed. 8. The crown that-is-for-ever is-verity Truth; blessed are they that put it on their heads. 9. A stone of great price; for indeed wars for the sake of this crown have-come-to-pass. 10. And righteousness has received it and has given it to you. 11. Put-ye-on the crown in the true Covenant of the Lord. 12. And all those who have been

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victorious shall be written in His writing. 13. For their writing (*i.e.* the writing of men's names by Him) is victory—which is for you [also to achieve]; and it sees you before itself, and wills (*lit.* has-as-its-good-pleasure) that you shall be redeemed. Hallelujah.

ODE X (3833—46)

[LEADING CAPTIVITY CAPTIVE]

1. The Lord hath directed my mouth with His Word (*or*, word), and hath opened my heart with His light, and hath-caused-to-abide in me His life that dieth not. 2. And He hath granted unto me that I might speak the fruit of His peace. 3. [So as] to turn [toward Him] the souls of those who are well-pleased to come toward Him, and [so as] to lead-captive a good captivity for freedom. 4. I was-made-strong and of-a-good-courage and I led-captive the world. 5. And it became for-me to the glorifying of the Most High, and (*i.e.* even) of God my Father. 6. And there were gathered together (*lit.* as one) the peoples that had been scattered. 7. And I (*emph.*) was not polluted by my fervent-love [for them] because they made-acknowledgment (*i.e.* gave glory) to me in the highest (?) (*lit.* in the high places); and the footprints of the light were set upon their heart. 8. And they walked in my life, and were redeemed, and became my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE XI (3847—84)

[THROUGH VICTORY TO PARADISE]

1. My heart was circumcised and its stem appeared, and grace budded in it, and it brought forth fruit for the Lord. 2. For the Most High circumcised me with His Holy Spirit, and (*lit.*) uncovered toward-Himself my reins and filled me with His fervent-love. 3. And His circumcision [of me] became to me for redemption; and I ran [the full course] in the way, in His peace, in the way of truth. 4. From the beginning and even to the end I have received His knowledge. 5. And I have been firmly-fixed on the rock of the firm-truth, where He hath established me. 6. And speaking water touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord that is [poured forth] without grudging. 7. And I drank, [yea] and became drunken from the living water that doth not die. 8. And my drunkenness was not that which is not-knowledge, but¹ I forsook emptiness (*or*,

¹ "But," *i.e.* "but on the contrary."

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vanity) and turned-my-face to the Most High, my God. 9. And I became rich through His giving, and I forsook the folly cast-forth upon the earth; and I put it off, and cast-it-forth from me. 10. And the Lord renewed me in His clothing and purchased-me (*or*, made me His own) by His light; and from above He caused-me-to-rest [a rest that is] in incorruption. 11. And I became like the earth that shoots-up and exults in its fruits. 12. And the Lord [was] like the sun on the face of the earth. 13. My eyes did He lighten, and my countenance received the dew, and my breath delighted-sweetly (*i.e.* was delighted) in the delightful-sweetness of the Lord. 14. And He brought me to His Paradise (*or*, orchard) where are the riches of the sweet-delightfulness of the Lord. 15. And I bowed-myself unto the Lord because of (*or*, for the sake of) His glorifying (*or*, praise); and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are these, who are planted in thy land (*or*, earth), and those, for whom there is (*or*, exists)¹ room in thy Paradise. 16. And they grow according to the growth of thy trees, and they have migrated from darkness to light. 17. Behold, all of them [are now] thy labourers, [of] goodly [aspect], who [now] work good works and turn from wickedness to the gracious-sweetness that is thine own. 18. And they turned away the bitterness of the trees from themselves as soon as they were planted in the land that is thine own. 19. And everything soever became like unto the remnant [saved by thy grace] that belongs to thee, and an everlasting memorial of thy sure-and-faithful works. 20. For abundant[ly] is there room in thy Paradise; and there is nothing soever in it that is failing-or-futile. 21. But everything is filled with fruit. Glory (*i.e.* praise) [be] to thee, O God—[to thee who art] the sweet-delightfulness of [the] Paradise that is for ever. Hallelujah.

ODE XIII (3884)

[THE PURE AND PURIFYING MIRROR]

1. Behold, our mirror is the Lord: open ye the eyes and see them in Him; and learn of what kind your countenance is. 2. And declare [a song of] glorifying to His Spirit; and wipe off the filth from your face, and love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith. 3. And be ye without-spot at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

¹ "Is (*or*, exists)." "Is," being inserted where it might have been omitted, seems to be emphasized, so as to mean "is really" &c.

APPENDIX IV

READINGS OF CODEX N

[3999 (ii) 1] In reply to some questions of mine, Professor F. C. Burkitt kindly sent me a revised proof of an article by him, entitled "A new MS of the Odes of Solomon" (shortly (April 1912) to appear in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*). From this I give here some of the readings in which the Codex of R.H. differs from the new MS (as to which see above, p. xix). The first place is given to the English of R.H. (2nd ed., except where otherwise stated). The second is given to the translation of the new Codex Nitriensis (called N). The words in which they differ are italicised.

Ode xvii. 11. And I went over all *my bondmen* to loose them] N *the bondmen*¹.

Ode xviii. 2—3. My members were strengthened...Sicknesses removed from my body and *it stood*] N *they stood*, i.e. *my members stood*.

4. do not *remove* thy word from me] N *cast away*.

[3999 (ii) 2] Ode xix. 3. and *the Holy Spirit milked Him*] N and *she that milked Him is the Holy Spirit*.

6—8. and the Virgin...brought forth a Son without incurring pain: *and* because she was not sufficiently prepared] N om. "*and*" before "because," and Prof. Burkitt adds that the Syr. means "*emptily*" or "*to no purpose*" ("and not '*sufficiently*,' at any rate in this context"). See 3999 (ii) 17 p.

Dom Connolly (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1912, p. 307) says that "sufficiently" would naturally be a different form of the root (*Thes.* 2706) and that the form here used means "emptily." But the latter is given by *Thes.* (2705) as meaning both *vacue* (as in Lk. i. 53) and also *sufficenter*, *bene*, *ικαιῶς* in "Eus. Theoph. ii. 20. 15, 70. 6, iii. 6. 5."

¹ See 3669 a on variations of suffixes in R.H.'s MS.

The rendering "sufficiently" appears justifiable, if taken by itself; but as Dom Connolly says, "There is nothing to suggest 'prepared'; and the word for 'sufficiently' is the same that in *v.* 3 was found to mean 'emptily'" ["It was not fit that His milk should be cast away *emptily* (or, *to no purpose*)"]. The literal translation, "And it [*i.e.* the thing] happened *not emptily*," would be a poetic understatement parallel to Deut. xxxii. 46—7 "observe to do all the words of this law; for it is *no empty* thing for you, because it is your life." And this would be in accord with scriptural passages about "travail" in vain, such as Is. xxvi. 18, and with such Jewish thoughts as are expressed in Gal. iv. 19 (comp. *ib.* 11).

Dom Connolly is less happy in his following remark "I am inclined to suspect a corruption here in the Greek, viz. *κενῶς* for *κοινῶς*"—meaning "in the common way." It is probable that "*the Greek*" never existed. It is certain that the assumption of its existence is unwise. It is also very nearly certain that, even if it did exist, it could not have contained *κοινῶς* meaning "*in the common way*." For Steph. *Thes.* gives no such meaning, but only "communiter, in commune, sicut *κοινῇ*," "*in common*," "*jointly*," or "*in the vernacular*." *Κοινῶς* occurs about 7 times in Tobit and always in the sense "*jointly*." Elsewhere it is non-occurrent in LXX.

[3999 (ii) 3] Ode xx. 4. Present *your reins* before Him blamelessly] So R.H., correcting the text, but R.H. Syr. text "*thy reins*," N *my reins* (sic)—an interesting instance of the weakness of the MSS as regards suffixes¹.

5. by the blood of thy soul] So R.H. Syr. txt, and so N. But R.H. says "I correct the Syriac, which is faulty, and has repeated 'thy soul' from the previous verse." His corrected text is "by the price of thy silver." Prof. Burkitt says "by" means "at the price of."

The Syriac for "*the blood*" (*Thes.* 910) differs only by a *yod* from "*the price*" (*Thes.* 916) which Prof. Harnack prefers. But in *Thes.* 916 "by the price of his soul," "pour sa rançon," there is no *daleth* before "soul" (indicating *the kind of price*)—as there is here and in 2 S. xxiii. 17 "went *in* (*i.e. at the peril of*) *their souls*," where Syr. has "went *on the blood that [is of] their souls*." The exactly right rendering seems uncertain; but that "*soul*" (not "*silver*") is correct seems certain.

9. *grace*] N *goodness*, which differs from *grace* by omitting *yod*. Conversely in xxix. 2, where R.H. has *goodness*, N has *grace*.

¹ See 3669 *a* on suffixes.

Ode xxi. 5. I was lifted up in *His* light, and I *served* before Him] N om. "*His*," and has "*passed*" for "*served*" (*Clue* 72 &c.).

Ode xxii. 2. He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who *cast me down*] N *put them for me*.

6. *blessed by me* (R.H. 1st ed.)] N (and so Coptic and R.H. 2nd ed.) *encircling [to] me*. Prof. Burkitt renders xxii. 1—6 thus:—

"He who brings me down from on high and brings me up from below, and who gathers the things that are betwixt and puts them for me, and who scatters my enemies and my adversaries, He that gave me authority over bonds to loose them, that overthrew through me the Dragon with seven heads and didst" (see 3646) "set me over his root to destroy his seed—it is Thou, Thou wast there and helped me, and in every place thy Name was *encircling me*."

[3999 (ii) 4] Ode xxiii. 4. Walk ye in the knowledge of *the Most High* without grudging] N *the Lord, and ye shall know the grace of the Lord*².

13. and rooted up many *forests*] N *peoples* (see 3905 a).

14. *a sign*] N *had come* (see 3888 b, 3913 a, 3979).

18. And those who persecuted *and were enraged became extinct*] N and the persecutors *were quenched and became extinct* (3888 b).

[3999 (ii) 5] Ode xxiv. 1. The Dove fluttered *over the Messiah* because He was her head] N *over the head of our Lord Messiah*.

R.H.'s MS may have omitted "over the head," through confusion with "was her head," or as being an erroneous repetition. But the clause serves a purpose. For Ode i. 1 "the Lord is *on my head* like a crown," and v. 10 "as a crown is He *on my head*," might suggest that here the Dove was a crown to the Messiah, as the Lord is to the believer, or that the Dove was, in some sense, superior to the Messiah. The poet dissipates such an inference by adding "because He was her head." Codex N represents a Jewish play on the word "head," expressing a responsive gratitude from the Dove, Israel, to the Messiah, her Lord—as though the former said "I fly down to rest upon *thy* head because thou art *my* head." For the Messiah as Head see Ode xvii. 14 foll., and 3884 z₄.

¹ See 3669 a on suffixes.

² [3999 (ii) 4 a] If N is correct, R.H. Syr. has erred through homoeoteleuton, as also in xlii. 25. It has also confused "*Most High*" and "*Lord*." In N, "without grudging" presents little or no difficulty because it can be taken with "know the *grace* of the Lord," which implies the reception of a gift given "graciously" or "without grudging."

The word rendered by R.H. "fluttered" does not appear to have that meaning in *Thes.* 3254—except perhaps once (Ps. cii. 7, an incorrect rendering of the Heb.) in a multitude of instances. Mostly it means "fly away (*or*, abroad)" as in Ps. lv. 6 (Syr.) "O that I had wings like a dove! Then would I *fly-away* and be at rest." But, with "*toward*," it is used of a seraph (Is. vi. 6) "*flying toward*" Isaiah, and here, with "*on*," it may perhaps mean "*flying [down] on* the head of the Messiah" as being the resting-place of Israel, the Dove.

[3999 (ii) 6]. **Ode xxiv. 3.** *the birds dropped their wings*] The word for "the birds," in R.H. Syr., is lit. "the flying [things]," which differs from "*she flew*," the reading of Codex N, by adding a final *aleph*. Also N has "*her wings*," so that the sentence, in N, runs "*she* (i.e. *the Dove*) *flew and dropped her wings*."

Thes. 4038 does not give any instance of "*let go*," "*drop*," used with "*wings*." But, assuming this to be the meaning, we may suppose that the poet—who manifestly has in his mind Noah as the type of the Messiah, besides the Dove as the type of Israel—is alluding to the difference between Noah's Dove and Noah's Raven. The Raven, as Philo says (on Gen. viii. 7—8), could make itself at home amid the waters of Sin and Death, and had no need to "drop its wings." But with the Dove it was otherwise. The Dove became weary, "dropped its wings" and flew back to its Lord. The Midrash on Gen. viii. 8—9 likens the story to Deut. xxviii. 65, Lam. i. 3 "no rest," and says that if Israel could have found rest away from their home, in captivity, they would not have returned. On Ps. lv. 6, "wings like a *dove*," it is asked (*Gen. r.* Wü. p. 176) "Why is the community of Israel likened to a dove?" From a different point of view the Gospel of the Hebrews or Nazarenes (*From Letter 1042*) describes the Voice at Christ's Baptism as saying "In all the prophets I was expecting thee, that thou shouldest come, and that *I might rest in thee*." But there it is the Holy Spirit, not Israel, that speaks.

[3999 (ii) 7] **Ode xxiv. 3** (*continued*). ...and all creeping things died in their holes] Codex N has no variant, but, for the sake of what follows, it is necessary to point out that the Syr. "creeping thing" (*Thes.* 3892) recurs, not only in the description of the deluge, but also in descriptions of animals, when regarded as unclean or as idolatrously worshipped, and that "hole" occurs in Isaiah's description of the flight of "the idols" in the Day of Judgment, thus: (ii. 18—19) "And the idols shall utterly pass away; and men shall go

into the caves of the rocks and into the *holes* of the earth from before the terror of the Lord."

[3999 (ii) 8] This suggests a picture of the Messianic Noah rescuing humanity from a sea of sin in which the monsters issue from depths hitherto unopened, demanding as their prey the Messiah and the Dove, and all that are with Him. But the monsters and their depths are themselves cast down into the deep of deeps, "hidden" (or "covered up") for ever, and "submerged" instead of submerging.

Ode xxiv. 3—5 continues as follows:—

...and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail: and no food was given to them because it did not belong to them; and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord] N inserts "*for*" before "food," and Prof. Burkitt's rendering is "And the abysses were opened and (then) were hidden; and they were asking for the Lord like women with child, and He was not given to them *for* food, because He was not theirs; and the abysses were themselves immersed at the immersion of the Lord."

He adds "Of course it all refers to the Baptism, or rather to the process of the Incarnation of the Messiah, of which His Baptism is itself the complete symbol." And, commenting on the Syr. as meaning "immersion" (not "seal"), he refers to Ode xxxi. 2 ("[folly] was *submerged* (or, *immersed*) by the truth of the Lord") and to Exod. xv. 5 (? 4), 10.

This view appears to me to agree with Ode vii. 23 "Hatred shall be thrown from the earth, and together with envy shall it be *drowned* (or, *sunk*)."¹ There the same Syr. verb is used (3792 *j*) as here, and as in Exod. xv. 4, 10 (Syr.), and there appears to be an allusion to the "drowning" of Egypt, simultaneously with the "baptizing" of Israel, in the Red Sea. But the striking expression "*the abysses were themselves immersed at the immersion of the Lord*" would also be most appropriate to the "immersion," or "drowning," of Death, when Jesus, after death, descended into the waters of Sheol to "drown" their king¹.

¹ [3999 (ii) 8a] See *Mechilt.* (on Exod. xv. 8—9) which says that (Wü. p. 133) the Egyptians received the same measure as they had meted out (destruction by water) to the Israelites, and that (*ib.* p. 135) every one of the threats of the Egyptians recoiled on themselves.

Also comp. 3781 *h*₃—*h*₄, quoting from Hillel's saying in *Aboth* ii. 7 "Because thou drownedst they drowned thee, and [*in the*] end thy drowners shall be

[3999 (ii) 9] The following facts point to the conclusion that the Descent into Sheol is included in the poet's allusive mention of "drowning" or "immersion." The very rare Heb. *tâba'* "sink," "be drowned," occurs in O.T. historical books only twice, 1 S. xvii. 49 of David's stone, and Exod. xv. 4 about the drowning of the Egyptians (where the Syr. has it thrice in the context). It occurs in only two Psalms. In Ps. ix. 15—17 "The nations are *sunk* down in the pit that they made...the wicked shall return into Sheol," the Midrash explains "sunk" as referring to the Egyptians as being destroyed (Exod. xviii. 11) by water as they had hoped to destroy the Israelites. Ps. lxi. 2 (rep. *ib.* 14) "I *sink* in deep mire...I am come into deep waters" is explained variously by R. Meir and others. But all refer it to the tribe that took *the first plunge into the Red Sea* (*Sota*, 37 a, Wagens. p. 791): "igitur *Nahshon Aminadabi filius* prodiit, primusque in mare descendit, atque de hoc capiendum illud Scripturae Ps. lxi. 1—2 'Serve me, Deus,...*demergor*....' " Why *Nahshon*? Because (Numb. vii. 12) "*He that offered his oblation the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab.*" For the most part, Jewish thought would naturally connect *tâba'* with Israel's enemies, e.g. (Levy ii. 137 b) Pharaoh, Sisera, Titus; but *Sota* connects it with Israel's champion, who leapt into the chasm, like Curtius; but, unlike Curtius, he came out alive.

[3999 (ii) 10] All this would prepare the way for Christian mystical traditions about *their* "Nahshon," who, as Prince of Israel, "offered his oblation on the first day," or, as Champion, went down first into Sheol to be the Leader of those who were to arise from the dead. Accordingly, we find Origen (on Mt. xxvi. 23) referring to Nahshon, as a type of Christ, instituting the Eucharist. Origen's Latin commentary on Exodus also recognises, in the "immersion" of the Hebrew children by the Egyptians, and in the rescue of Moses, a

drowned." There "*end*," *sâph*, is, in writing, the same word (Gesen. 693 a) that means (Exod. ii. 3, 5) the "*rushes*" in which Moses was laid, and also (Exod. x. 19 etc.) the "*rushes*" that gave the name to "the sea of *rushes*" commonly called the Red Sea. This enhances the thought of retribution. Moses, the babe, the future Deliverer of Israel, was placed "in the rushes" of the River because of the persecution of the Egyptians, and he escaped; the Egyptians were placed by God "in the rushes" of the Sea, and they did not escape. [The word *sâph* would also lend itself to a play on the "*end*"—the Red Sea being a type of God's avenging destruction—as though suggesting that a time will come when destruction shall be made an end of and destroyed ("the drowner" being "drowned in the end"). But I have not found an instance of such a play.]

possible reference (*Exod. Hom.* ii. 3 "hoc fortassis est") to Ps. lxix. 1—2. This he applies to Jesus; not however to Jesus on the point of descending into Sheol, but to Jesus after baptism, being led into the wilderness to be tempted:—"Vide, statim ut natus, imo ut renatus fueris, quid tibi imminet...Jesus statim, ut adscendit de baptismo, ductus est ab spiritu in desertum ut tentaretur a diabolo." Origen's Greek commentary on Ps. lxix. 2 takes a different view, or rather two views. His first is that, although Ps. lxix. 9 "the zeal of thine house" refers to Christ, the passage about "the deep waters" (LXX "the depths of the sea") does not. His second and presumably later view is, that the meaning is continuous with that of Ps. lxviii. 22 "I will bring...*from the depths of the sea.*" He says that *the waters* are "*the regions* (χωρία) *of Hades where He [and He] alone after descending [into them] passed through and out of them.*" (For another reference to Christ's descent to Hades, s. Origen on Ps. ix. 17 "the wicked shall return to Sheol.")

These facts confirm the view that Ode xxiv, besides referring to Christ's descent to earth, in the Incarnation, and His descent into Jordan, in the Baptism, refers also to His descent into Sheol.

[3999 (ii) 11] Ode xxv. 3—4. Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me; and *I shall see him no more*] N *they have been seen.*

10. I became mighty in *the truth*] N *in thy truth*¹.

11. I became *admirable* by the name of the Lord] R.H. *admirable*, with no note in Eng., but with note in Syr. stating that the Codex has "*the Lord's.*" "*The Lord's*" is also the reading of N: and this (H. "ich bin dem Herrn zu eigen geworden") seems to make excellent sense, preferable to that of "*admirable.*"

Ode xxvi. 12. For he who *could interpret would be* dissolved and *would become* that which is interpreted] Prof. Burkitt has "For he that *interprets will be* dissolved, and that which is interpreted *will remain.*"

Ode xxviii. 7. Immortal life has *come forth* and *given me to drink*] N Immortal life has *embraced* and *kissed me.* See Preface p. xlvi foll.

14. Nor *was* my birth *like theirs*] N nor *did they recognise* my birth.

16. and vainly did they *make attack* upon me] N *cast lots* upon me, which is also a marginal reading in the MS of R.H. The reading of N and of R.H. marg. is the single Syr. word used in Mt. xxvii.

¹ See 3669 a.

35, Lk. xxiii. 34 for the two Gk words, "cast lots." But the parall. Mk xv. 24 has two Syr. words, "cast" and "lots," separately, agreeing with the Syr. of Ps. xxii. 18 "upon my vesture do they *cast lots*." In Jn xix. 24, Walton gives, first the single word, and then the two words, to represent severally *λάχωμεν* and *ἔβαλον κλῆρον*. The Syr. for "*make-attack*" is given in *Thes.* 698, quoting Rom. ix. 28 (from Is. xxviii. 22) as possibly corrupt, which favours the view that it is a corruption here, arising from the different ways (Heb. Targ., and Syr.) of expressing "casting lots" in the Psalm. Difficulty might also be naturally created by the Odist's original and rather startling expression—"cast lots *for me [and mine]*"—instead of "cast lots *for my vesture*." See 3999 (ii) 17 d.

[3999 (ii) 12] **Ode xxix. 2.** *goodness*] N *grace*, s. xx. 9 above.

7. He showed *him* His sign] N "shewed *me*," which the sense seems to demand (R.H. "*Query me?*")¹.

Ode xxxi. 2. and folly *found* no path to walk in] N *received*. See 3870 a₁. "Received" might imply retribution: "Folly received [from God] a no-path"—*i.e.* the "folly" of the Egyptians "received," in the Red Sea, a retributive path that proved "no-path." R.H. adds, in note, *lit.* "and folly, there was *given her* no path."

Ode xxxiv. 4. Where *one* is surrounded by every beautiful place (R.H. 1st ed.). Where *one* is surrounded on every side by beauty (R.H. 2nd ed., with no note). "*Wen von allen Seiten Vortrefflichkeit umgibt*" (H. with n. "wörtl. *das Schöne*," and suggesting "*wen*" for "*wo*") Prof. Burkitt says "read: 'where *the beautiful one* is encircled on every side.'" *Thes.* 4276 gives no instance of the adj. used as the noun (*Thes.* 4277) "beauty," but in one or two instances the adj. (*Thes.* 4276) appears to mean "the excellent [man]." If "surrounded on every side" could mean "ringed round [as with a wall]," like the derived noun (*Thes.* 1827) "locus cinctus [muro]," then the meaning would be that the good man is at unity with himself like a "compact" walled "city" (Ps. cxii. 3 Syr. "*surrounded* with a wall," the same word as "surrounded" in the Ode). This would agree with the following words, "there is in him nothing that is divided [against itself]."

5. for everything is above: *what is below* is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge] N has "*and below*," and Prof. Burkitt translates: "For everything is above, and below there is nothing, but it is imagined by those who are without knowledge."

¹ See 3669 a.

[3999 (ii) 13] Ode xxxviii. 2. across *pits* and gulleys] N (lit.) *pits* [that are] *empty* and gulleys (see MS). "*Empty*" contradicts the view that the text implies "yawning gulfs and hollows of the sea." It has been pointed out (3991) that the word rendered by R.H. "gulleys," but by me "clefts," is regularly used (*Thes.* 2531) to denote the cleavings of "schism," and that the passage seems to refer to preservation from spiritual errors. "*Empty pit*" occurs nowhere in A.V. except in Gen. xxxvii. 24 where the Syr. for "*empty*" (but not for "*pit*") is the same as here, and where the Midrash quotes R. Acha on "*empty*" as meaning that "*the water of the Law*" was absent. The omission of "*empty*" before "clefts" is explicable from the similarity (almost amounting to identity) of the two Syr. words.

3. and set me on the *arms* of immortal life] N, for "*arms*," has "*steps* (or, *ladder*)."
Thes. 944-5 shews that the Syr. is used to represent "steps" in connection with "altar." Exod. xx. 26 apparently forbids such "steps," but Ezek. xliii. 17 appears to assume their existence. *Mechilt.*, on Exod. *ad loc.* (and so others) says that "the wise" inferred that a slope should be substituted for steps, but that the observance of decency was the only object of the prohibition (apparently meaning that it was not to be taken literally). The Ode begins with (xxxviii. 1) "ascent" as if "into the Chariot," and, whether we read "arms" or "steps," the change of metaphor will be very abrupt. But "steps" becomes a more intelligible reading if there is an allusion to "altar-steps."

[3999 (ii) 14] Ode xli. 1. *All the Lord's children will praise Him and will collect the truth of His faith*] N *Let us praise the Lord, all ye His children, and let us receive the truth of His faith.*

3. We *live* in the Lord] N We *rejoice* in the Lord.

4. He who has given *us* of His glory] N omits "*us*."

17. a new song *arises* from those who love Him] N adds "*to the Lord,*" which would imply "*arises*" more clearly:—"A new song [*arises*] *to the Lord* from those who love Him."

[3999 (ii) 15] Ode xlii. 4. And I became of no account to those who did not take hold of me] After "to those who," N inserts "*know me, in order that I might be hidden to those who.*" The italicised words may have been omitted, owing to the repetition of "to those who," by homoeoteleuton.

The Syr. phrase rendered by R.H. "of no account" is rendered by Prof. Burkitt "useless." *Thes.* 1398 shews that it occurs in a Syriac version of 2 S. vi. 22 (Mas.) where Heb. has "I will be *base*

in mine own sight," but LXX ἀχρεῖος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σοῦ. The passage follows Michal's reproach of David, whom she calls "one of the empty fellows," for uncovering himself before "the handmaids of his servants." David, retorting that he will "play before the Lord," adds (R.V.) "I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be *base* in mine own sight: but of the handmaids which thou hast spoken of...shall I be had in honour." The Heb. *shâphâl*, here rendered by R.V. "*base*," is rendered in Gesen. 1050 *b* "*humiliated*" and "*lowly*." And the story of David's making himself, as Michal said, "one of the *empty* fellows," but, as David said, "*lowly*," in order to "play before the Lord," might present itself to an early Jewish Christian poet as typical of the Lord Jesus, who "*humbled* himself" to become the "friend of publicans and sinners," and to draw them toward God. The language is also somewhat similar to sayings of Paul, that Christ Jesus (Philipp. ii. 7—8) "*emptied himself*," and "*humbled himself*," becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

The insertion of the words in Codex N indicates an antithesis between two classes. The first class consists of "those who knew" the Messiah, that is, those who recognised and received Him. The second consists of those who "did not take hold of" Him, that is, did not embrace or receive Him. The antithesis is like that in Matthew-Luke (Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21) between the "babes" to whom the Gospel has been "revealed," and the "wise" from whom it has been "hidden." Matthew also, in his context, implies that to the former class, "the babes," Jesus presented Himself as "lowly," inviting them to become like Himself, and saying (xi. 28—9) "Come unto me...learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart."

In the light of this insertion in the Ode, the following words in it assume a clearer meaning:—"And I shall be [in converse] with them that fervently-love me." That is to say, the "babes," or "little ones," to whom the Messiah presented Himself as "lowly," or as "a little one," and who accepted from Him the Spirit of the Child, were to be blessed with His perpetual presence. This somewhat resembles the promise made in the context of Matthew above quoted: "Ye shall find rest for your souls."

[3999 (ii) 16] Ode xlii. 25. I heard their voice; and my name *was heard* over their heads (R.H. 1st ed.). I heard their voice; and my name *I sealed* upon their heads (R.H. 2nd ed.)¹.

¹ [3999 (ii) 16 a] R.H. Syr. 1st ed. adds note stating that the reading of the text

Codex N has "*and I put*" for "*and I sealed.*" It also inserts a clause (which the scribe of R.H. seems to have omitted, by homoeoteleuton again, as in xlii. 4), so that the Lord is represented first as "*putting in His own heart*"—i.e. giving heed to—"the faith" of the captives, and then as "*putting on their heads*" His own Name:—(lit.) "*and I put in my heart their faith, and I put on their heads my name.*"

To "*put in one's heart*" (Gesen. 963 *a*) appears to be a very rare expression in the Bible—rarer than (*ib.* 525 *a*) "*putting on one's heart*"—and perhaps there is no instance where God is described as putting anything in His own heart. In the Song of Songs, however (3825 *a*) the Bride says to the Bridegroom "*Put me as a seal upon thine heart.*" And Paul says to the Philippians "I have you *in my heart*," and Aaron "bore the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment *upon his heart.*" Here the Lord "*puts in His heart*," not the believers themselves, but "*their faith.*" Perhaps the poet desires to emphasize faith as being the constituent element of the New Church, the true Seed of Abraham. When these new believers "*run*" to the Messiah from Sheol, the Messiah takes their "*belief*" or "*faith*" to His heart, and keeps it there, while at the same time He puts His Name upon them, so that, like Aaron, they may bear it on their heads, becoming (Rev. i. 6, v. 10) "*a kingdom*" and "*priests.*" Or, using another metaphor derived from the "*putting*" of God's "*Name*" on Jerusalem and on the Temple, we may say that, as the result of this divine act of *putting*, the soul of man ascends to the "*heart*" of God and there finds its home, while God descends to the soul of man and makes it His Temple. To the collected souls thus constituting the City of the New Jerusalem (3999 (ii) 17 *z*), the poet would, doubtless, have given the same Name as that with which Ezekiel closes his prophecy (xlviii. 35) "*The Lord is there.*"

[3999 (ii) 17] The conclusion of the Ode, describing the "*running*" of the souls to the Lord and His "*putting*" their "*faith*" in His "*heart*" and "*His Name*" on their heads, appears to repeat, collectively, the personal picture in Ode iii of the Bride "*finding*" the Beloved, and being received as "*no stranger.*" In that Ode several expressions pointed to the Song of Songs as the source of the thought.

is, "*as it seems*" "*heard,*" to which 2nd ed. adds "*probably under the influence of the preceding 'heard.'*" But Prof. Burkill prints the obscure word in R.H.'s MS as "*and I sealed* (or, *signed*)," and it comes first in the clause thus:—"*and I sealed* (or, *signed*) upon their heads my name."

So does the "running" here (3754*j* &c.) as well as the expression "putting" in His heart. And this resemblance between the beginning and the end of the Odes in presenting different aspects of the Beloved, towards whom the Bride, or the Church, "runs"—and in whose "heart" the faith of the Bride, or the Church, is regarded as "set"—leads us to note how, throughout these poems, the personal predominates over the collective aspect, for which it nevertheless prepares the way. Had it been otherwise, the poet might perhaps have used a passage in the Song of Songs as Hosea uses the name Ammi ("my people") to indicate, in his concluding words, the redeemed People that went up from the slavery of Sheol to the freedom of heaven in the Chariot of the Lord. But such an allusion, just there, would have struck a discordant note. "Mine," not "my people," is the poet's concluding thought. And it is also his concluding phrase: "they are free, and they are MINE¹."

¹ [3999 (ii) 17*a*] "*My people*" and "*the peoples*" have been contrasted in Ode x. 6—8 "And there were gathered together *the peoples that had been scattered*...and they became *my people*"—where the phrase "*that had been scattered*" differentiates its use from the absolute use in xxix. 8 "that I might subdue the imaginations of *the peoples [of the earth]*." "My people" also recurs in xxxi. 11 "that I might redeem *my people*." But at the close of the Odes it is not used.

Since Paul (Rom. ix. 25—6) applies Hosea's language (Hos. i. 9—ii. 1) about "Ammi" to "the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church," it may be well to note the mention of "Ammi" latent in Cant. vi. 12 (A.V.) "the chariots of Amminadib," (R.V.) "the chariots of my *princely* (marg. *willing*) *people*," Targ. "I will place them on high in the chariots of kings for the merits of the righteous of that generation, who are *like unto Abraham...in their works*." *Nādīb* means voluntary, willing, generous, noble. Abraham is nowhere called *nādīb*; but Ps. cx. 3 "thy people *offer themselves willingly* (marg. *are freewill offerings*)" is applied by some Jewish traditions to the volunteer army of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 14), who is the type of one that "gives freely" and willingly to God and man because he has "received freely" from God. Mercenaries, earning (Rom. vi. 23) "the wages of sin," which are "death," might well be contrasted with the volunteers who "freely" devote to God that life which they have "freely" received from Him.

[3999 (ii) 17*b*] Origen, taking "nādīb" as "prince," or "ruler," regards "Ammi-nadib" as "the Ruler of my People," *i.e.* God (the Father of Nahshon above (3999 (ii) 9) described as Christ). He renders Cant. vi. 12 "Ammi-nadib made me as chariots for himself," *i.e.* the Father made Himself the Charioteer of my thoughts (*ἡμιοχῶν μου τοῖς λογισμοῖς*). This illustrates the Jewish saying about the chariot quoted above (3984).

[3999 (ii) 17*c*] The Syriac for Cant. vi. 12 "Ammi-nadib" is "a people prepared," using the word used in Lk. i. 17 "to *prepare* a people..." Eusebius interprets Amminadib as (*Onomast.* p. 161) *ἐορτὴ ἐγκνκαῖος* (*sic?* *ἐγκύκλιος*) or *λαὸς εὐδοκίας*, or (*ib.* p. 185) *πατὴρ μου εὐδοκία* or *ἔθνος ἐπιθυμητόν*. Jerome gives (*ib.* p. 12) "*populus meus* spontaneus," but also (*ib.* p. 34) "*pater meus* spontaneus

vel urbanus." The Midrash on Cant. vi. 12, pointing *Ammi* as *Immi*, renders it "with me," and takes *Nâdîb* as "He that giveth freely" i.e. God. Hence the meaning is paraphrased "He that liveth for ever charioted ever with me" (der Ewig-lebende zog stets mit mir). It is possible that our author rendered the Hebrew in the same way. If so, not "my people," but "with me"—that is to say, "with God" and "in God's chariot"—was the thought conveyed by the passage. But also it could not fail to convey an emphasis on that attribute on which he lays stress throughout the Odes in the phrase "not-grudging"—i.e. freely and graciously giving, like a *nâdîb*.

"CASTING LOTS" AND "ATTACKING"

[3999 (ii) 17 d] In Ode xxviii. 16, R.H.'s MS text has "make attack," but marg. "cast-lots," which N also has. This deserves separate consideration, as being the only instance of a marginal reading in R.H. to which Prof. Burkitt's selection of readings calls attention. Such marginal readings, if any occur elsewhere (I have not noted any) would seem to be few and unimportant. And the question arises here whether the variation throws any light on the original language in which the Odes were written.

Suppose it was Greek. At first sight βάλλω ἐπὶ seems to explain the Syriac divergence, for it could mean (1) "dash against," "attack." Also βάλλω could mean (2) "throw" or "cast" in the phrase "cast dice." Sometimes, even without "dice," it means "throw [dice]." But this is only in what we may call dice-phrases, such as "throwing a six," "throwing a good throw," "throwing many [throws]" &c. Steph. *Thes.* (ii. 91—2) in its copious list of such expressions, gives no instance of βάλλω ἐπὶ τινα, or τι, as meaning "I throw for a person, or thing," that is, "I throw on the chance of obtaining it" (like our vernacular "let us toss for it"). The supposition, therefore, that the composer of the Odes wrote in Greek ἐβαλον ἐπ' ἐμέ, "they cast lots for, or upon me"—and that this was taken by some Syrian translator as meaning "they dashed against me," or (as the Syriac here used for "attack" is rendered in *Thes.* 698) "irruerunt, impetum fecerunt, in me"—must, until evidence of such a Greek construction is adduced, be regarded as inadmissible.

[3999 (ii) 17 e] We turn to Hebrew. Gesenius (658 a) gives several instances of "cast lots" as being represented by Heb. "cause-to-fall," i.e. "throw down," with "lot," and two of its use without "lot." In 1 S. xiv. 42, "(lit.) throw between us," the Syr. is correct, as also is the LXX, but A has λάβετε for βάλετε. But in Job vi. 27 "Yea, ye would cast [lots] upon the orphan and make merchandise of your friend," the poetic condensation has caused general error, LXX "ye fall-upon (ἐπιπίπτετε) the orphan...," Syr. "ye magnify-yourselves against" (see *Thes.* 3783), Targ. "ye cast forth anger (i.e. ἔσθ, "yea") upon," Vulg. "irruitis super." It will be noted that the Vulgate has precisely the word given above from the Syriac *Thesaurus* ("irruerunt") as representing the Syr. word in the text of R.H.'s MS, while the Hebrew corresponds, in meaning, to R.H. marg. and N ("cast lots").

[3999 (ii) 17 f] The passage in Job may exactly illustrate the one in our Ode, if the latter was written in Hebrew. An ordinary Jewish poet would probably have inserted "lots" as in Obadiah 11 "foreigners...cast lots upon Jerusalem" (comp. Nah. iii. 10). A second-century Christian, like Justin Martyr, would probably have inserted "vestments" so as to bring the phrase into conformity with the Messianic "casting lots upon vestments" mentioned in the Psalms and the

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Gospels. But this terse allusive poet may be thinking, not, as a controversialist, of adaptations of Jewish Psalms to Christian purposes, but, as a poet, of the utter apparent abandonment and helplessness of the Messiah, in the eyes of His oppressors, who treat Him as though He were the "orphan" in Job and "*throw for Him*." The position of things, and even the very words, may be illustrated from Shakespeare's description of the French before Agincourt:—

The confident and over-lusty French
Do the low-rated English play at dice.

Henry V Act IV Prologue.

There, the dramatist speaks of "the poor condemned English" as being "like sacrifices"; and so here, the Messiah says about His oppressors—who virtually "*play at dice*" for Him as though He were already their spoil—(xxviii. 8) "They supposed that I was swallowed up; for I seemed to them as one of the lost," and, a little later on (xxxi. 7) "They made me [in their judgment, guilty and] indebted... though I was not [guilty or] indebted, and they *divided my spoils*, though no debt was due to them."

[3999 (ii) 17 g] Concerning the marginal "cast lots," R.H. says that it "*suggests, slaughtering me*"—reading, with the change of one letter, a word that undoubtedly means "slaughter." But the lit. Syr. text would then become "*slaughter upon me*." And *Thes.* 2374, while recognising the abundant use of the verb as *mactat, jugulat* &c., gives not a single instance of "*mactat* &c. *super me*."

THE STYLE OF THE ODES

[3999 (ii) 17 h] In reply to a request for two or three instances illustrating the inferiority of the style of the Odes to that of fourth-century literary Syriac, Prof. Burkitt was kind enough to send me three. Of these, one (in Ode xxviii. 16) has just been discussed. Prof. Burkitt described it as reading "like the efforts of a fifth-form boy, whose effusions indeed you cannot always retranslate by any rules unless you know his original already." Facts have been alleged above to shew that there was an "original," and that it was Hebrew.

[3999 (ii) 17 i] The second instance is in Ode xlii. 4—6. The passage contrasts what the Lord is to those who love Him with what He is to those who persecute Him: "And I have been of no avail to those who have not taken hold of me, and I shall be with (*lit. toward*) those who love me. Dead are all they that persecuted me, and there have sought me those who set their hopes upon me, because living am I (ܐܢܝܢ), and I-have-arisen (*lit. arisen-for-myself*, Nöldeke § 224) and am with them and will speak by their mouths." Here "and am (ܐܢܝܢ) (*lit. and exist*) with them" is contrasted (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* April 1912, p. 373) with Peshitta in Mt. xxviii. 20 "*Lo, I am with you alway*." There the reduplicated ܐܢܢܐ expresses the "I" more emphatically and perhaps more sonorously, and the style of the Syriac Ode is pronounced inferior to that of the Syriac Gospel.

But in the Ode is not the emphasis different from the emphasis in the Gospel? In the Ode it is largely on "*them*" as contrasted with "the persecutors." The Messiah "*exists*" for, and with, the former, but *has no existence*, and "*is of no avail*," for the latter. In the Ode, the "I" has been emphasized already in "living am I" and "I-have-arisen for myself," and now the time has come to emphasize the "*existence*" of the Messiah, as opposed to the *non-existence* of the transient things of this world. Similarly the Syriac has ܐܝܬܐ, corresponding to the Hebrew ִי, "exists," in Ps. lviii. 11 "*Verily there exists a God that judgeth the*

earth," and in Gen. xxviii. 16 "Surely Jehovah *exists* in this place and I knew it not." The Syr. also has אִית in 1 Cor. ix. 2 "And even if to others I have not been an apostle, yet to you I *exist* [*as such*]"—where there is a contrast between "you" and "others" somewhat like the contrast in the Ode.

In Hebrew, "exist" does not occur (Gesen. 441—2) except in the third person, so that the passage cannot be alleged as pointing to a Hebrew original, but the Syriac אִית might be used by a translator, either from Hebrew or from Greek, to represent anything in either language, which the translator regarded as meaning "I exist [for certain people but not for others]."

[3999 (ii) 17 j] The third passage is Ode xxvi. 9 "that his soul may be *redeemed*," where it is urged that, had the Odes belonged to the same style of translation as the Syriac Bible, we should have expected, in this context, not פָּרַק "*redeem*," but a repetition of some form of אָחִי "*quicken*," "*save*"—the full sentence being "Or who is there that can instruct his soul for *life*, that his soul may be *redeemed*?" Presumably the objection against the style is, that instead of using the verb "*give-life-to* (i.e. *save*, or *quicken*)" after the noun "*life*," the writer introduces a new word "*redeem*," thus breaking the correspondence between the parts of the sentence.

But may not the true explanation be that the Syrian translator is faithfully following the poet in one or more of those condensed allusions to Hebrew Scripture which abound in the Odes? In this particular Ode, the mention of God's (xxvi. 3) "harp," and other Davidic expressions, e.g. (xxvi. 4) "I will cry unto Him from *my whole heart* (comp. Ps. ix. 1, cxi. 1, cxix. 2, 10, 34, 58, 69, 145): I will glorify...Him with all my members (3742 c)," shew that the writer has the Psalms in view. And the thought is in part like that of Ps. cxix. 9—10 "Wherewithal shall a young man *cleans* his way? By taking heed according to *thy word*. With *my whole heart* have I sought thee...", and Ps. xvi. 7—11 "I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel: yea, *my reins instruct me* (the same Syr. for "*instruct*" as here) in the night-seasons...thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol...thou wilt shew me the path of *life*." That is to say, a man cannot "*instruct his soul for life*" without the "*word*" and "*counsel*" of the Lord to which he must give heed with his "*whole heart*." The sixteenth Psalm does not indeed, as the Ode does, combine "*life*" with an express mention of "*redemption*," but "*redemption*" is implied in "Thou wilt *not leave my soul to Sheol*." And another Psalm, after speaking of a (xlix. 4) "dark saying on the *harp*," goes on to speak of (*ib.* 7—9) "*ransom*," "*redemption*," and "*living for ever*"—as being a prize not to be purchased by man's wealth. The tenor of these Davidic utterances suggests that, in the Ode under discussion, the poet, following the Psalmist's thought, may here be aiming, not at parallelism but at climax. Spiritually regarded, "*redemption*" is not perhaps a climax when coming after "*life*." But it may be a climax when picturesquely regarded, as in the description of the Messiah's descent into Sheol in the final Ode. And that thought may be latent here:—"Who is there that can instruct his [own] soul for *life*—that his soul may be *redeemed* [*from Sheol*]?"

[3999 (ii) 17 k] For the following instances I am indebted to the Rev. G. Margoliouth.

In Ode iv. 9 "Thou hast given us thy fellowship. It was not that thou [wast] *lacking* (חָסֵר) of (lit. *from*) us, but we [were] *lacking* of (lit. *from*) thee," the insertion of "*from*" is alleged to be contrary to Syriac usage. The construction is certainly remarkable, and it is quite true that *Thes.* 1339—42, in three columns of

instances of חסר and derivatives, gives none (that I have been able to find) of its use with מן "from." But, if so, that is the fault of the *Thesaurus*. For the construction is found in Syr.—as well as Targ., and Heb.—of Eccles. iv. 8 (*lit.*) "Ad quid ego laborans et deficere-faciens (מוחסר) animam meam a bono?" The Aram. adj. חסיר "lacking" is also found with "from" in the Targ. of Eccles. v. 15 "lacking in, or, falling short of, merit." In Eccles. vi. 2 (Walton) "et non ipse deficiens (חסר) animae ejus ex omnibus (מכל) quae desiderabit," Gesen. 341 b notes the use as the only instance of the absolute form (the usual form being the constr. חסיר), but takes מן partitively "neither is he lacking for his soul in aught of (מן part.) all that he desireth," and so does the Syr. (which has "anything from" instead of "from"). But the LXX apparently differs, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑστερῶν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἐπιθυμήσει, i.e. "he is not falling short in his soul from all things that he shall desire," where "from" has the same force as in *ib.* iv. 8 στερίσκω τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ ἀγαθωσύνης, i.e. "so that it shall fall short from what is good."

[3999 (ii) 17 I] Returning to "lacking from" in Ode iv. 9, we may fairly assume that it could no more proceed from Greek than στερίσκω ἀπὸ could proceed from Greek. Nor could it apparently proceed from Syriac unless the Syriac represented a literal translation from a rare Hebrew idiom. Concluding that it proceeded from Hebrew we have to ask whether the Bible supplies any instance of this rare use of "lack from," and especially one where man is described as "lacking, or, falling short," from God ("we were lacking from thee"). Such an instance is found in the Hebrew—not the Greek, but the Hebrew—of the passage in the eighth Psalm which the LXX, and the Targum, and the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 7 "a little lower than the angels," following the LXX) take as referring to "angels," but which Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion take as referring to "God" (Ps. viii. 6) "Thou didst make him to be lacking of (*lit. from*) God (Elohim)." Clement of Alexandria says about it (566) οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου [? + μόνου] ἐκδέχονται τὴν γραφὴν—καίτοι κακείνος σάρκα ἔφερον—ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελείου καὶ γνωστικοῦ, accepting the LXX "angels," but apparently saying—unless the text is corrupt and we ought to read "the Lord alone (μόνον, i.e. μόνου)" instead of "the Lord"—that "[people] take" the psalm to mean the pious and perfect man, not Christ. Origen seems inconsistent. He quotes the LXX "angels," and adds "Paul tells the Hebrews that this is said about Christ." But he himself interprets the passage as though it meant "a little lower than God." This he does in an apostrophe to God, thus: "For he (*i.e.* man) himself, too, being made by nature to have knowledge of thee, doth not fall short [of thee] beyond measure (οὐκ ἀπολείπεται λίαν). For he is being made like (ὁμοιοῦται) unto thee, according to what is possible, by the assumption (ἀναλήψει) of holiness and virtue. And on account of (Gen. i. 26) the 'image' [of God] and the 'likeness' [of God] [in him] thou hast assigned to him the precedence over the living things that die."

What Origen appears to mean is this, that man, with a view to his perfection, has been deliberately made by God "lacking of," or "falling short of," an ideal to which he is "like," but not sufficiently "like." This is also a Pauline thought, namely, that man (Rom. viii. 20) "for purposes of hope" was "subjected to vanity." Still more to the point is another passage where *our very phrase occurs* in the Syriac (Rom. iii. 23—4) "For all have sinned and are falling-short-of (Syr. חסירין מן, lacking from) the glory of God, being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (where "freely" may be compared

with this Ode's use of the word in the context (iv. 12) "thou hast given *freely*"). This instance of חסיר is given by the *Thesaurus* (1340—1) but without any indication that it is used with the preposition "from."

[3999 (ii) 17 m] These facts lead to two important conclusions. First, the poet's thought is Pauline though not imitative of Paul. Secondly, he applies the eighth Psalm to "the son of man" on the lines of the *Hebrew, not of the Greek, text, therein differing from the Epistle to the Hebrews*. The extant Syriac version of the eighth Psalm substitutes "curtail" for "cause-to-lack." But our poet, following the Hebrew more exactly, uses the identical Syriac verb, as well as the preposition "from," so as to mean, not "deficient *in*," but "falling short [*so as to be away*] from."

A reference to previous paragraphs in this work (3697 a, 3814 s foll., 3815) will shew how large a part the eighth Psalm plays in the Odes, and thereby afford additional confirmation to the proof that the poet is here alluding to it. The allusion explains what otherwise would be an almost inexplicable platitude: "It was not that thou wast falling short of us"! For the words do not mean "Thou hast no need of [sacrifices or gifts from] us" (where the word for "need" would be a different one). That would be a truth that does sometimes need proclamation. But this means "Thou art not falling short, as it were, of our stature or fulness." This a man might say, in a patronising spirit, to a man. But no Jewish poet could think it worth while to say it to God—a truth that even idolaters know—unless he said it merely to prepare the way for something that even believers do not sufficiently know: "Thou didst give us thy fellowship. Thou didst decree to make us, in the end, according to thine own image, although there has been and still is a lacking and a falling short. It was not that thou didst fall short of, and need, our fulness. It was that we fell short of, and still need, thy fulness."

[3999 (ii) 17 n] On Ode xiv. 1 "As the eyes of the son...to his father, so [are] my eyes...toward thee," it is alleged against the poet that he is apparently alluding to Ps. cxliii. 1—2, and that he unnecessarily varies the preposition ("to" "toward") whereas the Pesh. of the Psalm repeats "toward." But the Pesh. is inaccurate. It repeats "toward" four times, where the Heb. has, first "to thee," then (twice) "to the hand of," and then "to" the Lord again, using "to" with reference to "God," and "to the hand of" with reference to a human master or mistress. If, therefore, the poet (as seems probable) is alluding to the Psalm, he would seem to be correctly influenced by a reminiscence of the Hebrew. Perhaps also he thinks "toward" more suitable than "to" to express our relation to the Father. The Syr. "toward" is the prep. used in Jn i. 1 "The Word was toward God."

[3999 (ii) 17 o] In Ode xv. 1 "As the sun is the joy to them that seek for *its day*," the language is compared unfavourably with that of the Syriac of Ps. cxxx. 6 (Walton) "expectavi Dominum a custodia matutina usque ad custodiam matutinam." But the Syriac of that Psalm, though brief, does not express the Hebrew. And (3865 a) it seems probable that the poet means, not "daybreak," but "the day of the Lord" in an ampler sense, "the whole day."

[3999 (ii) 17 p] Ode xix. 6 having been discussed above (3637 b foll., 3645 d, 3710 d, 3814 j) the next instance is xix. 8 (3999 (ii) 2) "and because it happened not empty," where it is alleged that there is a difficulty in adjusting the re-duplicated "be" or "happen" with "empty," and that there is no parallel Biblical passage in the Peshitta by which to explain it. But here, as later on,

may not the fact be that the poet has followed Biblical Hebrew where the Peshitta has departed from it? The only passage in the Bible where the Hebrew affirmative reduplication of "*be*" in the past tense occurs (Mandelkern p. 315) is Ezek. i. 3 "the word *came expressly* (Heb. *being was*) to Ezekiel," where LXX and Syr. have simply "*was*," but the Targum, like the Hebrew, reduplicates: "*being was*." Origen (*Son* 3093 a foll.) takes Ezek. i. 1—3 as applying to Christ. It would be natural for a Christian poet writing in Hebrew, and greatly influenced by Ezekiel, to apply this "*express coming*" of the Word to the incarnation of Christ. A translator, in attempting to render this Hebrew faithfully in Syriac, might somewhat strain the latter. At the same time I may point out that the weighty understatement "not empty" has been illustrated (3999 (ii) 2) by Deut. xxxii. 46—7 "*no empty thing*." Also in Nöldeke § 328, p. 264, I find the reduplicated "*be*" quoted thus from Aphr. 165, 9 "for the word was *not trifling*," with the same Syriac order as here. Mr Margoliouth informs me that in R.H.'s MS "and" is possibly to be omitted before "because." It is certainly omitted in Codex N. In that case the clause must go with what precedes, not with what follows. But it will suit either. It seems to mean, in effect, "Because it *came to pass expressly* by Divine Will."

[3999 (ii) 17 q] In Ode xxxiv. 4 the words in Syriac order are "Where there is encircled on every side the beautiful one"—*i.e.* perhaps (3999 (ii) 12) "the excellent [man]." On this it is alleged that if, as it seems, there is an allusion to Ps. cxxii. 3 (Heb. "Jerusalem is built like a city (lit.) that is made-neighbourly to itself unitedly," Syr. "Jerusalem is built like a city that has *encircling* it a wall") it is strange to find "*the beautiful one*" at the end of the sentence instead of immediately after "*encircled*," as the Biblical Syriac would lead one to expect. But would not the Syriac insertion of "wall" make a difference in the rhythm of the sentence? And may not the poet be deliberately transferring the emphasis to the end of the sentence—saying, in effect, "everything is body-guard to *the virtuous*"?

I do not dispute that the order of the Syriac words may be strange, but the strangeness would seem capable of being explained as the result of brief and obscure allusion by a poet of originality who never borrows mechanically but always adds an infusion, or an atmosphere, of his own creation.

[3999 (ii) 17 r] In Ode xxxix., which discourses about "great rivers" and the danger of "crossing" them, and the "sign" in them as being "the Lord," the poet says (xxxix. 7—8) "Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him, and ye shall cross without danger...The Lord bridged them by His Word, and walked and (lit.) *crossed them from foot*." *Thes.* 3811 gives "*from foot*" as meaning "pedibus" in Anecd. Syr. iii. 149. 7, 280. 13, Jul. (Hoffm.) 207. 3, but without context. I am informed by Mr Margoliouth that the first two of these passages severally describe (1) a person passing through waters surrounding a city, and (2) the Israelites passing through the Red Sea. But these belong to sixth-century Syriac. And the third (3) merely mentions standing on one's feet as opposed to sitting. I have been unable to find "*from foot*" as an idiom under "*from*" in *Thes.* 2154—60. It is therefore natural to ask, "Why does this early poet here say '*from foot*,' and not the ordinary '*on* (lit. *with*, or *in*) foot' (as in Ps. lxi. 6 'He turned the sea into dry land, they went through the river *on foot*')?"

In attempting to answer, we find that "*from foot*" occurs but once in the Bible, and that in a highly poetic passage of Job. As we have found reason above (3999 (ii) 17 d foll.) to believe that a remarkable variation in the text of the

Odes is to be explained from an allusion to the same book, we turn now, with all the more expectation, to Job xxviii. 4 rendered by A.V. "The flood breaketh out from the inhabitant; [even the waters] forgotten *of the foot* (LXX ἐπιλανθανόμενοι ὁδόν)...," but by R.V. "He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn: they are forgotten *of the foot* [that passeth by]...", with marg. "The flood breaketh out from where men sojourn; [even the waters] forgotten *of the foot*." The preceding verse in Job mentions "darkness and the shadow of death"; "forgotten" suggests (l's. lxxxviii. 12) "the land of forgetfulness," which is a synonym for (*ib.* 6—7) "the lowest pit" or "the deeps," of which the Psalmist says to God "thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves." And the general impression derived from this obscure passage in Job, taken along with other passages about the waters, waves, or floods, in which men's souls sink down, is that "*from foot*" means "*far from foot of man*," like the "forgotten" waters of Sheol. In the same verse of Job, "*from men they hang*" is rendered by R.V. "they hang *afar from men*," and we may compare Job xix. 26 "[*far removed*] *from my flesh I shall see God*," and other passages (Gesen. 578) where "*from*" means "*apart from*." The Syriac of Job xxviii. 4 (Walton (n.) "a vadis," and *Thes.* 3811) takes "foot" as meaning "watercourses"; but the whole of the context (Job xxviii. 7 foll. "that *path* no bird of prey knoweth,...the sons of pride have not *trodden it*...") favours the view that "*from foot*" has the meaning indicated in the Targum: "rivulos qui oblivioni traditi sunt *ne per eos transeat pes*," that is, waters destined for oblivion and not to be passed through by foot of man. This is also the view of several Jewish traditions (e.g. *Mechilt.* on Exod. xv. 1, Wü. pp. 117—8) which connect the passage in Job with Sodom; the men of Sodom (it is said) were inhospitable and wished to be "*without foot [of stranger]*," so God punished their land by making it "*without foot [of man]*," that is, by converting it into the Dead Sea—which in truth might be called "waters of forgetfulness."

If the poet is alluding to this passage of Job we must confess that his brevity makes the allusion very obscure. But it improves the poetic sense. For to speak of the Lord as crossing the River "*on foot*" as Israel crossed the Red Sea or the Jordan "*on foot*," if not bathos, is at least (in this context) commonplace. It is a far nobler thought that the Lord bridged over the waters of death, and walked over them, going before us as our Leader to life eternal, and "crossed them—[*waters untrodden before*] *apart from foot [of man]*." Perhaps also a special reason for the poet's obscurity is that he assumes that we by this time realise what he realises, namely that the whole of the Redemption of which he sings from first to last finds its climax in the Descent to Sheol described in the last Ode of all.

[3999 (ii) 17 s] In concluding these remarks on passages in the Odes pronounced by experts defective in style as compared with that of fourth-century Syriac, a non-expert may be allowed to point out that, if the Syriac translation was made in the second century, before Syriac literature (as now extant) had begun to exist, the language might naturally be rough and unformed—like that of an English Mystery Play or Morality as compared with that of the Elizabethan dramatists. This roughness would naturally be increased if the original itself contained obscure allusions to another original, that is, to the Scriptures. That it did contain such allusions, and to the Scriptures in Hebrew, not in Greek, seems to be made highly probable by the above-quoted instances, and all the more probable because they have been selected independently by critics whose object it has been to shew, not that the style is Hebraic, but that it is bad. I may have

APPENDIX IV

occasionally exaggerated the case for the Hebrew. But even those who have the keenest sense of such exaggerations will admit, I think, that a case for Hebrew exists and requires full investigation.

ADDENDUM

[3999 (ii) 17 *t*] On Ode iii. 8 "*the loving-one*," R.H. "*the Lover*," attention should have been called at once to the fact (3711, 3719 *a*) that Abraham is called uniquely (Is. xli. 8) "*my lover*." The poet does not use the feminine but the masculine, because he is thinking at present of the redeemed soul represented by Abraham; but he is preparing the way for the collective aspect of Abraham's children as the Congregation or Church which is the Bride of Jehovah, though the word "bride" appears not to be mentioned till Ode xxxviii. 9. The Syr. for "*the loving one*" is the same in the Ode as that in the Syr. of Is. xli. 8 (R.V.) "*Abraham my friend*," and in the Aram. of Gen. xviii. 17 (Jer. II) where Jer. II alone inserts it (Walton, in both cases, "*amicus*").

APPENDIX V

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES OR BOOTHS

[3999 (iii) 1] It has been observed by Dr E. C. Selwyn that, of the three great Jewish festivals, "the third"—the Feast of Tabernacles—"though 'far the greatest and holiest,' as Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1) calls it, has been so far discontinued that we know not what is become of it¹." Why has this Feast slipped out of the Christian Calendar while Passover and Pentecost have remained? The answer may illustrate transitions from Jewish to Christian thoughts, and especially thoughts about "*joy*." Compare Nehem. viii. 17 "All the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made *booths*"—*succôth*, not to be confused with "(the holy) tabernacle," *mishcân*—"and dwelt in the *booths*; for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day the children of Israel had not done so. And there was very great *gladness*." Joy on that day was expressly enjoined (*ib.* 9—10) "Mourn not, nor weep...for this day is holy unto our Lord...for the *joy of the Lord* is your strength." Thenceforth, the "*booths*"—mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 42 "Ye shall dwell in *booths*"—became an annual custom.

[3999 (iii) 2] Nehemiah's revival of the "booths" was connected with the rebuilding of (Ezr. iii. 1—4) "the altar of the God of Israel." The "booths" might be regarded as mystically preparing for the Place, or Temple, of the Lord². "Succoth," in Exod. xii. 37,

¹ *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1912, p. 225.

² [3999 (iii) 2 a] "The Place." Comp. Ode iv. 1—3 "No man, O my God, changeth thy Holy Place...for thy Holy [Place] thou didst will-and-purpose before thou madest places," and 1 Chr. xxviii. 11—12 (R.V. txt) "Then David gave to Solomon his son the *pattern of the porch*...and the *pattern of all that he had by the spirit* (marg. *in his spirit*)," *ib.* 19 "All this, [said David] have I been made to understand *in writing from the hand of the Lord, even all the works of this pattern*." Rashi's comment on 1 Chr. xxviii. 12 represents David as having received this "*pattern*" from Samuel the Seer, and the "*pattern*" of the Temple is paralleled with the "*pattern*" of the world—"Sicuti monstraverat ei Samuel

was the first place in which the Israelites encamped, emerging from their slavery in Egypt, and R. Akiba (*Mechilt.* ad loc.) said that it meant a sheltering "booth" provided by God, quoting Is. iv. 5—6 about the "cloud...by day," and the "fire by night," and the "*booth (Succah) for a shadow in the daytime from the heat, and for a refuge and for a covert from storm and rain,*" together with *ib.* xxxv. 10 "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return...and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads."

Apparently the tradition regards "*upon their heads*" as implying, not a crown, but a shelter, composed of such branches as made the "booths" in the Feast of Tabernacles¹. This resembles Ode xxxv. 1—5, where the poet mentions "the dew of the Lord," and "quietness-and-refreshment," or "rest(fulness)" (a term often connected with the Promised Land), and then adds "The *cloud of peace* He set over my head," and "More than *shadow* was He to me." On the other hand, "a crown" is definitely mentioned, and associated with "rest," in Ode xx. 7—8 "Come into Paradise and *make thee a crown from His Tree, and put it on thy head* and be glad and set-thyself-

videns (*i.e.* the Seer), prout scriptum est supra (1 Chr. ix. 22) 'Istos fundaverat David et Samuel videns.' Rabbini nostri dixerunt (et commentati sunt ad verba ista) (1 S. xix. 22) 'Et interrogabat dicens, Ubi est Samuel et David? Et dixit ei [aliquis] Ecce in Naioth in Rama'—occupati scilicet erant in *structura mundi* quae fuit *Domus Sanctuarii*...." *Pesach.* 86 a (where the text varies) and several other Talmudic passages quote 1 Chr. and discuss the unchangeableness of that which is according to divine "pattern."

[3999 (iii) 2 b] The "porch" in 1 Chr. xxviii. 11, placed first in the list of the sacred structures of which the "pattern" was given to "Solomon," is nowhere mentioned in the gospels except in connection with "the *encaenia* (τὰ ἐγκαίνια)," *i.e.* the *renewal, dedication, or re-dedication*, of the Temple (Jn x. 22—3) "It was the *encaenia*...Jesus was walking in the Temple in *Solomon's porch*." The mystical application of this may be illustrated by the twofold use of ἐγκαίνισω in Heb. ix. 18 "Wherefore [we find that] even the first [covenant] has not been *brought-in-anew* (ἐνεκαίνισται) without blood," x. 19—20 "having boldness, therefore...for the *entrance-into* (εἰσοδόν) the holy-place by (ἐν) the blood of Jesus, which [entrance] he made-anew (ἐνεκαίνισεν) for us..." The *encaenia* suggested the New Temple. The "porch" was the "blood" of Christ. The New Temple was to be (Mk xiv. 58) "built without hands." Mark reports this as the language of false witnesses. Matthew (xxvi. 60—61) lets us see (*Son* 3195) that part of it might be, in some sense, true. Luke omits the whole. John declares that it *was* true—only Jesus (ii. 21) "spake of the *Temple of his body*."

¹ [3999 (iii) 2 c] Comp. Mk xi. 8 στιβάδας, Mt. xxi. 8 κλάδους, Lk. xix. 36 om., Jn xii. 13 τὰ βατὰ τῶν φοινίκων. There is probably some error or confusion in Mark, which has caused Luke to omit this detail and John to explain it differently. Palm-branches would go well with crowns but would hardly be used as "litter (στιβάδας)."

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firmly on His *rest*." In other words, (1) the crossing over Jordan into the "*rest*" of the Promised Land under the first Jesus, and (2) the crossing over the waters of Sheol into the "*rest*" of Paradise under the second Jesus, may both be regarded as followed by "joy" like that of the Feast of Tabernacles¹ (3650).

R. Akiba seems to contemplate a somewhat different scene from that in Nehemiah. The latter is a feasting in "booths" made of branches taken from the trees of the Land of Promise; the former is a dwelling in "booths" as temporary shelters during the journey toward the Promised Land through the wilderness. Akiba's view we shall find, later on (3999 (iii) 11), adopted by Jerome. Nehemiah depicts final rest; Akiba and Jerome, motion toward rest, through stages marked by temporary "booths" or "tabernacles" toward the permanent home.

[3999 (iii) 3] "Sowing" and "seed" hardly occur in the Odes (3874 *a* foll.) except in the remarkable phrase "I sowed my fruits." "Reap" and "harvest" do not appear in the Index, whereas "fruit" is very frequent. *Mechilta* (on Exod. xii. 2, Wü. p. 6) quotes Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22 "the feast of ingathering at the end (*lit.* revolution) of the year," and says, "Go and see, what is the month, in which is the 'ingathering' and the 'end,' and with which the year goes out, and which is called 'seventh.'" This implies mysticism, and perhaps our poet thought mystically of the Feast of Tabernacles, connecting it with the "end" of the spiritual "year," the "ingathering" of the Gentiles, and the building of the Temple "made without hands."

This view (friendly to the Gentiles) of the autumnal "ingathering" does not seem to characterize the Johannine Apocalypse (xiv. 14—20), where apparently the harvest reaps the friends, and the vintage the enemies, of Israel. But it does seem to characterize the Odes. For there (3877 foll.) the "bitter trees" are not abandoned as bitter, but are sweetened by transplantation into Paradise. It is true that, after the first seventeen Odes, the metaphor of fruit passes into the background, making way for other representations of the responsiveness of redeemed humanity to the redeeming Lord; but still the *thought* of fruit is present. In the Ode that begins (xxxviii. 1) "I went up

¹ [3999 (iii) 2 *d*] Zech. xiv. 17—19 (Ges. 697 *b*) is the only prophecy that mentions the Feast of Tabernacles, mentioning it thrice and saying "Whoso of [all] the families of the earth goeth not up unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts [at that feast], upon them there shall be no rain." This would connect it with the thought of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the spiritual Israel.

into the Light of Truth as if into the Chariot," the poet says, apparently speaking of the spiritual Israel, (*ib.* 18) "For He set the root, and watered it, and strengthened it, and blessed it, and its fruits are for ever." And the final Ode, describing the Messiah's deliverance of souls from Sheol, though it makes no direct reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, or to the Water and Light and Fruit connected with that Feast, may be naturally regarded as a kind of "ingathering of the vintage at the end of the year."

[3999 (iii) 4] This Feast was connected by Jewish tradition (*Succah* 51 *a—b*, *Son* 3583 (ix), and s. 3999 (iii) 13 *a*) with Light, Law, and Water. And the Christian application of Jewish phrases concerning Light and Law to "enlightening" in the "waters" of baptism began at an early period in the history of the Church¹. But the Odes—partly perhaps because of their still earlier date, partly because of the poet's conviction that the true baptism must be internal not external, and that it was better illustrated by metaphors of nourishment than by metaphors of washing—do not make this baptismal application. They are still in the stage of thought when "Come unto the waters" meant an invitation, not to wash, but to drink. To such waters—which men were to "draw," as Isaiah (xii. 3) said (3999 (iii) 13), "from the wells of salvation"—John reports Jesus as having alluded, (vii. 37—9) "If any man *thirsteth*, let him come unto me," and John himself adds "this spake he of the Spirit."

[3999 (iii) 5] Isaiah, when he says, "Come to the waters," or

¹ [3999 (iii) 4 *a*] Comp. Heb. vi. 4 "those that have been once enlightened" where the Syr. has (Walton) "qui semel ad baptismum descenderunt," and see Justin Martyr *Apol.* 61, 65, and *Tryph.* 122 (where the Jews disputing with Justin assume that the "enlightened" are proselytes to the Law). In N.T., περι-αστράπτω occurs only twice (Acts ix. 3, xxii. 6). It describes the light that shone round Paul at his conversion, when (Acts ix. 4) "he fell upon the earth" and his companions (*ib.* ix. 7) "stood speechless (*ἔβελ*) hearing the sound (*φωνῆς*) but beholding no man." This experience could not fail to influence the thoughts and perhaps the language of the Apostle, when he wrote of those who were blind to the "enlightening" of the gospel (2 Cor. iv. 4—6, and comp. Eph. i. 18). The Epistle to the Ephesians, just before bidding the converts sing (v. 19) "spiritual songs," apparently quotes one, (*ib.* 14) "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." This is like a paraphrase of Is. lx. 1 foll. "Arise, shine; for thy light is come...and nations shall come to thy light," which would apply to Israel proclaiming the One God to the Gentiles, but would apply also to the Church of Christ, and to any Apostle of Christ, making the same proclamation. The later accounts (in the Acts) of Paul's conversion apparently add, beside what the Lord said directly, what He said indirectly through Ananias, or what His words meant (*Son*, 3165, 3204).

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"Arise, shine," seems to see his countrymen returning from Babylon, as of old they returned from Egypt, guided by the pillar of cloud and fire, and followed by the Rock that gave them water—without any thought of baptism. The Targum paraphrases Isaiah ix. 2 "the people that walked in darkness" thus:—"The people of the house of Israel, that walked *in Egypt as in darkness*, came forth that they might see a great light." This view (though not adopted by Rashi) denotes the parallelism that would present itself to many Jews between the two Returns from Captivity. Christians would apply both Returns to the circumstances of the Church.

[3999 (iii) 6] Paul's words (1 Cor. x. 2—4) "baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea...spiritual drink" indicate an early application of the first Exodus, the release from Egypt, to the Christian sacraments. The words of Isaiah concerning the second Exodus, the release from Babylon, were sure to be soon similarly applied. Then the combination of "light" and "water," adopted by Jews, from Isaiah, in the Feast of Tabernacles, would be transferred by Christians to the ritual of baptism. But we do not find the transference recognised in the Odes.

[3999 (iii) 7] As to very early differences of opinion about the Epiphany, Jerome testifies in his comment on Ezek. i. 1 "in the thirtieth year, in the fourth [month], in the fifth [day] of the month...by the river Chebar...the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God." Among Eastern peoples, he says, after the Ingathering, October was the first month and January the fourth:—"But [the prophet] adds '*fifth day of the month*' to signify *the Baptism*, during which the heavens were opened to Christ: and it is the day of Epiphany, even to our times venerable (*Epiphaniorum dies huc usque venerabilis est*), *not (as some think) His natal [day] in the flesh—for then He was hidden and did not clearly appear.*" What has "*fifth day*" to do with "baptism"? Origen (*Hom. Ezek. i. 4*) implies that there is a baptism of "the [*five*] human senses." And "*fourth month*" implies that the Lord assumed a body from "the *four* elements." But Clement of Alexandria says (824) "For also *through angels* the divine Power bestows its good-gifts (*τὰ ἀγαθὰ*)—whether visible angels or invisible; *such also was the manner of the Epiphany of the Lord*"—apparently referring to the appearance of "*angels*" at the birth of Christ as recorded by Luke. Steph. *Thes.* (under ἐπιφάνεια) quotes Epiphanius as also adopting this view. Gregory Naz. (*ib.*) associates Epiphany with Christ's

baptism and calls it "the holy day of *the lights* (τῶν φώτων)." But "Lights" was the name given by the Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 7. 7) to the Feast of Dedication "when they had recovered the liberty of the service [of God] (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας)"—lit. "when they had [once again] been [placed] in authority" (comp. Jn i. 12) over it. It took place about the winter solstice, and was so called, he thinks, "because (I take it) this liberty unexpectedly shone upon us (ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν)." This adds a new source of confusion, if some Gentile Christians preferred the Feast of Lights, *i.e.* the Feast of the Dedication, to the Feast of Light, *i.e.* the Feast of Tabernacles, as their Epiphany.

Augustine says (Steph. *Thes.* ib.) that in Epiphany, "nonnulli" commemorate the shining of the star to the Magi, "alii" the change of water into wine at Cana, and "quidam" the baptism of Christ. Elsewhere (*ib.*) he adds another interpretation referring to the feeding of the five thousand. Ἐπιφάνεια—in classical Greek simply "appearance" (and indeed often merely "surface")—might be applied to the invisible Word assuming "appearance" in the flesh. Perhaps Clement took it so, and perhaps also Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 14) contrasting men's servitude to "demons" δι' ὀνείρων ἐπιφανείας (gen. sing.) with their improved condition νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[3999 (iii) 8] We may safely put aside these Christian discussions, and probably also Ezekiel's "fourth month," in considering Jn iv. 35 "Do not ye [yourselves] say [as a proverb], Yet four months and the harvest cometh?" followed by three passages mentioning feasts:—(1) v. 1 "After these things was *a feast* of the Jews" (where seven identifications of the "feast" have been offered!); (2) vi. 4 (Hort) "There was at-hand *the feast* of the Jews" (where, if the omission of "the Passover" is accepted, perhaps also "*the*" should be omitted); (3) vii. 2 "There was at-hand *the [principal] feast* of the Jews, *the feast of Tabernacles*." Origen says that the "four months" are not to be taken literally. No doubt, they are to be taken spiritually. Yet John may wish us to infer that they had a literal as well as a spiritual coincidence, and were uttered about seed-time, some "four months" before the beginning of the harvest. If so, the three passages denote (1) the Passover, from which time the early harvest began; (2) the Pentecost, when the weeks of harvest were completed; (3) the Feast of Tabernacles, or Vintage, which was the final ingathering of all the fruits of the earth. The first introduces the healing of the man who cannot walk; the second the feeding of the five thousand on the

products of the early harvest ("barley loaves"); the third, as we shall see (3999 (iii) 14), a disclaimer ("I go not up...not yet fulfilled").

[3999 (iii) 9] First, as to "Passover." Did Jews connect it with healing? "Passover" (Gesen. 820) is radically identical with the word for "lame," in the freq. O.T. phrase "blind and *lame*." On Jerem. xxxi. 8 "the blind and *the lame*," LXX "at *the feast of Passover*," Jerome says "The Jews believe this to have been fulfilled... after *the day of Passover*...." Jn ii. 23 "his signs," refers to numerous *acts of healing during the first Passover*. It would be appropriate that Jn v. 3 "*blind, lame*," should refer to *healing* (restricted now to a single sufferer, owing to want of faith) *during a second Passover*—a sufferer warned to "continue *no longer in sin*" (comp. Mt. xxi. 14, and the Targ. on 2 S. v. 6 "*blind...lame*," Targ. "*sinner...guilty*"). [For Heb. "*passover*" (vb. and n.) rendered by Aram. "*pity*" (in Exod. xii) s. Levy *Ch.* i. 255 *a* and 3781 *e.*]

Secondly, as to Pentecost. A name for it preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10. 6) is "Asartha." This word, meaning (Gesen. 783 *b*) "assembly," is in the Bible applied to any sacred assembly and is rendered by many different Greek words. But in New Heb. (Gesen. 784 *a*, Levy iii. 681, *Hor. Heb.* on Acts ii. 1) it was used, by itself, in the sense of "holiday" or "feast," to mean the one "solemn day" that concluded the fifty days that were to be "numbered" between Passover and Pentecost. Pentecost (s. Hastings *Dict.*) among early Christians (*e.g.* Origen *Cels.* viii. 22) meant the whole of the interval between Passover and Asartha, so that Feast, Holiday, or Asartha, might sometimes be a convenient term to distinguish the fiftieth day from the fifty. If it could be proved that ἐορτή in Jn vi. 4 stands for *Asartha*, it would then be true to say that John mentions all the three great Feasts of the Jews. As it is, the vagueness of John's expressions, the variations in his text (especially in the text of SS, and perhaps in the Syriac words for "passover," see *Thes.* 3209—10) make any such positive conclusion impossible. But we may still hope to discover the current of his thought about the feasts, and, in particular, the third feast, which he alone expressly names.

[3999 (iii) 10] According to Origen (*Cels.* viii. 22), the Passover is observed by Christians who strive to "*pass over*" from the things of this world to God, and the Pentecost by those who can truly say (comp. Col. ii. 12, iii. 1, Eph. ii. 6) "We are *risen* with Christ" and "He hath *raised us up* together, and made us to sit in the heavenly

places in Christ," and who, *going up* (Acts ii. 2, 3) to the "*upper chamber*," make themselves worthy of receiving the "mighty wind rushing from heaven." He seems to connect the Feast of the Harvest with motion "*upwards*," and with the gift of the Spirit, and with resurrection, in a manner that might be explained by the fact that, in Hebrew (3849), "*going up*" often means "*growing up*," and "*firstfruits*" may be used in such phrases as (Rom. viii. 23) "*the firstfruits* (*ἀπαρχή*) of the Spirit," (1 Cor. xv. 20) "*the firstfruits* of them that have-fallen-asleep," (*ib.* 23) "Christ *the firstfruits*" (comp. Jas. i. 18, Rev. xiv. 4). 'Απαρχή in LXX represents several Hebrew words connected with the offering of firstfruits. But the most frequent of these is (41 times) *terûmah* (Gesen. 929) *i.e.* something "*lifted off*," from *rûm* "*lift*"—which regularly means "*lift up*" (*ὑψόω* 85 times), "*exalt*," but is exceptionally rendered ἀπάρχομαι in 2 Chr. xxx. 24, xxxv. 7, 8, 9. Possibly Origen is playing on this word; certainly he has in his mind *some* play on the words signifying "*upward*" motion applied to the Feast of Pentecost, as he has a play on "*passing over*" applied to the Passover.

[3999 (iii) 11] About the Feast of Tabernacles I have found in Origen no corresponding allusion. Jerome, however, in a long comment on Zech. xiv. 16—18 "*the Gentiles...the feast of tabernacles*," says "All these things, which we rapidly summarise, the Jews—and *our own Judaizers*, or rather, *not 'our own' because they are 'Judaizers'*—hope to find fulfilled in the flesh (corporaliter) ...promising themselves both circumcision and marriages *during an empire of a thousand years*." Jerome himself takes it as a spiritual promise "*that they may pass through tabernacles into Jerusalem, and find an eternal home*, and cease to be men of foreign nations, and may become 'Israelites in whom is no guile.'"

[3999 (iii) 12] Jerome's attack on materialistic millennialism might apply to Irenaeus and earlier writers. Irenaeus (v. 33. 1 foll.) thinks that Jesus intended literally (Mt. xxvi. 29) to "*drink of the fruit of the vine...new*" with the disciples in the Father's Kingdom; he quotes "*the elders who saw John*," on the authority of Papias, as testifying that the Lord taught that, in the Messianic Kingdom, preternatural vines would bear preternatural vintages calling out "*I am a better cluster, take me, bless the Lord through me*"; Isaiah's prophecy, he thinks (Iren. v. 34. 4) was to be literally and materialistically fulfilled (Is. lxxv. 18 foll.; LXX) so that Jerusalem should be "*a joy*" and the Lord's people "*a delight*"; even the

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youth of man was to be of "a hundred years"; they were literally to "plant vineyards, and eat of the fruit of them"; and in this earthly paradise (Iren. v. 36. 1 foll.) when men's bodies had been actually raised from the dead, "the Saviour (*Lat.*, God)" was to be "seen by all, according to the worth of the person seeing," in various degrees, illustrated by the various produce ("thirtyfold," "sixtyfold" &c.) in the Parable of the Sower, and also by the saying of the Lord, (Jn xiv. 2) "In my Father's [kingdom] are *many mansions* (or, *stages*)" (*Son* 3347 (x) *b*).

These "*many stages* (*μῶναι*)" through which men are to pass to perfection, and which are likened to the various stages of growth in the Parable of the Sower, appear to be parallel to Jerome's "*tabernacles*" through which the soul is to "pass into Jerusalem." Irenaeus does not indeed mention the word "tabernacle," but he appears to assume that, at the first resurrection into the millennial Kingdom, the saint will rise, not indeed with what Paul (2 Cor. v. 1—4) calls "the earthly house of our tabernacle," but with a heavenly one, being "clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven." Yet this "body" or "house" is to be of such a kind that the saint can literally eat and drink and enjoy the material pleasures of life.

[3999 (iii) 13] Without Irenaeus, we should not have known of the vine-clusters of Papias and of the millennial fancies that he records. But, in the light of these very early, though scanty testimonies, we may be certain that in the first century wild notions were current among "Judaizers," and perhaps among other Christians, about the anticipated Messianic "feast," or "joy"—for "joy" (*Son* 3492 *c*, 3583 (viii)) meant feast—against which some spiritual Christians would desire to protest. Such notions would be connected with none of the Jewish feasts so closely as with that of Tabernacles, associated pre-eminently with the thought of "joy," and with "drawing waters with joy from the wells of salvation," and with the mingling of that water with wine¹. A protest against such notions—

¹ [3999 (iii) 13 *a*] See *Hor. Heb.* (on Jn vii. 38) quoting *Succah* chap. vi. on the mingling of water with wine, after the water had been drawn from Siloam, and *ib.* 51 *a* "whoever hath not seen the rejoicing that was upon the drawing of this water, hath never seen any rejoicing at all." This rejoicing they called, says *Hor. Heb.*, "*the rejoicing of the law*...for by '*waters*' they often understand the *law* (Is. lv. 1 &c.)...but they add moreover, that this drawing and offering of water signifies the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, *Beresh. Rabba* 70 *a* 'Why do they call it...*the house of drawing*? Because thence they *draw* the Holy Spirit.' Gloss in *Succah*, ubi supr.: 'In the Jerusalem Talmud it is expounded that they draw there

in a work like the Fourth Gospel, which teaches largely by symbolism—would naturally be connected with some symbolic mention of the feast, and there are the following reasons for believing that the author had such a protestation in view.

[3999 (iii) 14] First, the account (Jn vii. 2 foll.) of the acts of Jesus during the Feast of Tabernacles implies that, as conducted at Jerusalem, it was a “worldly” feast. This does not mean merely that this feast was notorious for what is called by Chrysostom (on Jn vii. 37) “revelling (τρυνφή).” As to the drinking of wine—the narrative of Cana, and the charge brought against Jesus of being a “wine-bibber,” indicate that Jesus would not have been censorious. But (Jn vii. 3—8) His brethren, bidding Him go up, say “Manifest thyself *to the world*,” and Jesus retorts “*The world* cannot hate you, but me it hateth....Go ye up unto the feast. I go not up (*Joh. Gr.* 2264—5) unto the feast; because my time is not yet fulfilled.” The meaning is, that the “joy” of this feast suited the self-manifestation of one who (*ib.* 18) “seeketh his own glory,” and that the joy of it was spiritually hollow since the Jews (*ib.* 20) “seek to kill” Him.

In the second place, there is something very remarkable in the words (*ib.* 37) “Now on *the last day, the great [day]* of the feast, Jesus stood and cried....” This is the preface to an invitation. The water-drawing being now presumably over, and the people on the point of departing to their homes, Jesus invites them to come to Him, if they are still athirst, that they may receive a stream of joy not confined to themselves alone but flowing forth *from* them. This refers to the Holy Spirit of brotherhood, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, as John himself proceeds to tell us:—“This spake he of the Spirit.”

[3999 (iii) 15] But the Spirit was given, according to Luke, on the day of Pentecost, not at the Feast of Tabernacles. Does John wish to contradict this? Or does he wish to suggest that Luke’s account referred only to a preparatory outpouring, a “firstfruits,” as it were, of the Spirit, which was not to be fully given till later on, in some

the Holy Spirit, for a divine breathing is upon the man through joy.” John, alone of the Evangelists—besides expressly naming the Feast of Tabernacles—describes (Jn ii. 1—11) a combination of “drawing,” and “water,” and “wine,” at the wedding feast (which Jews would call “the joy”) of Cana, where Jesus performed “the beginning of his signs” and “manifested his glory”; he alone mentions (Jn ix. 7, 11) that “pool of Siloam” which Jews connected with the Feast; he also alone mentions (Jn xix. 34) the mingling of water with the blood that flowed from Jesus on the Cross.

"great day of the Lord"? When John tells us (*Joh. Gr.* 2479) that Jesus "stood" and "cried aloud," he manifestly implies that what follows is an utterance of special solemnity; and when he adds that the day of the utterance was not only "*the last day*" of the feast but also "*the great*" day, it is difficult to avoid the inference that he wishes us to look below the surface and to think of "*the last day*" and "*the great day*" in their usual Biblical sense. "*The last day*" (sing.) occurs nowhere in N.T. except in John, and always (except in Jn vii. 37) about the day of resurrection or judgment (6 times). "*Great day*"—according to general, or perhaps universal, Biblical usage—has the same signification. Is it likely that such a writer as John, in such a context, would exceptionally use these phrases for a merely chronological purpose?

It is most unlikely. And the unlikelihood is increased by the fact that Luke himself connects the outpouring of the Spirit with phrases about "*the last days*" and "*before...the great day*," in such a way as could not fail to cause discussions about the time denoted by them. Acts ii. 14—21 represents Peter, after the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, as quoting Joel (ii. 28—31) thus: "And it shall come to pass *in the last days* (Heb. and LXX after these things)...I will pour forth *of my Spirit* (but Heb. *my Spirit*) upon all flesh...before the coming of the day of the Lord, the great and *illustrious* (ἐπιφανής, but Heb. *fearful*) [day]." Cyril, commenting on Joel (quoted by Cramer on Acts), is led by the LXX ἐπιφανής to describe the Revelation as an "Epiphany." Also the LXX "[*part*] of my Spirit" leads him to mention "firstfruits." Hence he speaks of "the Epiphany that is through the Spirit, which also He sent down *as firstfruits* [*to others*] *as also to the holy apostles* (τὴν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιφάνειαν ἣν καὶ ἀπαρχὴν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις κατέπεμψεν)." These facts suffice to shew that the outpouring of Pentecost would be regarded by some as being *only the "firstfruits of the Spirit"*—a Pauline phrase of which Origen gives many interpretations—the final outpouring being reserved for a future spiritual Feast symbolized by the Feast of Tabernacles. And this, in all probability, was the Johannine view.

[3999(iii) 16] In the first century, when Christians were expecting the immediate Advent of Christ, it would be natural for many to discuss the difference (in versions of Joel's prophecy) between (Acts) "*in the last days*" (Heb. and LXX "after these things") and "*before the coming of the day of the Lord*." Some would perhaps identify

the two. Others would ask "How long '*before* the coming' were 'the last days' to be?" Jerome hesitates. "It must either be believed," he says, "to be the day of resurrection, or else, after long periods of time, the day of judgment (*aut certe multa post tempora dies judicii*)...." He inclines to the former, but only because of a Pauline (Rom. x. 13) quotation of the context.

John seems to put aside such distinctions and to desire to guard his readers against supposing that, just as a certain definite Pentecost had brought to the Church the firstfruits of the Spirit, so a certain definite day of the Feast of Tabernacles would bring them a full fruition of it. According to his view, while Passover and Pentecost remain as Christian commemorations of fulfilment, the Feast of Tabernacles is one about which the Lord says—as in the sign at Cana—"not yet." It has no commemoration, for it has "not yet" been fulfilled. It is Christ's "joy," a continuous and growing presence, the influence of His Paraclete in their hearts, a Presence, of which—or of whom—His disciples can keep no fixed anniversary (Jn xv. 11, xvi. 20—24, xvii. 13). From the beginning, it is not a "joy" of lazy rest or (3999 (iii) 14) "revelling," but a journey through "the [country] of the Father" in which (xiv. 2) "there are many mansions, or stages." It is (xvi. 21) a joy, not over one's own pleasures, but like the joy of a mother, following a mother's anguish, over the birth of her child. It is a "joy" repeatedly opposed to "the world" and mentioned for the last time in the words (xvii. 13) "But now I come to thee: and these things I speak in the world that they may have *the joy that is my own (Joh. Gr. 1988) fulfilled in themselves.*"

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I. NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES*

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* Some of the texts in this scriptural Index are merely referred to, not quoted, in the preceding pages; but the disadvantage to the reader of sometimes finding a mere reference, where he expected a comment, will be outweighed (it is hoped) by the advantage of always knowing, without search, that if a text is not in the Index it is not in the book.

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3	5	754 <i>c</i>
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	27	837 <i>a</i>
4	11	798 <i>a</i>
	15	999 <i>c</i>
	17	735 <i>b</i>
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5	7	922 <i>b, i</i>
7	6	999 <i>c</i>
	7	691 <i>i</i>
	19	844 <i>n</i>
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	22	877 <i>c</i>
9	2	793 <i>d</i>
	6	731 <i>g</i>
	37-41	691 <i>c</i>
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10	2	996 <i>b</i>
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	33	691 <i>m</i>
	35	691 <i>m</i>
	37	691 <i>m</i>
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	11	747 <i>i</i>
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	30	760 <i>r</i>
3	4	755 <i>c-d</i>
	5	905 <i>a, 992 a</i>
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4	10	801 <i>b</i>
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	28	735 <i>b</i>
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8	10	798 <i>a</i>
	12	999 <i>c</i>
	13	735 <i>b</i>
	15	999 <i>c</i>
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	12	691 <i>h</i>
	19	870
13	21	874 <i>b</i>
	24	784 <i>i-q</i>
	26	691 <i>h</i>
	32	996 <i>e</i>
14	10	760 <i>g</i>
	23	875 <i>f</i>
	31	824 <i>d</i>
15	7	754 <i>b</i>
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	16	745
	26	991
19	36	999 (iii) 2 <i>c</i>
	38	844 <i>q, r</i>
21	12	735 <i>b</i>
	15	999 <i>h</i>
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	16	784 <i>b</i>
	16-17	824 <i>f</i>
	18	764 <i>c</i>
	21	694 <i>a</i>
	23	755 <i>c-d</i>
	25	694 <i>a</i>
	26	694 <i>a</i>
	29	781 <i>f₁</i>
	30	764 <i>c</i>
	32	785 <i>a</i>
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	36	781 <i>f₁</i>
	45	694 <i>a</i>
	51	967
2	1-11	999 (iii) 13 <i>a</i>
	6-10	855 <i>r</i>
	15	746 <i>i</i>
	17	742 <i>q</i>
	21	999 (iii) 2 <i>b</i>
	23	999 (iii) 9
3	3-31	858 <i>q</i>
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3	16-17 747 <i>i</i>	12	39 999 <i>c</i>	2	24 781 <i>h</i> , 815 <i>r</i>
	19-20 877 <i>c</i> ₂		40 999 <i>c</i>		27 781 <i>h</i> , 832 <i>e</i>
4	13-14 746 <i>j</i>		47 747 <i>i</i>		31 781 <i>h</i>
	14 855 <i>d</i> , <i>g</i> foll.	13	1 777	3	21 781 <i>j</i>
	23-4 691 <i>e</i>		8 884 <i>o</i>		22 694 <i>a</i>
	35 884 <i>t</i> , 999 (iii) 8		10 884 <i>k</i> , <i>o</i>	4	24 645 <i>a</i>
	42 747 <i>i</i>		34 809 <i>u</i>		25-6 645 <i>a</i>
5	1 999 (iii) 8 foll.	14	2 717 <i>a</i> , 881 <i>d</i> , 999 (iii) 12, 16		26-7 731 <i>l</i>
	3 999 (iii) 9		2-3 813 <i>b</i>		27 645 <i>a</i>
	6 747 <i>d</i>		4-6 759 <i>b</i>	6	15 722 <i>f</i> , 856 (n.)
	18 764 <i>c</i>		6 844 <i>w</i>	7	20 754 <i>e</i>
	25 820 <i>f</i>		17 691 <i>e</i> , <i>h</i> , 838 <i>d</i>		22 730
	26 781 <i>f</i> ₅ , 784 <i>b</i> , 838 <i>d</i> , 983 (v) <i>a</i>		21-3 800		37 694 <i>a</i>
			22-3 784 <i>a</i>		51 847 <i>c</i>
6	4 999 (iii) 8 foll.		23 800	8	26 755 <i>i</i>
	27 916 <i>a</i>		26 691 <i>h</i>		36 755 <i>i</i>
	53 foll. 817 (i) <i>b</i> , <i>c</i>		27 838 <i>f</i> , 858 <i>q</i>	9	39 755 <i>i</i>
	63 669	15	1 759 <i>b</i> , 817 (i) <i>g</i> , 846 <i>b</i>		1-2 755 <i>c</i>
7	2 999 (iii) 8		2-6 883		2 755 <i>g</i> , <i>i</i>
	2 foll. 999 (iii) 14		5 670		3 999 (iii) 4 <i>a</i>
	3-8 999 (iii) 14		9 809 <i>u</i>		4 999 (iii) 4 <i>a</i>
	18, 20 999 (iii) 14		11 999 (iii) 16		7 999 (iii) 4 <i>a</i>
	22 847 <i>c</i>		12 681 <i>c</i>		17 755 <i>g</i> , <i>h</i> , <i>i</i>
	37-9 999 (iii) 4, 14 foll.		14 800		26 691 <i>b</i>
	38 746, 855 <i>g</i> , 999 (iii) 13 <i>a</i>		15 760 <i>c</i> , 800		27 755 <i>g</i> , <i>i</i>
			26 691 <i>c</i> , <i>h</i>	10	34-5 806
8	12 844 <i>w</i>	16	8-10 804 <i>d</i>		37-44 784 <i>a</i>
	28 691 <i>h</i>		13 691 <i>e</i>		40-41 784 <i>a</i>
	31-2 983 (vii)		20-24 999 (iii) 16	11	3 844 <i>n</i>
	35-6 669		22 999 <i>g</i>	13	35 832 <i>e</i>
	39 848 <i>h</i>		33 825 foll., 829 <i>a</i>		47 819 <i>k</i>
	44 764 <i>a</i>		17	14	15 855 <i>v</i>
	56 716 <i>a</i> , 802 <i>b</i> , 816 <i>b</i> , 864 <i>b</i>		3 793 <i>d</i>		22 784 <i>o</i>
			6 784 <i>c</i> , 831 (n.)	15	18 781 <i>j</i>
9	1-2 814 <i>e</i>		11 800	17	26 foll. 891
	4 865 <i>b</i>		13 999 (iii) 16		29 746 <i>i</i>
	7 999 (iii) 13 <i>a</i>		26 681 <i>c</i>	18	25-6 755 <i>c</i> , <i>i</i>
	11 999 (iii) 13 <i>a</i>		20 691 <i>h</i>	19	9 755 <i>g</i>
10	1 foll. 844 <i>g</i> , 846 <i>b</i>	18	20 691 <i>h</i>		23 755 <i>g</i>
	9 784 <i>q</i>	19	24 999 (iii) 11	20	31 691 <i>m</i>
	10 781 <i>f</i> ₅		34 999 (iii) 13 <i>a</i>	22	4 755 <i>g</i>
	11 foll. 846 <i>b</i>	21	15-17 680, 681 <i>c</i>		6 999 (iii) 4 <i>a</i>
	14-15 922 <i>d</i>		18 666 <i>a</i> , 973		7 815 <i>e</i> ₂
	16 844 <i>g</i>		19 666 <i>a</i>		17 815 <i>e</i> ₂
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	28 784 <i>b</i>			24	14 755 <i>c</i> , <i>g</i>
	30 764 <i>c</i>				22 755 <i>g</i>
	34 922 <i>d</i>			26	6-7 p. xxx
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11	48 711 <i>a</i>			27	36 781 <i>f</i> ₃
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	52 842				
12	13 844 <i>q</i> , 999 (iii) 2 <i>c</i>				
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	9-11 891
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	18 830 <i>c</i>
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	17 973
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* This Index aims at giving all verses of the Odes, quoted or referred to, except those which are discussed in their order in the translated Odes and indicated by the numbers at the bottom of the pages, e.g. pp. 350-61 (Ode xi. 5-8).

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IV. GREEK

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[*The references are to paragraphs [3]636—[3]999 (the 3 not being printed); “c. w.” means “confused, or confusable, with.”*]

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